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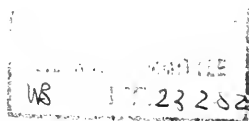
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ERRATA.

Page 4, l. 17, *for* " guadio " *read* " gaudio." Page 66, l. 48, *for* " 76," *read* " 14." Page 68, l. 8, *for* " high," *read* " light ;" l. 48, *for* " cencerada," *read* " cencerrada." Page 74, l. 45, *for* " Knights mentioned," *read* " Knights are mentioned." Page 76, l. 1, *for* " account " *read* " account ;" l. 6, *for* " Hantevallen," *read* " Hanterallen ;" l. 19, *for* " sluice," *read* " sluice ;" l. 21, *dele* " in." Page 77, *for* " Ward " *read* " Wend ;" l. 23, *dele* " first."

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1883.

CHURCH ALES.¹

By E. PEACOCK, F.S.A.

In these days when almost all the Christian bodies of the West, however much they may differ in other matters, are exerting themselves to bring under control the habits of excessive drinking which many of us have inherited from our far-off ancestors, it may not be uninteresting to look backward to a time when the Ale Feast and the Church Ale were recognised institutions. It must be borne in mind that in those times ardent spirits were unknown to the English people. I am not going to enter into a discussion of the vexed question, who was the first distiller. The practice of extracting aromatic essences from flowers seems to have been known in the East from a very remote period, and it is, therefore, not improbable that the knowledge may have been applied to the kindred purpose of making stimulating drinks. A physician of the thirteenth century, Arnold of Villa Nova, is said to be the first person who tells us distinctly that an intoxicating spirit could be obtained by the distillation of wine. He seems to have considered this a new discovery. His disciple, Raymond Lully, popularised his master's knowledge. Over this new discovery, or recent introduction, he was eloquently enthusiastic. Bishop Berkeley was not more confident as to the virtues of tar-water than was Raymond that this new fluid was the universal medicine of which philosophers had dreamed and quacks had boasted. To him it came as a new element revealed to man, destined to renew the energies of his decrepit race.

Though, however, ardent spirits were known in the

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Carlisle Meeting, August 3, 1882.

thirteenth century, they were for several generations afterwards looked upon, not as a beverage but as a medicine. A very few rich persons who indulged themselves in the taste for rare and curious drinks may have consumed them, but the Northern races continued to be content with their beer, except at the tables of the wealthy, where the light wines of France seem to have been as common as they are to-day.

The words ale and beer are now used indiscriminately to signify fermented drink made from malt. Formerly there seems to have been a well understood difference between them. Ale was a sweet drink made without hops or other bitter herbs; beer was a similar liquor flavoured with hops. In the Latin Account Rolls of the fifteenth century, *cerevisia*, when it stands alone, seems to mean this sweet ale; *cerevisia hummulina* this hopped beer. There is a vague tradition, which has been supported, as most vague traditions are, by most respectable authorities, that hops were unknown in England before the reign of Henry VIII.

“Hops, Reformation, Carp, and Beer,
Came into England in one year,”

is a jingle of which every one has heard. Now, in the first place, it is highly probable that the hop is an indigenous plant, and in the second we have positive evidence of its use as early as 1482,¹ and there is a very strong presumption that its properties were known to those who brewed beer at a much earlier period. There certainly was a well understood distinction between ale and beer at an earlier time, for in the Hundred Court of Hythe in 1445 presentments were made against certain women who had brewed “*cerevisia et bere*,”² and in papers relating to the municipality of Rochester in 1460, we find two shillings paid “for 16 galonys of *bere* and *ale*.”³ In the further remarks which I have to make, I shall treat ale and beer as meaning one and the same thing, but I wish it to be borne in mind that our forefathers used the words with a different meaning attached to each.

¹ Rogers's “Hist. of Agric. and Prices,” vol. iii, p. 254.

col. 1.

² “Hist. MSS. Com.,” vol. iv, p. 431,

³ Riley, “Liber Custumarum,” vol. ii, part 2, p. 707.

Antiquaries have often been laughed at, and I must confess have sometimes richly deserved it, for attempting, with little or no evidence before them, to trace the customs and practices of the present back to a very remote past. I may perhaps be laying myself open to censure of this kind when I affirm that it is my opinion that the Church Ales of the Middle Ages were the direct descendants of the drinking bouts of our unchristened Saxon and Scandinavian ancestors. I cannot directly prove this any more than I can directly prove many other things which seem so highly probable that they pass, in the minds of most of us, for certainties. The love of the uncivilized Teutons for feasting was notorious even in the luxurious Roman world, and it is noteworthy that Saint Gregory the Great in his letter to the Abbot Mellitus, whom he sent over here to aid Saint Augustine in his missionary work among the English, though he does not distinctly mention the fondness of the people for drink, seems to refer to it in a way not very easy to mistake. After telling the Abbot that idols are to be destroyed but that the idol temples, if well built, are not to be pulled down but are to be turned into churches, he says that as these heathens have been accustomed to kill oxen in sacrifice to their gods, so the day of the dedication of a church must be kept as a public solemnity, that the townsfolk may build themselves huts with branches of trees around the church and pass the time in religious feasting.¹ The whole passage shews that as little change as possible was to be made in manners and customs so that the people were but devout christians. Now we well know what feasting meant to a Low German whether christened or unchristened. Little would he have cared for whole herds of slaughtered oxen if there had not been something strong, heady and heart-inspiring to drink with his beef. Saint Gregory does not mention beer or other drink, wine he of course knew, but we doubt whether he had ever heard of beer; but man of the world as he was, one cannot suppose that he imagined that the gentlemen and ladies whom he invited to rejoice themselves in silvan bowers would be content with only such drink as the limpid stream or the neighbouring

¹ Bede, "Eccl. Hist." book 1, ch. xxx.

holy well afforded. Speculative archæology is an entertaining pastime rather than a useful pursuit, but in this instance I think I have made out somewhat more than a speculative case, especially when it is remembered that in the Pœnitial of Archbishop Theodore the chance of ecclesiastics taking more drink than was good for them, especially at Christmas, Easter, and the Festival Days of Saints is deliberately provided for. The passage is somewhat long, but, as a picture of the times, it is worth giving in full—

1. Si quis Episcopus aut aliquis ordinatus in consuetudine vitium habuerit ebrietatis, aut desinat aut deponatur.
2. Si monachus pro ebrietate vomitum facit, xxx dies peniteat.
3. Si presbyter aut diaconus pro ebrietate xl dies peniteat.
4. Si vero pro infirmitate aut quia longo tempore se abstinuerit, et in consuetudine non erit ei multum bibere vel manducare, aut pro gaudio in Natale Domini aut in Pascha aut pro alicujus Sanctorum commemoratione faciebat, et tunc plus non accepit quam decretum est a senioribus, nihil nocet. Si Episcopus juberit, non nocet illi, nisi ipse similiter faciat.¹

The break between the old and the new seems to have been easily bridged over. The Ale Feast of the Middle Ages was the converted child of a heathen sire. How deep the conversion went we may guess, but shall never know. It is not improbable that if some old worshipper of the thunder-god could have arisen from his grave-mound by the churchyard side and joined in "the ale" going on within the sacred enclosure he would have discovered, when all was in full swing, that the difference in morals and manners between the fifth and the fifteenth century was not so great as those who believe so confidently in progress could have wished him to have found it.

It has been often remarked by those who take an intelligent interest in the past, that time, who has spared so few relics of our remote kindred, has in some cases given us almost a profusion of the less interesting, and entirely deprived us of the more interesting facts of their lives. We would willingly exchange some of the saintly biographies—full of interest as even these are to those who know how to use them—for a contemporary picture of society here when it was half Christian and half heathen. Saint Gregory's letter suggests many a quaint

¹ Pœnitentiale Theodori. Lib. i in Documents," vol. iii, 177.
Hadden & Stubbs "Councils & Eccl.

picture of what must have happened, but, though we may be well sure that the ox was roasted and the mead and the ale drunk in almost every parish in the land, no one thought it worth his while to record that which was so common and so trivial as to be utterly beneath notice. Sir Walter Scott has left us a sketch, a fancy sketch it is true, but one drawn with the intuition of genius, helped perhaps somewhat by personal knowledge of not dissimilar scenes in the far north. It is the account of the christening feast of Witikind the Waster. As it occurs in a poem which I am informed is now but seldom read, I may be pardoned for a few lines of quotation :—

“ High was the feasting in Witikind’s hall,
 Revell’d priests, soldiers, and pagans and all ;
 And e’en the good Bishop was fain to endure
 The scandal, which time and instruction might cure :
 It was dangerous, he deem’d, at first to restrain,
 In his wine and his wassail, a half christen’d Dane.
 The mead flow’d around, and the ale was drain’d dry,
 Wild was the laughter, the song, and the cry ;
 With Kyrie Eleison, came clamourously in
 The war-songs of Danesman, Norweyan, and Finn,
 Till man after man the contention gave o’er,
 Outstretch’d on the rushes that strew’d the hall floor ;
 And the tempest within having ceased its wild rout,
 Gave place to the tempest that thunder’d without.”

HAROLD THE DAUNTLESS, xiii.

It is not a matter of speculation, but one of absolute certainty that the heathen drinkings were not mere festivals for enjoyment ; pleasure was indeed not the most important part of them. They were originally solemn rites in honour of the gods or of dead ancestors, and so when these feastings became christianized the objects of Christian worship—the Holy Trinity and the Saints—were in like manner pledged. In a northern Saga we find the Princess Hildegonda carrying round the ale to the Vikings. “ She takes the silver cup and bows as she begins the ceremonies, and drinks Health to all Ylfing Men ; this cup to the memory of Rolf Rraka.”¹

In latter times the action would have been the same, but the pledge would not have been to a dead forefather, but to Saint George, Saint Michael, or some other of the

¹ Elton, “Origins of Eng. Hist.,” 212.

grand figures of the celestial hierarchy. Cups yet exist with such-like invocations carved around their lips.

“ In the name of the Trinitie,
Fill the kup and drinke to me ”

is inscribed on a mazer-bowl which belonged to the late Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley.¹

Pembroke College, Oxford, has one with the legend—

“ Sayn denis y^b es me dere,
For hes lof drenk and mak gud cher.”²

The Ironmongers Company of London possess a similar vessel, on which occurs the angelic salutation.³ Among the treasures preserved in York minster is a bowl to which, as an inscription on it testifies, the martyred Archbishop Richard Scrope attached, “ Unto all them that drinkis of this cope xl dayes of pardon,”⁴ and the Gild of our Lady of Boston, before the spoliation of its goods, had a cup dedicated to Saint Thomas of Canterbury.⁵

It is impossible for us to separate the secular from the religious in these featings. To many they would be merry-makings only ; to persons of grave temperament, or those on whom the cares and sorrows of the world weighed, it is probable that the religious side would be the more prominent. In the earliest times I do not think we trace anything beyond the feast alone, but as time flowed on an important change seems to have taken place. The ale became not a feast only but also an easy and effectual way of raising money for purposes secular and religious. These secular drinkings were called *scot ales* ; with them we have at present little to do, they are not intimately connected, at least in the later time with the Church ale, and their nature and history is surrounded by difficulties. When I direct attention to the fact that the greatest of living historical students has declared their nature to be “ very obscure,”⁶ I may be forgiven for not venturing on a confident opinion concerning them. This we know, that they were considered an exaction, from which the people were glad to free themselves. The payments made at them were handed over to the sheriff. It is difficult to tell whether the offerings made

¹ Parker, “ Hist. Dom. Arch.,” vol. ii, 62.

² “ Gent. Mag.,” 1851, i, 172.

³ *Ibid*, 1852, ii, 27.

⁴ “ Roy. Arch. Inst.,” York vol.

⁵ Peacock, “ Eng. Ch. Furniture,” 195.

⁶ Stubbs’ “ Const. Hist.,” i, 628.

on these occasions were voluntary or not. It is certain that those who did not attend these public drinkings were heavily fined.

Church ales were widely different. They seem to have been commonly though not always free both as regards the givers and the drinkers, and until puritanism arose were not, as far as can now be made out, viewed with displeasure by any one.

The parish is the unit of our social life, from which many of the things in Church and State that we set most store by have been evolved. It was in the Middle Ages a much freer and simpler organization than it has now become. The great land-owners have cramped it in one way, and the cast-iron rigidity of acts of parliament, often draughted by persons who were almost wholly ignorant of rural affairs, have well nigh crushed the life out of it in another. In the Middle Ages the parish was in a healthy condition and consequently full of vitality. Justices of Peace in the earlier time were unknown, and in the latter—almost down to the reign of Henry VIII—they were by no means the important functionaries that they afterwards grew into. The criminal business of the village, except when some very grave matter indeed occurred, was transacted at the Manor Court, and most things ecclesiastical, except those directly affecting the sacraments and the priestly character, by the parishioners assembled under the direction of the rector or vicar and the churchwardens. If we would understand what country life was in those days we must try and call up in imagination the rural village before the Reformation had divested the Church of its outward splendour, and before the great inclosures had altered the status and character of its inhabitants and their institutions. No two villages could in the nature of things be identical, but from Cumberland to Cornwall a very strong family likeness prevailed.

First in prominence stood the lord's hall. If he were a great man, or if the part of the country where he lived were liable to be harried by Scotchmen, Welshmen or Humber pirates, it would be fortified and moated round, having indeed much the appearance of a miniature castle. If on the other hand the region were peaceful there would

in many cases be little to distinguish it, except its somewhat greater size, from the number of dwellings which clustered around it. If it were in a country which produced slates, all the houses would be covered by that material, but throughout the greater part of our land thatch was used for almost all buildings including in many cases the church. Near the hall stood the church, almost always within a carefully fenced enclosure, that swine and other foul beasts might be hindered from desecrating the graves of the dead. In the churchyard itself or almost immediately adjoining would have frequently been seen, if a careful antiquary could have made his survey before the surface changes of the last three hundred years, the slightly raised grave mound of the Teutonic ancestors of the villagers who had gone to their rest ere the faith in the God of Abraham had supplanted the old northern worship of the forces of nature. Near the churchyard wall, too, usually indeed forming a part of it but sometimes within the enclosure and sometimes without, stood the church-house.

The church-house was an ecclesiastical edifice which seems to have almost entirely passed away. As far as I have been able to ascertain not a single undoubted specimen has been spared to us. Though it is not improbable that the half-timbered building attached to the west end of the church at Langdon in Essex, and now called the Priest House is really one of these. We have evidence from all part of the country that they were once very common. There is, indeed, hardly an old churchwarden's account-book, which goes back beyond the changes of the sixteenth century that does not contain some reference to a building of this kind. They continued in being and to be used for church purposes long after the Reformation. The example at All Saints, Derby, stood in the churchyard and was in existence in 1747.¹

The church-house at Tetbury, in Gloucestershire, was sold a few years before this for the purpose of raising money for the repair of the church.² At Ampthill there is still remaining—adjoining the churchyard on the south—a half timbered cottage which may have been one of these structures, but its identification is very uncertain.

¹ Cox and Hope, All Saints, Derby, 24-25.

² Lee's Tetbury, 105.

Though I have been unable to discover the existence at the present time of a single building which can be demonstrated to have been a church house, I think it is not at all improbable that some few examples may still survive, having been preserved by being turned into cottages.

Mr. Hartshorne informs me that at Horton, near Slough, Buckinghamshire, a public house, known by the sign of the "Five Bells," with a small garden attached, is let by the churchwardens and the income derived therefrom devoted to the repair of the church and church-yard. The title by which the property is held is unknown. It is probable that the "Five Bells," stands on the site of the old church house, and that there are no deeds belonging to it because it has come down from churchwarden to churchwarden from a very early time.

As we have no existing examples to guide us in drawing our picture we are driven back upon the few data which can be gleaned from parish records. These give forth a feeble light, but we may learn something. It appears that the church-house was not a dwelling-house. I do not remember that I ever came upon any entry that pointed to its ever having had a permanent tenant. In many instances the building must have been of considerable size for wool, lime, timber, sand, and other matters were stored therein. At one place, Stratton in Cornwall, it was let to pedlars or wandering merchants at the fair time, and the parish books shew a rent paid on this account from year to year.¹ In other places there are charges for forms and benches.

We must picture to ourselves then a long, low room with an ample fire place, or rather a big open chimney occupying one end with a vast hearth. Here the cooking would be done, and here the water would be boiled for brewing the church ale. There would be, no doubt, a large oak table in the middle with benches around, and a lean-to building on one side to act as a cellar. This, I think, is not an inaccurate sketch of a building which played no unimportant part in our rural economy and rural pleasures. All the details are wanting and we can only fill them in by drawing on the imagination. We

¹ "Archæologia," xlvj, 195—236.

know that almost all our churches were made beautiful by religious painting on the walls. I should not be surprised if we some day discovered that the church-house came in for its share of art and that pictures, not religious in the narrow sense, but grotesque and humourous, sometimes covered the walls. It was in the church-house that the ales were held. They were provided for in various ways, but usually by the farmers, each of whom was wont to give his quota of malt. There was no malt tax in those days and as a consequence there was a malt kiln in almost every village. These ales were held at various times. There was almost always one on the Feast of the Dedication of the Church. Whitsuntide was also a very favourite time; but they seem to have been held at any convenient time when money was wanted for the church. We may be certain that the assembly whenever called together would be well attended, for English folk are seldom very careful of money when drink and good company are to be had. And good company would, no doubt, be forthcoming on the occasion, for the wandering ballad singer would be there, the pardoner with his tales of foreign lands and wonderous miracle lore. The begging friar, too, was not an austere man. He also would, no doubt, make the ale an occasion for delivering a stirring discourse from the pedestal of the village cross and then adjourn to the church house with his auditory. We must not be too severe on our forefathers because they enjoyed coarse revelry and what we might perhaps think low society. Travelling was exceedingly difficult and costly; few of the villagers ever went far from home, and it was at gatherings such as these that they learnt very much of the little they knew of the great world which stretched far away beyond their own narrow horizon. In the case of the church ale there was added an inducement to drinking which could not be pleaded in favour of the delights of the hostelry or the wayside ale-house. Those who enjoyed themselves at the Church Ale were not only doing the very best possible thing to amuse themselves, but also performing a highly meritorious work, for every pot of ale which they swallowed on their own part, or which they gave to their companions, was so much good done to a holy cause.

Might not a man's orthodoxy, nay, even his Christianity be called in question if he absented himself? So thought Launce, for does he not tell Speed—"Thou art an Hebrew, a Jew, and not worth the name of a Christian;" and on Speeds enquiring "Why," he answers, "Because thou hast not so much charity in thee as to go to the ale with a Christian" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act ii, sc. 5). This has commonly been interpreted to signify the ale-house, but the point of the accusation of Judaism is lost if we do not understand that Launce invited his clownish companion to a drinking bout for the good of the Church.

Philip Stubbes, the author of the *Anatomie of Abuses*, only knew Church Ales in their decline. He was, Anthony Wood informs us, a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to Popery,¹ so his picture must be received with allowances for exaggeration. His account of them is certainly not a flattering one. He tells us that "The church Wardens . . . of every parishe, with the consent of the whole parishe, provide halfe a score or twentie quarters of mault, wherof some they buye of the church stocke, and some is giuen them of the parishioners themselves, everyone conferryng somewhat, accordyng to his abilitie; which mault beeyng made into very strong ale or beere is sette to sale, either in the church or some other place assigned to that purpose. Then, when this . . . is sette abroche, well is he that can gette the soonest to it and spend the most at it; for he that sitteth the closest to it, and spendes the moste at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest, and moste in God's favour, because it is spent vppon his church forsoth! but who, either for want can not, or otherwise for feare of God's wrath will not sticke to it, he is counted one destitute both of vertue and godlines In this kind of practise they continue sixe weekes, a quarter of a yere, yea halfe a yere together, swillyng and gullyng, night and daie, till they be as dronke as rattes,² and as blockishe as beastes That money . . . if all be true which

¹ Ath. Ox., Ed. 1721, I, 282. :—

² "Dronke as rattes" is a comparison that is new to me. "Drunk as mice" is a phrase common in Lincolnshire at the present time. Chaucer has:—

"We faren as he that dronke is as a mous."
Knight's Tale, l. 403.

cf. *Songs and Carols of Fifteenth Century* (Percy Soc.), p. 90. *Letters on Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camd. Soc.), p. 133.

they saie . . . they repair their churches and chappels with it, they buie bookes for seruice, cuppes for the celebration of the sacramente, surplesses for Sir Ihon, and suche other necessities.”¹

This is a post-reformation picture, and of course not a favourable one, but there is no reason for regarding it as very much overdrawn. We know from other and less unfriendly sources that persons of all ranks and classes, women as well as men, went to the ale. The popular poetry of the time is evidence of this. A volume of *Songs and Carols* of the fifteenth century or earlier, published by the Percy Society, contains the lament of an unhappy husband who had a wife by no means to his liking. Among other unpleasing traits in her character we are told that—

“If she wyll to the good ale ryde
I must trot all by her syde,
And when she drinks I must abide.”²

And in the Romance of Merline in the Percy Ballad Book we find an account of another lady who—

“With neighbours to the ale went,
Long she sat and did amiss
That drunken she was I wiss.”³

Strange as it may seem to some of us who are too apt to judge all other times by the one in which we chance to live, there is the most positive proof that it was the common practice, and considered in no degree improper for ladies of what we should now call the cultivated classes, to frequent such like gatherings and to partake when there of the good things provided. In the old poem entitled “How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter,” an old English directory of manners and deportment which was assuredly intended for the use of the upper classes, we have this piece of most excellent advice—

“And if thou be in place where good ale is on lofte,
Whether that thou serve thereof, or that then sette softe,
Mesurably thou take ther of that thou falle in no blame,
For if thou be ofte drunke it falle thee to shanne.”⁴

It is not to be hoped for that ecclesiastics should have a higher code of manners than that of the more refined

¹ Ed. by W. B. P. P. Turnbull, 1836, p. 173.

² P. 26.

³ *Ib.* 446.

⁴ E. E. Text Soc., vol. xxxii., p. 39.

section of the laity. There seems, however, to be some evidence that it was held to be improper for high dignitaries of the church to be present at these enticing festivities, for there is more than one twelfth century instance of Abbots not going to the ale themselves, but sending someone else there to drink for them.¹ Although permitted to drink by deputy there can be no doubt that these eminent persons would be required to contribute their full share at least to the expenses of preparing the feast. With such encouragement it was not to be feared that many persons would be so "left to themselves" as to stay away from the Church Ale, at least without sending a substitute of strong head and good digestion. Even in those days, however, it would seem that there were some persons who took the more modern view of things. When they appeared the parish authorities knew how to meet the case, and dealt with the offenders sternly. We learn from the Dodsworth Manuscripts as quoted in the *Archæologia*, that at Elverton and Okebrook, in Derbyshire, there were four Church Ales in the year, and that those of the inhabitants who did not put in an appearance were to be mulct at the next ale, in as much money as if they had drunken freely at the last, and if they did not go to the next and the next the payment were to go on progressively increasing.²

What will seem to not a few of us one of the most strange things connected with these festivals is the fact that, evil as their influence must have been, they seem to have drawn forth hardly any remonstrance until the rise of Puritanism. Then, of course, they were protested against, but, as they were denounced in common with many other things which were from our point of view quite harmless, one cannot but feel that the clamour did not spring entirely from motives with which we can sympathize.

The Reformation which gave so great a shock to all our national institutions no doubt had its effect upon Church Ales. They continued long after, the ghost of them may even yet not have absolutely departed, but the alteration in modes of thought and living which that great change introduced caused the church ale to lose its old character.

¹ *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*, p. 21.

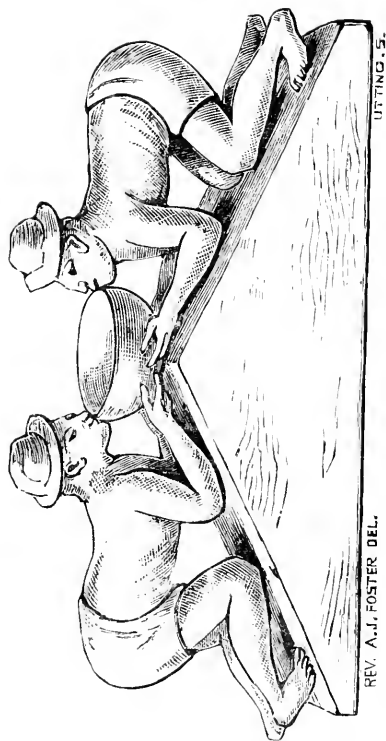
² "*Arch.*," ii, 13.

Where it did not die out altogether it ceased to be a fashionable entertainment. High-born ladies no longer patronized it, so that by the end of the seventeenth century it had sunk in a vulgar gathering of drunken boors, whose potations brought little gain and much scandal to the church. The last instance I remember to have come upon in literature of the church ale being spoken of as a living reality, occurs in Francis Beaumont's *Exaltation of Ale*. Among the other many blessings we derive from that beverage are told that—

“The churches much owe, as we all do know,
For when they be drooping and ready to fall,
By a Witsun or Church Ale up again they shall go,
And owe their repairing to a pot of good ale.”

Something of the nature of a church ale seems to have survived at Bicester till the year 1816¹ and at Kirton, in Lindsey, existed until within my own memory. The church-house had long been swept away and no money for the fabric was raised by the ale, but the salary of the sexton was in part paid by a feast given at his house, to which all persons could go who were willing to pay for what they consumed. How the licencing laws were evaded or suspended I do not know. There were no rural police in those days, so there was little fear of any of the revellers being brought before the justices on a charge of drunkenness. This, I have no doubt, was also specially provided against by the two parish constables being of the party. The memorials that have come down to us of the social age of our forefathers are on many ways painfully scanty. This is especially the case with the subject now under consideration. I have, however, met with two, one a piece of stained glass and the other sculpture, which I think are representations of Church Ales. Where the glass now is I know not. There is an engraving of it in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793, i, 397. It is a small roundel seemingly of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work. In the centre stands a gigantic man—the demon of the feast—and around him are human figures, two women, a priest, a soldier, and a blind crippled beggar with his dog, all of whom seem to be in various stages of intoxication; in the upper part of

¹ “The Antiquary,” Jan. 1883, p. 34, quoting Dicken's “Bicester.”



Bench End, Stevington Church, Bedfordshire
Scale 3-16th inch to 1 foot.

the picture are two large tubs and sundry ale pots. The engraving is rude and probably by no means accurate. If this curious picture be yet in existence it ought to be reproduced in colours in its full size. The sculpture to which I refer is on two of the bench ends in the church of Stevington, Bedfordshire. The one represents a man lying down hopelessly drunk, and the other two men crouched down drinking out of a large bowl which they hold between them. From the certificate of chantries it seems that there was in this parish, before the Reformation, certain lands given for the purpose of drinking there. Their rent in the second year of Edward VI was 4s. 8d.

Drinking Bush hill was the name of a place on the western side of the parish. When the people were in the habit of beating the bounds a hole was dug at this spot and certain men used to jump into it and drink as much as they possibly could. Whether this practice was a genuine relic of old heathendom or whether it was a kind of symbolic representation of the church ale kept up after the feast itself had fallen into disuse it is impossible now to say.

It may be well to note that by the Canons of 1603 it was ordered that "the churchwardens or quest-men and their assistants shall suffer no plays, feasts, banquets, suppers, church-ale drinkings in the church, chapel, or churchyard."¹

Though an archæologist must, from the very fact that he is one, be in many ways a lover of what is old and an opponent of such changes as would needlessly sever the present from historic continuity with the past, there is probably not a single one of us who is so ardently antiquarian in his tastes as to wish that church ales, however picturesque their surroundings may have been, had retained a place in modern life. Something very like them seems to have sprung up in recent days in America. These institutions are called church fairs and lager beer it seems is sold in the churches.¹

¹ Canon, 88.

² "Pall Mall Gazette," Sep. 25, 1882, p. 11.

THE DOMESTIC REMAINS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.¹

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

It is but lately that the varied extent of the history of Egypt has been realized. Viewed through the writings of the Greek historians, Egyptian history was simply a confused tale of strange events, belonging to an ungenial people; they did not sympathise with it, or seek to understand it; and we have scarcely known it but through them. We have not yet got beyond calling Egyptian gods and kings by the Greek perversions of their names. And though Tahuti is not disguised by the name of "the Egyptian Hermes," still Osiris and Nephthys, Cheops and Amenophis, are more often heard than Asiri and Nebhat, Khufu and Amenhotep. But until this Greek veil is cast off, we cannot expect to realize a civilization which differed as much from that of Strabo and Juvenal, as the British chieftain Cunobelin differed from the Cymbeline of the Elizabethan stage.

To the Greek, and to the modern Englishman who trusts him, everything before Psamtik of the twenty-sixth dynasty, in the seventh century B.C., was a mist, out of which only a few heroic figures rose; Sesostris served as the great name to whom all great deeds were attributed, like the Iskander of mediæval romances. The idea of a succession of most different conditions and characteristics, of a continuous art-history, and of developed and proscribed creeds, was lost, by reason of the mere strangeness of the whole people.

We need to become imbued with the spirit and feeling of a nation, before we can comprehend it; we ridicule what we do not understand, and despise that we cannot perceive. That a true sense of Egyptian art and ideas is

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Nov. 2nd, 1882.

so little felt in England is, perhaps, largely due to the caricatures of it that are placed before our eyes continually.

In one of the latest compilations published, there is scarcely a head such as the poorest Egyptian artist would have drawn; and the illustrations are of the pseudo-Egyptian style, like that of the great French expedition plates, or the popular sphinx letterweight. It is to the originals in museums, and to photographs of other remains, that we should turn for correct examples.

Though the long extent and chequered vicissitudes of Egyptian history are now being read from the monuments, yet a stratum of it is as yet scarcely touched, that of domestic remains. The brilliancy of the workmanship, and the interest of the written history of Egypt, on its temples and palaces, have attracted the whole attention of the literary explorers who have worked in the country. The remains of ordinary life have scarcely been noticed, and the conditions of the bulk of the population have been nearly unknown.

To realise more distinctly the sequence and variety of the changes in Egypt, we may compare it with a country whose developments are most familiar to us. Italy shows a near parallel to Egypt in its art history, and a resemblance in not a few of its political changes. The scale of its chronology, too, is not dissimilar; and if we say that each of the parallel epochs that we note, occur in Egypt about 2000 or 1500 years before they occur in Italy, it will give a general clue, that will not outstep the most moderate requirements of the antiquity of Egyptian civilization. In describing the domestic remains then, we will briefly observe the broad resemblances in the history of art and government in the two countries.

The first known epoch of each country—that of the first six dynasties in Egypt, and of the Etruscans in Italy—is a period of great works, and of fearless enterprises; which have never been rivalled by later designers. Widespread drainage works and dams, needed to make the land habitable and fertile, were the first task of civilization in both lands; and in stonework, the pyramids of Egypt are as much beyond other remains in the boldness of their design as are the rock tunnels of Etruria.

The first epoch was also in both lands essentially an age

of rock tombs and monumental remains ; the people are only known to us through their death ; neither palaces nor dwellings remain ; only tombs and sepulchres, corpses and trinkets, are left to shew their life by the adornments of their death.

The relations of the working classes to the rulers are but little known. It is certain that the great nobles were great not merely by titles, but by possessions ; they owned large agricultural and pastoral farms, with thousands of cattle and hundreds of thousands of birds, breeding and training the domestic animals still tame, and many others now lost to man's control ; and they reclaimed lands from the swamps that then existed ; thus they employed a large number of dependants. Besides this, they carried on all requisite trades on their own resources, and had their private carpenters, boat builders, fishers, potters, coffin makers, goldsmiths, glassblowers, musicians and dancers. Thus a great part of the population, if not all, was organised under the direction of the nobles ; and not unfrequently a man of ability rose in early life from a lower station, probably by patronage, married a noble lady, and took his position among the favoured officers of the court.

There is no village yet known of this age, and it seems probable that the inhabitants lived in the farms, on mounds above the high Nile, as at present. The ancient sites would therefore be beneath the present surface of deposited Nile mud ; and perhaps by trenching into the village mounds about Memphis, we might open up one of the primæval settlements. But up on the hills there are remains of the working classes, which have been hitherto unnoticed. In the mounds of masons' waste, which were thrown out around the pyramids of Gizeh during their erection, there are, besides string, wood and charcoal, many pieces of the pottery of the fourth dynasty ; the best of this is of excellent quality, and the coarser ware is sound, though rough. The subject of Egyptian pottery is too wide to discuss now, and I hope before long to treat of it as a whole. Another most interesting relic of the working classes is the large barrack behind the second pyramid. This I uncovered in parts, and found there ninety-one galleries built of rough stone ; each gallery

about ninety feet long, nine and a half wide, and six or seven feet high. Their total length being over a mile and a half, these would suffice to house about four thousand men. The walls are about four feet thick, plastered with hard Nile mud and stone dust; there is a well laid floor of the same, and the roofing was probably of thatch, with mud plastering like modern Egyptian roofs.

In this first period wars were almost unknown; and only occasional troubles with neighbouring tribes diverted the national labour from monumental work.

The most important difference in these earliest ages in Egypt and Italy is that the Egyptian sculpture was at its highest point in this period; the earlier the remains the finer the art in Egypt: whereas in Italy, Etruscan sculpture, though often very lifelike, is inferior to later work.

After this first and glorious age came a dreary time, during which social wars in Egypt, from the seventh to the eleventh dynasties, preceded the great foreign invasion of the Hyksos, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth dynasties. In Italy, however, the great Gallic invasion preceded the social war. But though the political order is thus different, the art history has some resemblance in its separation from earlier work, and its beginning the style which continuously developed into the best known period.

The flourishing but brief epoch of the twelfth dynasty, in the midst of this confusion, is remarkable for its novelty and its diversity from the old style. The statues are like those of later times, though more elegant. Pillars and columns are decorated and reckoned as an essential feature of design; and the ruling ideas of work have passed for ever from wood and rock, to the more strictly architectural notion of building. All the earlier works were hewn in rock and carved in wood, or were imitations of such labours; at Beni Hassan, on the contrary, though the tombs are rock-hewn, the features shew them to be designed from buildings; the clustered columns, the abaci, and the beams they support, though all in one piece, are evidences that hewn stone building was the ideal before the designer's eye.

After this long period of confusion, from the seventh to the seventeenth dynasty, in which but one bright

interval appears, there opens the great era of foreign conquest and richly ornamented art, like that of the Roman Empire. The eighteenth dynasty introduces a richness, yet purity of decoration, with a trace of the old severity in it; which, in its glorious transition, is strikingly like the work of the early Empire under the Twelve Cæsars. It was a period of rapidly increasing wealth and power, of the establishment of regular foreign trade, and of the erection of splendid buildings, as much distinguished by their taste as by their size. The character of the works that are left to us is also very similar to those of the first century in Italy; they are not very numerous, but are of every variety. Temples are for the first time preserved to us, ruined, yet unaltered by later work; monuments and tombs are not so numerous as in later times; and if Italy has an unchanged town in Pompeii, so has Egypt an unchanged town of this period at Tel el Amarna, quite pure from remains of succeeding ages; unaltered, and arrested in history, not by a natural, but by a religious revolution. The site of this town of King Khuenaten is preserved owing to its having been built on the desert, so that cultivation, and Nile inundations, have not interfered with it; and there now stand the long streets of ruined houses, with heaps of broken pottery in them, as they were left when the city was deserted before the Hebrew exodus. The finest houses remaining of this, or indeed of any period, are at Memphis. There a large quarter of the ancient city has been but little demolished, owing to the massiveness of its walls; and houses may still be seen with their three stories marked out by the holes for the flooring beams.

The most imposing period in the history of both Egypt and Italy was the time of the greatest foreign wars, and the most extended dominion; under Ramessu the Second in one, and Trajan in the other land. About the nineteenth dynasty is also shewn a taste for foreign objects and names; much like the fashion in Rome during the Empire, when Caracalla was named from his Gallic cloak, and Elagabalus from his foreign worship of the stone—El Gabal. Of this period a fine piece of popular building remains in the enormous barracks for the garrison which Ramessu II maintained around his palace at Thebes.

The arrangement of this is most clearly seen by looking down from the precipices of the Theban hills upon the temple-strewn plain below. Around both sides and the back of the great palace known as the Ramesseum is then seen a mass of brickwork, which must have enclosed it on all sides but the front. This is mainly ruined now, but the parts still perfect shew it to have been a series of arched galleries or tunnels of brickwork. These tunnels are of considerable length, and twelve feet two inches to twelve feet nine inches wide ; the arch nine feet high (parabolic) and the walls about seven feet in height ; but none of them clear of rubbish. The thickness of the arch is twenty-nine inches in four courses ; and it is perforated along the crown by round holes at intervals of twenty feet. The arrangement of these galleries around the Ramesseum shews them to be about coeval with it ; and the age is put beyond doubt by Lepsius finding the bricks stamped with the name of Ramessu II. One of the best authorities agrees that they are of this period, but supposes them to be store-houses. We know, however, that a large garrison was stationed here ; as fragments of jars are commonly found here, with an inscription stating that they held wine sent for the soldiers of Ramessu II. The frequent openings all along the roof are exactly what would be needed for dwelling places ; but not for store houses, as they would need protection. These galleries then were almost certainly the dwellings of the soldiers, who had carried the victorious arms of Ramessu from Donkola to Asia Minor.

If Ramessu II of the nineteenth dynasty may be called the Trajan of Egypt, at about an equal interval we meet its Aurelian in Ramessu III, who opened the twentieth dynasty. Between the two, decadence is clearly seen to be setting in, art is slowly perishing, and form being substituted for life. At the same time building is commoner, and this (like the second century in Italy) is the most abundant epoch for temples, palaces, and public works ; though all are tainted with the sign of decay. After Ramessu III foreign possessions were rapidly lost, art as rapidly decayed, there was no temporary revival by a new force (as under Constantine) and the sun of this effete era sunk into the darkness of the Egyptian papacy.

Though this was not a time prolific in public works, yet—as in Italy in the decline—there is a greater abundance of tombs and remains of private life, combined with a more florid decoration, than in any other period.

The rise of the papacy—the twenty-first dynasty—in Egypt, is somewhat like that of the temporal power in Papal Italy. We have, in both cases, the high priesthood of a recognized national religion, gradually becoming more powerful, until it was able to establish itself on the throne. The national religion, that of the King of the Gods, Amen Ra, had also had its reverses. It was unknown apparently in the earliest days of Egypt, or at most but local; it then rose into power, and flourished unopposed for some time; was then cut down for a single reign by Khuenaten—the Julian of Egypt—and finally triumphed in a form which was probably a temporized and altered copy of its original, the rites of many other divinities being combined with this worship. Amen disposed mankind to a love of discipline and abhorrence of evil. Justice is subject to him, the gods acknowledge the majesty of the great inscrutable; and every other god was but little else than a personification of some attribute of him, the god of gods.¹ In all this it is hard to tell, except by names, whether we are hearing of the worship of Amen and his subject gods, in the papacy of Egypt, or of so-called Christianity with its saints, in the papacy of Italy.

After this, in the twenty-third to twenty-sixth dynasties, there entered the renaissance of Egyptian art. The older styles were copied, and the form of the names closely imitated those of ancient times, or were even identical. There is, however, the somewhat too elaborate and fine a finish, and the lack of traces of archaism, which enable us to detect the difference; just as in the Italian renaissance. Such a revival shows us that the old system, which had hitherto continuously developed, was dead; that the style and titles of the kings, which had increased in complexity, were dropped as vulgar, or, at least, not classical, and elegant simplicity was imitated. Thus, it seems likely that this period, distracted by foreign invasion and changes of government, was where the living language

¹ See Ebers, in Baedeker's *Egypt*.

finally parted company from the official and monumental, as Italian finally separated from Latin in the dark ages.

The political history of this time is, to say the least, dubious; for authorities are divided as to whether the twenty-second dynasty was native or foreign. The Assyrian invasions, during the renaissance, in the twenty-fifth dynasty, were somewhat like the French conquests in Italy; not lasting, or of much influence on the character of the country. The Persians, who formed the twenty-seventh dynasty, were far different in their grasp, which was not broken till Alexander, to the delight of the Egyptians, destroyed the foreign yoke: a parallel to Napoleon breaking the Austrian yoke, which had so heavily rested on Italy.

A new order of things arose after the thirtieth dynasty, the last thus reckoned. Egypt was profoundly altered by the introduction of foreign ways; her art is Grecianised until it is quite unlike that of any preceding period; and it is of this time, with its smooth and smirking faces, its fussiness of detail, and its absence of dignity, that we are unhappily best acquainted in England, owing to the better preservation, and greater number, of its remains. And Italy in the parallel period, that of the present day, appears to be probably modified more than in any past epoch.

The historians of future ages will see in the language of Rome exactly the phenomenon that meets us in Egypt: one monumental language, unchanged, except by fashion, during a period of over two thousand years; unclassic during a dawning period, but nevertheless the same. One alphabet, one grammar, one dictionary, will suffice to read every public monument throughout its history; and also all lesser documents, before the changes in the popular language carried it beyond the scope of the original form, and thus provoked a renaissance by the recoil of the separation. This will illustrate also how little we should look on the people as the same at all times, merely because their ancient language was publicly maintained unimpaired; Coptic and Italian are the natural and popular development of Egyptian and Latin, which was steadily going on, while, to the superficial glance, change was scarcely apparent, or still less, professed.

This historical comparison, though necessarily inexact in detail, is nevertheless so close in many points, as to be a sort of key to the memory ; and it will have done its duty, if it brings clearly before the mind the great changes that have passed over the country. And as modern Italians are not old Romans, and still less Etrurians, so the Egyptians of Greek times were not the men of the eighteenth, and still less of the fourth, dynasty.

Of the Greco-Roman period, to which we have now descended, it may safely be said that we only know its superficial history. Of the condition of the mass of the people we know but little, though more than we can glean about an earlier time. Because Greek civilization flourished in Alexandria, it is too often supposed without question that the country was very civilized at that date. This is probably far from the truth. At Gizeh I have had the opportunity of studying a large site on the east of the Great Pyramid, probably of Greek date ; not that it could be settled to be of that age by any trace of Greek work found in it ; it might be of any date for aught there is to shew of its remains. But as the houses are founded on the top of the ruins of a temple of Petukhanu (built about 1,000 B.C.), they are not probably before the time of Greek influence in Egypt ; and the village cannot be later than early Roman times, as a deep, sepulchral stone-lined well, for burial, was sunk through the site, after the village was deserted. In this village metal is scarcely ever found ; rude and clumsy stone hammers and corn rubbers, often made out of fragments of earlier works, are the common articles, and flint scrapers and flakes are also found. The houses are all built of crude bricks, the walls being generally very thick and substantial, and lasting in good condition till now ; the arrangement of the buildings was entirely ruled by the lines of ancient tombs which covered the ground, and which served as a backbone for the groups of houses. The remains of this site, like many others in Egypt, are fast disappearing ; the Arabs having found that the nitrous earth is a fertiliser to the land, each spring sees lines of camels and donkeys driven up from the plain below, to carry off loads of earth, which their masters dig out from between the walls of the houses. The bricks,

it is true, are not carried off, but thus denuded and freely exposed to sun, wind, and occasional rain, and undermined for earth, they crumble away, even in such a climate, and return to their original incoherent mud. Thus perishes the unwritten history of Egypt.

In examining the village (which I walked over almost every day for nine months, the tomb that I lived in being in the cliff just under it) the apparent poverty of the inhabitants was striking. Not only was there no metal to be found, but scarcely any imported article whatever. The pottery was nearly all rough local ware, with but little from other districts. Labour was evidently cheap, by the abundance of well made mud bricks; but the condition of the people seems to have been precisely what we see to this day in Egypt, in parts that are a little out of the European track. Money and metals are very valuable in relation to labour and food, and anything that cannot be produced on the spot is a luxury. A fireplace that I cleared out in one of the houses, shewed the hand to mouth way of living; the ashes seemed to have been left to accumulate indefinitely, as I cleared away two feet depth of them; all were fine light white ash from the burning of weeds and dried manure, the modern fuel of Egypt; there was not a scrap of hard wood in the whole, and when I afterwards shew some of the unburnt pieces of vegetation to my Arab servant, he recognised it as the *halfa* and *sad*, still common by the wayside. The fireplace was made of a half round back of bricks, plastered over with a facing of mud; and illustrating the patchwork sort of life, I observed that the back had been repeatedly heightened by more bricks and more mud facing, probably added as the rubbish grew up on the floor, and the ashes accumulated on the hearth. As in modern Egyptian towns and villages, there was no clearing up there, no road cleaning, everything went on accumulating, until the houses were buried in the refuse of daily life, and the chaff and sand blown about in every breeze.

A curious point is the strict idea of property, shewn by each house being built up separately, without using the walls of the neighbours, each fresh wall being just separated from the others by a space enough for a man

to stand in ; this was not intended for a passage, as it is only thirteen inches wide in some cases, and always blocked across at the end, and without any doorways opening into it. This looks as if the building had been done by strangers settling there, and not by a developing family. The granaries are also noticeable ; two of the houses having several small chambers without any door ; and in one of them the chambers have brick domes built over them, so as to enable the top to be used, probably as the bed place and divan or seat of honour, as in modern houses. These must have been for stores, and are of such a size as to hold not only the harvest of a numerous family, but also the dried fodder for cattle, largely used in Egypt at the present day. A peculiarity in the building is the use of a layer of bricks set diagonally beneath most of the walls ; as the holes are filled with mud mortar, and the soil is very dry, this cannot have been for drainage holes, and the object of it is not clear. The ancient tomb wells, which had been rifled, were found to be troublesome and dangerous, as at present, so that a wall was built around them sometimes, as in the house at the top of the accompanying plan.

Besides this there is also another and poorer site at Gizeh, just on the north of the Great Pyramid, that belongs, I believe, to Roman times. Here even stone hammers are scarce, and the pottery is coarser, no metal is to be found, and flint flakes were the commonest tools. The houses seem to have been the merest shanties, which have quite disappeared in the course of time, and heaps of pottery, bones, and dust are nearly all that remain.

With the late Roman, or early Christian times, there appears a bettering of the condition of the country people. The villages shew a fine and imported class of pottery in common use, and glass is very general. Baked bricks and lime mortar also supplant crude bricks and mud. This is perhaps due to the settling of Roman garrisons, with regular habits, among the people. There is an interesting chain of such camps along the edge of the desert near Gizeh. First, at a mile north of Abu Roash, is one that was probably the site of a monastery, as we learn from the name Deir now attached to the ruins. Here is a site partly bounded by a square wall of stone, with many

baked brick walls within the area : fine pottery and glass cover the ground, and several blocks of building stone, some of large size. There is also Arab pottery here, shewing that the site was inhabited after Roman times, and thus bearing out the monastery tradition.

Three and a half miles south of this on the desert edge, is Kom el Ahmar, or the red mound, a very similar site, but without a wall or regular outline.

Three and a half miles south of this again, after passing the Gizeh pyramids, is a camp called Gebel Kibli, of regular square form, two hundred and ninety feet each way, but without any boundary walls remaining. Here I found a quantity of coloured glass, purple, yellow, blue, green, and white ; this was all lying in one place, and may be the smashings of the windows of an early church. Another interesting little feature here is a small outpost up on the top of the adjacent desert hills, above the camp, from which the Roman sentry could watch for marauders raiding out of the desert. There remains a scrap of wall, a bank of an enclosure, and some bits of their water jars, on this little look-out which commands the desert for miles. In modern times the top of the Great Pyramid was used as a post of observation in the same way to check the Bedawin ; and the draught-boards of the Arabs cut in the stone remain to shew of their weary watches.

Three miles south of this camp of Gebel Kibli is a fine piece of brick wall with round bastions, and a bank parallel to it at five hundred and fifty feet distance, evidently Roman, near Zauiyet Sidi Mislim ; and I was told that much pottery was found near it. It is just at the end of a causeway across the Nile valley, and has a large pond beside it.

Further south of this there may be a site at three miles off by the great pool of Abusir ; but it is certain that at three miles beyond this, in the village of Bedrashen, on the site of Memphis, are fine walls and arches of baked brick and cement, with a large cemented floor. The chain of stations at about equal distances, appears to have been founded about the fourth century to resist incursions from the desert.

Such are the domestic remains of Egypt in some sites that I have had the opportunity of examining ; but all

over the country there are villages, generally of Græco-Roman and early Coptic times, heaped with pottery and remains, ten, twenty, perhaps forty or fifty feet thick, to which no attention has yet been paid. Both these, and still more the earlier houses of Memphis and Tel el Amarna, need excavating with intelligence and care ; noting the details that are wholly lost when Arab diggers are set to work in the usual way without supervision. And the chance of opening a site of the earliest dynasties would make it well worth while to cut into the village mounds that so thickly cover the Memphite district, the earliest scene of man's architectural labours. Though there is not a country round the Mediterranean that is not promising as a field of research ; yet Egypt, for the antiquity of its remains, their historic interest, and the facilities for work, has a supreme attraction.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF AUTUN.¹

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

Some persons may think it strange, and even presumptuous, that I should propose to read a paper on Autun, which has recently been the subject of an article by Mr. Freeman in the "British Quarterly."² But as his research is chiefly historical, and mine archæological, though it may be necessary sometimes to traverse the same ground, I hope to avoid the blame of merely repeating what has been said before.³

In one respect our present inquiry differs from many others of a similar nature. The antiquary often investigates the ruins of some city or building, which the ancient authors rarely mention. This is the case, for example, with Nîmes in France and Paestum in Italy.⁴ But now we return to a region that even in our boyhood was familiar to us. Autun was the capital of the Ædui, a people whose name we so often read in "Cæsar's Commentaries," though, through the fault of our teachers, we were little able to picture to ourselves their manner of life or the beautiful country they inhabited.⁵

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 6th, 1882.

² No. CXLVII, July 1, 1881, Art. I, Augustodunum, pp. 1-28.

³ The Portfolio, July, 1882, pp. 126-130, Art. Autun, with illustrations, by P. G. Hamerton. In this paper, which seems to be intended as an introduction to a series on the same subject, Autun is regarded from a picturesque rather than from an antiquarian point of view. Mr. Hamerton's residence in the neighbourhood gives him advantages which no other English writer possesses.

⁴ Nîmes is the most interesting town in France for Roman antiquities, but the notices of it by ancient authors are very meagre. The historians do not mention it all, and amongst the geographers Strabo, whose account is the fullest, says nothing about its public buildings, lib. iv, c. i, s. 12, p. 186. Comp. Pom-

ponius Mela, edit. Parthey, ii, 75 p. 50, Urbium quas habet (pars nostro mari adposita) opulentissimæ sunt Arecomicorum Nemausus, Tolosa Tectosagum, &c.

Similarly, the origin of Paestum is involved in obscurity; antiquaries have disputed whether it should be ascribed to Greeks, Phœnicians, or Etruscans. The classical writers are silent concerning its magnificent temples, but they sometimes refer to its rose-beds, which still bloom twice a year: Virgil, Georgics, iv, 119, with Forbiger's note; Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, s.v. Paestum.

⁵ Augustodunum, the capital of the Æduans, was called *soror et æmula Romæ*, titles which indicate the close alliance between these two nations. They are said to have been first brought in contact by the Massaliots, who obtained

According to the most probable account, Bibracte was not at Autun but on Mont Beuvray;¹ the town was destroyed by order of Augustus, and the population removed to Augustodunum, the site of the modern city.² In its history the most important epochs were the revolt of Sacrovir which happened under Tiberius, and is related by Tacitus, "Annals," Book III, chaps. xl-xlvi;³ the siege and capture by the Bagaudae, in or about A.D. 270; and the reparation of the damage done on that occasion by Constantius Chlorus and his son, Constantine the Great.⁴

for the Æduans the title of brethren of the Roman people; L'Oppidum Bibracte, Guide historique et archéologique au Mont Beuvray d'après les documents archéologiques les plus récents, p. 6. Cæsar, De bello Gallico, i, 33, Æduos, fratres consanguineosque sæpenumero ab Senatu appellatos; Cicero ad Atticum, i, 19, s. 1; Tacitus, Annals, xi, 25; Strabo, iv, 3, 2, p. 192; Eumenius, Gratianum actio Constantino Augusto Flaviensium nomine, cc. 2-4, soli et consanguinitatis nomine gloriati sunt, &c.

¹ Besides the arguments derived from M. Bulliot's excavations, the name Beuvray speaks for itself; it is only a modification of Bibracte, and this is proved by the intermediate form Biffactum which occurs in mediæval charters. Etymology here, as elsewhere, comes to the aid of Archaeology.

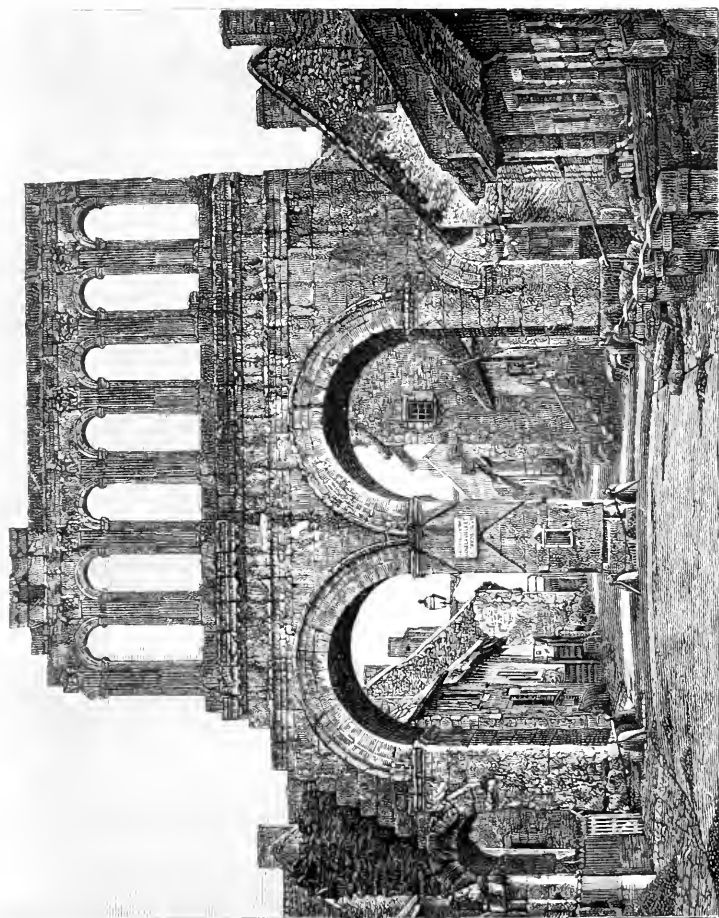
² Pomponius Mela (iii, 20) is the first writer who mentions Augustodunum; Tacitus is the next, Annals iii, 43; Augustodunum, caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat. The termination *dunum* is frequent in the map of Gaul, and Cæsardunum (Tours) is the instance most closely analogous. Lugdunum (Lyons) supplies a conspicuous example, with which we may compare Camulodunum (Colchester). The end of Augustodunum appears as the beginning of Dunkerque, Church of the Dunes, i.e. sand-hills along the sea-coast. In the Irish Railway Guide fourteen stations have names commencing with *dun*. See Anströng's Gaelic Dictionary, s.v. *Dun*, *dúin*, a fort or fortress, a tower, a fortified hill, &c., where similar words in other languages are given, signifying height, literally or figuratively; cf. O'Brien's Irish-English Dictionary for a list of places that have this prefix.

³ SACROVIR is engraved on one of shields that decorate the triumphal arch at Orange; hence some have supposed that it was erected by Tiberius to com-

memorate the defeat of this chieftain, A.D. 21. The names of other barbarian leaders are inscribed in the same way, e.g. MARIO, BODVACVS, CATVS, VDILLVS. Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, Tome iv, Part I, c. viii, p. 169, Pl. CVIII; and especially Supplément, tome iv, c. iii, pp. 73-77, I. Notes de M. de Peirese sur l'Arc d'Orange. II. Observations sur le même Arc: Adolphe Joanne, Itinéraire Général de la France; Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse, pp. 23, 24, edit. 1877: Caristie, Monuments antiques à Orange arc de triomphe et théâtre: Charles Lenormant, Mémoire sur l'Arc de Triomphe d'Orange: Jules Courtet, Dictionnaire des Communes du Département de Vaucluse, pp. 260, 261,

An examination of the sculptural and architectural details leads to the conclusion that this monument belongs to the second century after Christ.

⁴ Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xiii, note 16, vol. ii, pp. 69-70, edit. Dr. Wm Smith. "Some critics derive it (the name of Bagaudae) from a Celtic word, *Bagad*, a tumultuous assembly." Anströng's Gaelic Dictionary, *Baghadh*, *aídh*, s.n. (obsolete), fighting, quarrelling. The Bagaudae seem to have been a kind of Land Leaguers in the third century. Gibbon refers to Ducange's Glossary, but the additional note in Henschel's edition, Paris, 1840, should also be consulted; *ib.* note 19, he says that their oppression and misery (i.e. of the servile peasants) are acknowledged by Eumenius, Panegy. vi, 8, Gallias efferatas injuriis. It is very doubtful whether these words were spoken by Eumenius; they do not occur in the edition of his Orations by Landriot and Rochet, Autun, 1854; but in the Panegyrici Veteres, edit. Delphin, 4^{to}, 1676, vi, 8, Incerti Panegyricus Maximiano et Constantino, we read Gallias priorum temporum injuriis efferatas. I subjoin the important passages in Eumenius relating to the Bagaudae, ii, 4. Civitatem



Gate of Arraux at Autun.

These facts must be borne in mind, if we wish to appreciate the existing remains correctly.

I. However interesting other traces of antiquity at Autun may be, no one will deny that the gates of Arroux and St. André are its most distinctive monuments; the traveller who has once visited the place always reverts in thought to these structures as having made the deepest impression upon him. No city so far north can show two such Roman portals as these.¹ The gallery over the two main archways is a striking feature in both, and deserves attention for two reasons; it gave elegance to the building, while at the same time it served a useful purpose. The symmetrical arrangement of the smaller arcades above the entrances for carriages appears to great advantage, if we compare it with the arch of Titus at Rome, where the attic is disproportionately high, and looks as if it would crush the parts below with its superincumbent weight.² On the other hand, the utility of the gallery is shown by reference to the Porta Nigra at Trèves, which has projecting wings. There can hardly be a doubt that lateral annexes formerly existed at Autun, and that a corridor connected them.³ The gate at Trèves is superior in size and preservation, but it looks coarse and heavy when contrasted with those of Autun.

As I have remarked in my paper on Constantinople, numismatic illustrations, which are easily accessible, may, to a certain extent, compensate for the want of opportunity to examine monuments at a distance.⁴ Montfaucon,

istam . . . , tum demum gravissima clade percussam, cum latrocinio Bagaudicæ rebellionis obsessa auxilium Romani principis invocaret . . . attollere ac recreare voluerunt Cæsares, iv, 4, Divus pater tuus civitatem Æduorum voluit jacentem erigere, perditamque recreare, non solum pecuniis ad calendaria largiendis, et lavacris quæ corruerant extruendis, sed et metoecis undique transferendis. For *calendaria* Acidalius, Gruter and others read *calcaria*: Translation des Discours d'Eumène par Landriot et Rochet, Notes sur le Discours d'Actions de Graces à Constantin Auguste, pp. 307-8.

¹ We may even go further and say, no city in the world.

² The same defect is observable in the entablature of the Arch at Orange, but the pediment and bas-reliefs cause it to be less apparent.

³ Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. i, p. 315: Prosper Merimée, Notes d'un Voyage dans le Midi de la France, 1835, says, with little probability, that the galleries over the gateways served as a continuation of the walk round the ramparts.

⁴ E.g., the coins of Augusta Emerita (Merida) and Augusta Trevirorum (Trèves). For the former see Heiss, Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne, pp. 398-405, Plates LX, LXI; for the latter, Cohen, Médailles Impériales, vol. vii, Supplément, pp. 376-7, No. 3. This remarkable aureus of Constantine the Great exhibits the gate of Trèves surrounded by four towers, and the river Moselle flowing below it; in the exergue are the letters PTRE. The gate is supposed to be the well-known Porta Nigra.

"Antiquité Expliquée," tome iii, Plates xcvī-xcviii, gives us the ancient gates at Rome, Autun, Reims, Mesté in Cilicia, Zara and Pola,¹ and he adds those of Trajanopolis and Nicopolis from coins published by Vaillant. The last mentioned has arcades, as at Arroux and St. André. This subject may be pursued still further with the aid of Professor Donaldson's "Architectura Numismatica," Plates lxxxi-lxxxvii, pp. 304-327; among his examples, Bizya in Thrace most nearly resembles Autun, as "above is a species of attic of the same height as the entablature, with four arches in the centre and a narrow one at each end." If anyone were to place the photographs of the gates beside Montfaucon's plates, he would see at once the benefit which the newly-discovered art has conferred upon us; many details, such as the fluting of the pilasters, not shown in the engravings, become apparent.

When I was at Autun last September, I observed a small shrine attached to the Porte d'Arroux; this modern addition with its tawdry ornament defaced the simplicity of the ancient structure. But the wild flowers, growing in interstices between stones that had never been cemented, seemed like a garland ever renewed by the hand of Nature, crowning the work of a people who built for eternity.

The great variety of opinions concerning the date of these famous monuments naturally results from the absence of inscriptions upon them. Some refer them to the Augustan Age, when the city was founded, but a later period is, I think, more probable.² The excellence of the workmanship does not necessarily imply an early epoch, as architecture long survived the sister arts of painting and sculpture, because it required less originality, certain rules of proportion having been established and

¹ Triumphant arches may fairly be cited as illustrations of gates, because their construction was similar. At Pola we find both combined in the same structure, one of the entrances to the city. Porta Aurata, being also a memorial erected in honour of Sergius; Montfaucon, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xcviii, from Spon; Baedeker's *Oesterreich, Süd-und West-Deutschland*, p. 183, edit. 1863, where the abbreviations in the inscription are explained. The Porta Gemina, Doppelthor, at Pola had two openings, as its

name implies, like the gates of Autun.

² Mr. Freeman assumes the earlier date; *British Quarterly*, No. 147, p. 17, "We may therefore picture to ourselves the Eduan host (*i.e.*, the followers of Sacrovir) marching forth under the arches of the eastern gate, the gate of St. Andrew." Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture Française*, vol. vii, pp. 314, 315, s.v. *Portes fortifiées*, says "celles d'Autun datant du iv^e ou v^e siècle."

generally adhered to. Of this fact we see a striking example in the arch of Constantine at Rome; the symmetry of the parts is admirable, but the best statues and medallions were taken from some building erected in the time of Trajan.¹ Again, one ought to guard against the tendency of local opinion towards exaggeration: biographers often deify their hero, and similarly the inhabitants of a town represent their ruins as much older than they really are. I should be disposed to assign the Gates of Autun to the year A.D. 293 or thereabouts, partly because Eumenius in several passages alludes to the reconstruction of the city after the Bagaudic rebellion. He mentions the large expenditure not only on public buildings, such as baths and temples, but also on private houses, and, which may interest us British antiquaries, he adds that workmen were brought from beyond the sea to execute these restorations.²

¹ These beautiful representations of scenes in Trajan's public and private life are described by Dr. Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, pp. 5, 6; cf. Nibby, *Roma Antica, Parte Prima*, pp. 444-446, 449-454.

² Eumenius, ii, 4. Ita que maximas pecunias, et totum, si res poscat, aerarium non templis modo ac locis publicis reficundis, sed etiam privatis domibus indulgent: nec pecunias modo, sed etiam artifices transmarinos. Traduction des Discours d'Eumène. Op. cit., p. 214, note 5. Eumène veut parler ici des ouvriers d'outre-mer que Constance envoya à Autun de la Bretagne, après l'avoir reconquise sur Allectus. The words *artifices transmarinos* are explained by reference to the Panegyric on Constantine by the same author, ch. xxi, Devotissima vobis civitas Æduorum ex hac Britannicæ facultate victoriæ plurimos, quibus illæ provinciæ redundabant, accepit artifices, et nunc extructione veterum domorum, et refectione operum publicorum, et templorum instauratione consurgit. Hence it seems probable that our compatriots were employed in erecting the monuments which we now admire at Autun.

The practical spirit of the Romans shows itself in the convenient arrangement of these gates, there being two large archways for the ingress and egress of carriages, and two smaller ones for foot-passengers. In the number of thoroughfares we may find another argument for dating these buildings at a late period: see

my Paper on the Antiquities of Tarragona, *Archæological Journal*, 1880, Vol. xxxvii, pp. 25, 26, note 4. Again, at the Porte St. André, the capitals of the pilasters are disproportionately small, and seem to have been taken from some earlier structure; this circumstance also indicates an age long subsequent to the Augustan.

Though there is a general resemblance between the gates of Arroux and St. André, they differ in some points; the order of the former is Corinthian, of the latter Ionic; moreover, at St. André the wings project, so that the entrances are in a recess: cf. Eumenius, *Gratiarum actio Constantino Augusto Flaviensium nomine*, c. viii, Quisnam ille tum nobis illuxit dies . . . cum . . . portas istius urbis intrasti? Quæ te habitu illo in sinum reducto, et procurentibus utrinque turribus, amplexu quodam videbatur accipere. These words probably refer to the Porte de Rome, which was similar in construction to that of St. André; Congrès Archéologique de France, séances générales tenues à Autun, à Chalon, en 1846, page 364. In the Congrès Scientifique de France, xli^e Session, à Autun, 1877, tome i. Rapport sur la Visite aux Murailles, aux Portes Romaines, etc., at pp. 52, 53, the engravings show the Gate of St. André as it appeared in 1799, and as it is now, after the restoration by M. Viollet-le-Duc in 1847. Further details may be learned from Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v, pp. 221-2, and Ad. Joanne's *Guide to Au-*

II. The Musée Lapidaire, located in an obscure corner of the town, is not less important than the well-known gates. But before we proceed to its contents the site deserves a passing notice. The chapel of St. Nicolas de Marchaux is so called from the Forum Marciale, but the name is not here, as in many cases, the only sign of antiquity, for traces have been found of a Roman road which extended from the Porte St. André to the grande route constructed by Agrippa, connecting Lyons with Boulogne-sur-Mer.¹ Excavations have brought to light Roman houses, and it seems almost certain that they were built after the siege of Autun in the time of Tetricus and the revolt of the Bagaudae, because the walls contain rows of bricks or bonding tiles, by which the Constantine period is distinguished. This feature is not so common at Autun as in our own country, and should be remarked as enabling us to fix a date approximately.

The series of divinities preserved in this Museum is so complete that we can comprehend at a glance the nature of the Polytheism that prevailed in Gaul under the Roman domination. But I would ask consideration for only two objects of this class at present.

The Deae Matres of Autun have an interest for us as an illustration of a subject conspicuous amongst the antiquities in our own Guildhall. These deities having been fully described by Mr. Roach Smith in his "Roman London" it is unnecessary to enter into details about them.² But I may remark that their occurrence in this

vergne, Morvan, Velay, Cévennes, pp. 130-1.

From Eumenius, *Oratio pro Instaurandis Scholis*, c. xvii, it has been plausibly conjectured that Glaucus was the architect employed by Constantius to direct the public works at Autun mentioned above.

¹ Dr. E. Bogros, *A travers le Morvand*, p. 198, speaking of this road, on which Autun and Amiens are situated, remarks that the Roman engineers were unwilling to encounter the difficulties presented by the mountainous Morvand, and on this account they did not attempt to continue the route in a straight line, but made a curve towards the east through Lucenay, Liernais, Saulien, Avallon, etc. For the roads of Agrippa in Gaul see Strabo, iv, 6, 11, p. 208, *Διοπερ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐντεύθεν (Λοιγύδουρον) τὰς ὁδοὺς ἔτεμε, τὴν διὰ τῶν*

Κεμμένων ὁρῶν μέχρι Σαντόνων καὶ τῆς Ἀκουιντίας, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήνον, καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν, τὴν πρὸς Βελλοάκοις καὶ Ἀμβιανοῖς, τετάρτην δ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναρβωνήτιν καὶ τὴν Μασσαλιωτικὴν παραλίαν. Comp. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. iv, p. 97, note 1.

² Pp. 33-45, with three engravings, and twelve inscriptions, six found in Great Britain and six in Germany. Plate VI, fig. 1, shows the Deae Matres standing; this group is at the British Museum in the room devoted to Romano-British Antiquities, which, being separated from other objects, can now be studied with much greater advantage than formerly. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vols. ii, iv, v, see indices. *Journal of the British Archaeol. Association*, vol. ii, pp. 239-255. *Archaeologia*, vol. xlii, Part I,

part of France is what we might expect *à priori*. They were worshipped chiefly in the Northern provinces of the Roman Empire—in Germany, Gaul, and Britain; though some examples have been found on the other side of the Alps.¹ How universal this cult was in the neighbourhood of the Rhine may be inferred from Brambach's "*Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*," where the list under the head of *Matronae* occupies nearly one column of a quarto page.² The *Deae Matres* were generally represented in a sitting posture with baskets of fruit upon their knees, and corresponded to the *Lares*, *Penates*, and *Genii* of the Romans; on the other hand they seem to be the originals from which the fairies of the Middle Age were derived.

Monsr. Bulliot has favoured me with the following account of one of the groups at Autun:—

The *Matres* hold, one, the mappa to receive the child; the second, the child wrapped up on her knees; the third a patera and a cornucopiae on the shoulder, to bestow on it the blessings of life.³

Epona, the protectress of horses, is another deity in this collection, and arrests our attention, because among all the devices on Gallic coins the horse is repeated most frequently, as may be seen in the *Atlas of Plates* that accompanies Lelewel's "*Type Gaulois ou Celtique*."⁴ This goddess is known to us from "*Juvenal, Satire VIII*," v. 157:—

"Jurat

Solam Eponam et facies olida ad præsepia pictas."

The Roman profligate *Lateranus*⁵ swears by *Epona* alone and faces painted on the reeking stalls.

pp. 171-186, Notice of a Monument at Pallanza, North Italy, dedicated to the *Matrone*, by Mr. W. M. Wylie. Dr. Bruce, *Roman Wall*, edit. 4^{to} pp. 403-406; and *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Index I, Names and Attributes of Deities, s.v. *Matres*. Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, c. iv, s. 37, *Matres, Matronæ, Campestræ*, cet. vol. I, Nos. 2074-2097.

¹ Orelli, op. cit., vol. i, No. 1391. Asculi, ubi . . . *Matres illæ in Gallicanis saxis frequentes colebantur*.

² P. 381, Ind. iv, Di, *deæ*.

³ As the representation of the *Deae Matres* at Autun is executed in a rude style, and as I have failed to find anything elsewhere corresponding with

Monsr. Bulliot's description of the first and second figures, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Franks and Mr. Roach Smith in thinking that it is, to some extent at least, imaginary.

⁴ See especially *Tableaux i* and *vi*, *Planche x*, *Chevaux*; *Races symboliques*, oblongues, accourcies: Text, p. 188, chap. 81, *Race des chevaux Eduens*. Cf. Barthélemy, *Numismatique Ancienne*, *Gaulles*, pp. 86-101, and *Planches*, Nos. 349-399.

⁵ In this *Satire* vv. 147, 151, the later editors, Heinrich, Otto Jahn and Mayor, read *Lateranus*, but *Ruperti* has *Damasippus*.

Our information on this subject is not altogether derived from pagan sources. The Jews, as we learn from Tacitus, had been reproached for worshipping an ass; a similar accusation was brought against the Christians, who paid their adversaries in their own coin, reminding them of Epona.¹ Some derive Epona from ὄνος, and say that she was the patron of asses, but the best authorities connect the name with some archaic form of equus which would nearly approach the Greek ἵππος.²

From the evidence of inscriptions we gather that Epona, like the Deae Matres, was more honoured in the north than in the south of Europe; her name occurs on the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus in Britain, at Salodurum (Solothurn) in Switzerland, in Carinthia, at Pinoberg near the Danube, and at Trèves.³ The last example is one among many points of resemblance between this city and Autun.

Deities such as these had a stronger hold than the gods of Olympus on the popular mind, because they were supposed to interfere more directly in every day life, and thus came home to men's business and bosoms.⁴ At

¹ Tertullian, *Apologia*, c. xvi, vol. i, p. 177, ed. Oehler. Vos tamen non negabitis et iumenta omnia et totos cantherios cum suâ Eponâ coli a vobis.

² Orelli, *Insc. Lat.*, vol. i, p. 330, note on No. 1793, adopts, I think incorrectly, the former etymology. *Epus* was probably the archaic form of *equus*; it occupies the middle place between the latter and the Greek word ἵππος. We have here the interchange between K and P, QU being pronounced by the Romans as K or the hard C; so in Wagner's edition of Heyne's *Virgil*, where an attempt is made to restore the old orthography, *cus* is printed for *equus*. Epona is analogous to Bellona, Pomona and Orbona; for the last v. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.*, iii, 25, with Davies's note: cf. Dawson and Rushton, *Latin Terminational Dictionary*, p. 22. It may be urged, however, as an objection to this explanation that the penultima of Epona is short, while in the names just mentioned it is long. Mr. C. W. King in a memoir, *On Two Etruscan Mirrors with Engraved Reverses*, contributed to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, says that "the word ΠΕΟΣ is affixed to

a drawing of the Wooden Horse in a mirror-picture of the Taking of Troy." We have here the origin of Epona, who was the "guardian of stables, until her prerogatives were usurped by the clownish St. Antony."

There is a figure of Epona in the Collection Auguste Dutuit; *Antiquités, Médailles et Monnaies, objets divers exposés au Palais du Trocadéro en 1878*; Catalogue, p. 12, No. 15. "La déesse protectrice des chevaux et des écuries est assise de côté sur un cheval harnaché, marchant à droite." Copious references for this subject are also given.

Haackermann in his edition of Juvenal, loc. cit. (*Variae Lectiones*, p. 12) reads *Solan Hipponam*, but Rupertus justly remarks "*metri leges adversantur.*"

³ Gruter, *Insc. Rom.*, p. lxxxvii, Nos. 4, 5, 6. Orelli, *Insc. Lat.*, Nos. 402, 1792-4, with Supplement by Henzen, Nos. 5238-9 and 5804. Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 407; Lapidar, *Septentr.* No. 308. Johann Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, p. 85.

⁴ Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 35.

Autun Epona is seated on a mare, whose foal serves her for a footstool.¹

The antiquary, ere he leaves the shed in which so many relics of architecture and sculpture are deposited, will pause for a moment to view the fragments of a marble sarcophagus.² It once contained the body of Brunehaut; it recalls to memory her chequered fortunes, atrocious crimes, and cruel death—the darkest deed of that most tragic time;³ but it also reminds us that, unlike her rival, the barbarous Fredegonde, she favoured art and literature, promoted material progress, preserved the monuments and followed the traditions of Rome. As we stand by this coffin and think of her fall, we seem, as it were, to look into the grave of Roman civilization.⁴

Brunehaut erected so many public buildings in different parts of France that the Chronicler thought posterity would scarcely believe them to be the work of one woman, who reigned only over Austrasia and Burgundy. But her name is particularly associated with Autun, because she founded there the Abbey of Saint Martin, whom she had chosen for her patron. This church, as her own mausoleum, she decorated with beautiful timber work, with marble columns, and with mosaics, so that here again the influence of Roman art may be traced.⁵

¹ In the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi, p. 59, Epona appears on horseback, holding a patera and cornucopie. The *Pfahlgraben*: an Essay towards a Description of the Barrier of the Roman Empire between the Danube and the Rhine, by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin, reprinted from the *Archæologia Æliana*, 1882: at pp. 34, 35, there is a notice of a bas-relief of Epona, “discovered near Oehringen; . . . she sits with long draperies in a tranquil attitude. . . . Four horses are in motion behind her, two towards the right hand and two towards the left;” see Plate IV. The position of Oehringen (*Vicus Aurelii*), which is about twelve miles from Heilbronn, is marked in the Sketch Map of the *Limes Imperii Romani*, p. 4, and in the map of the *Pfahlgraben* from the Bavarian frontier to the Main, p. 18.

² “Ces débris ont été publiés par M. Bernard Jovet dans l’*Illustration* :” *Congrès Scientifique de France*, 1877, tome i, p. 47, note.

³ Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, tome ii, p.

697, B. *Qui Brunehildem equo indomito alligatum, imo videlicet pede ac brachio cum coma capitis, dirumpi precepit, eo quod decem Reges Francorum interfici fecisset, &c.* Brunehaut was eighty years of age, when she suffered these tortures.

⁴ H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, vol. ii, p. 106 and especially p. 123; Guizot, *L’Histoire de France racontée à mes petits enfants*, vol. i, pp. 157-161; Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. 1, note k, p. 5, note vii, p. 117, and pp. 156, 291 (11th edition, 1856).

⁵ Dom Bouquet, *ubi sup.*, tom. iii, p. 118 A, *Apud Augustodunum aliam (ecclesiam) sancto dedicari jussit Martino: ib.* 460 B, *Præ cunctis tamen istud exulterat Coenobium (sancti Martini), in quo suæ sepulture mausoleum habere decreverat.*

We have noticed above the connection of Autun with British History; the life of Brunehaut presents another point of contact, as Augustine, the Apostle of England, was received at her court. Gregory the Great sent the pallium to Syagrius, Bishop of Autun, on account

But while the objects above mentioned are interesting from local, and even national, points of view, another in the same collection appeals to a still wider circle. I refer to the famous Christian inscription, which has exercised the ingenuity of the learned in several countries, our own included.¹ It presents many difficulties, caused partly by its fragmentary condition and partly by figurative language, which admits of various interpretations. Our study of this monument on the present occasion must be archaeological rather than theological; but I may observe in passing that some writers have handled the subject unfairly, *e.g.*, one has placed the date too early,² another has drawn an inference from a word conjecturally supplied.³ The latter method is like founding an argument upon some modern restoration of an antique statue—a mistake into which the superficial observer may easily fall.

I subjoin a restoration of the text by Kirchoff from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, together with a literal translation.

of his services in protecting the mission of Augustine.

Guizot, *loc. cit.*, p. 159, says that the Roman roads soon took and long kept the name of *chaussées de Brunchaut*; but her tradition still lingers in Germany also: T. Hodgkin, *Pfahlgaben*, p. 67; "On the summit of the Feldberg itself (the highest mountain in the whole Taunus range), about 100 yards from the hotel, is an enormous mass of Grauwacke rocks, known as 'Brunchildis Bette,' from some legend of the Queen of Austrasia having once taken refuge there from her pursuers." Comp. an Article by the same writer in *Macmillan's Magazine*, June, 1882, entitled *The Roman Camp of the Saalburg*, pp. 126-7.

The old chroniclers used the form *Brunchildis*, as we find *michi* for *mili* in early editions, *e.g.* Beriah Botfield, *Prefaces to the Editions Principes*, p. 1. S. Hieronymus in *Biblia Latina*, Moguntiae, 1455 fol. *Frater Ambrosius tua michi munuscula perferens*.

¹ For the literature of this subject, which is now voluminous, see the references prefixed to Kirchoff's article in the *Corp. Inscript. Græc.*, tom. iv, No. 9,890; and the Rev. Wharton Booth *Marriott's Testimony of the Catacombs* and of other Monuments of Christian Art from the second to the eighteenth

century, 1870. Mr. Marriott devotes a large portion of his book to the Autun Inscription, but Kirchoff's account of it is, I think, the most satisfactory. Many writers have discussed it under the influence of a strong theological bias which has warped their judgment, so that we cannot accept their conclusions implicitly.

² Cardinal Pitra assigns it to the period between A.D. 160 and A.D. 202: Marriott, p. 132.

³ Padre Garrucci reads v. 8, Ἐν εἰλω (or εἰδω), Μήτηρ σε κ.τ.λ., but only the second syllable of *Μήτηρ* appears in the original. He finds here a prayer to the Virgin Mary.

Dr. Caulfield has directed my attention to another case, where the name of the Virgin Mary seems to have been introduced improperly. Conrad Mannert, the editor of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Preface, p. 19, speaking of two figures on the site of Antioch in Segmentum X, makes the following remark: *Sanctam Mariam simul et Jesum Christum indicari vix est dubium*. On the contrary, we have here an allegorical representation of Antioch and the River Orontes derived from coins, which were miniature repetitions of a celebrated group by the sculptor Eutychides. Below these figures in the *Tabula* several arches of a bridge

“ΙΧΘΥΟC ΙΟΓΓΕΝΟCΗΤΟΡΙCΕΜΝΩ
 ΧΡΗCΕΛΑΒΩ ΝΑΜΒΡΟΤΟΝΕΝΒΡΟΤΕΟΙC
 ΘΕCΠΕCΙΩΝΥΔΑΤΩΝΤΗΝCΗΝΦΙΛΕΘΑΛΠΕΟΥΤΥΧΗ
 ΤΔΑCΙΝΑΕΝΑΟΙCΠΛΟΥΤΟΔΟΤΟΤΟCΟΦΙΗC
 CΩΤΗΡΟCΔΑΓΙΩΝΜΕΛΙΗΔΕΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΒΡ
 ΕCΘΙΕΠΙΝΕ ΩΝΙΧΘΥΝΕΧΩΝΠΑΛΑΜΑΙC
 ΙΧΘΥC ΜΑΡΑΙΛΑΙΩΔΕCΠΟΤΑCΩΤΕΡ
 ΕΥΕΙΔΟΙ ΤΗΡΕΛΙΤΑΖΟΜΕΦCΤΟΘΑΝΟΝΤΩΝ
 ΑCΧΑΝΔΙΕ ΤΕΡΤΩΜΩΚ ΡΙCΜΕΝΕΘΤΜΩ
 CΥΝΜ ΟΙCΙΝΕΜΟΙCΙΝ
 Ι ΜΝΗCΕΟΠΕΚΤΟΡΙΟΤΟ.”¹

“Ιχ[θ]ύς ὁ[υ]ρανίον ἄγ[ι]ων γένος, ἥτορι σε[μ]νῶ
 χρῆσ[ε]· λ[α]βῶ[ν] πηγῇ[ν] ἄμβροτον ἐν βροτεί[σ]ι
 θεσπ[ε]σίῳ ἐν ἰδ[ά]τ[ω]ν τῇν σῆν, φίλε, θ[ά]λπ[ε]ο ψυχ[ῇ]ν
 ὑδ[α]σιν ἀεναίσις πλουτοδότον σοφίης·
 σε[ω]τή[ρ]ος [δ'] ἄγ[ι]ων μ[ε]λ[ι] [ῆ]δ[ε] λάμβαν[ε] βρώσιν],
 εἰ[σ]θιε πιν[α]ίω[ν] ἰχθ[ύ]ν [ῆ]χων π[α]λάμα[ις].
 Ἰλ[α]β[ι], ἰχθ[ύ]ς ἐν γ[α]ρ Ἰ[ν] αλιλαίω, δέσποτα, σ[ω]τ[ῆ]ρ,²
 εἰ[δ]ῶ [ι]ν τῇρ. σε λιτάζομε, φῶ[ς] τὸ θανάτων.
 [Α]σ[χ]α[ν]δ[ι] [ν] δ[ι] [ε] π[α]τέρ, τῶμ[ω] κ[ε]χα[ρ]ισμ[ε]ν[ε] θ[ε]νμῶ
 σὺν μ[η]τρὶ γλυκερῇ καὶ ἀδελφεί[σ]ιν [ε]μοῖσιν
 ἰχθ[ύ]ς ἐν δέπν[ω] μνήσ[ε]ο Πεκτορίου.”

“Holy offspring of the heavenly Fish, cherish reverent feelings; having received, whilst among mortals, an immortal fount of divine waters, nourish thy soul, beloved one, with the ever-flowing waters of wealth-giving wisdom. And come take the honey-sweet food of the Saviour; eat hungering, having the Fish in thy hands. Be propitious, O Fish, for thou, O Lord, art a Saviour to the Galilean (*i.e.*, Christian), thou dost heal and prosper him, I supplicate Thee, Light of the dead. Father Aschandius, dear to my soul, with my sweet mother and my brethren, in the supper of the Fish remember Pectorius.”

The above copy of the inscription gives a better notion of the original than even the photograph prefixed to Mr. Marriott's dissertation, because the latter is very difficult to decipher. Moreover, in this case, I consider a close translation of the Greek most desirable, as otherwise the meaning may be obscured by an attempt to clothe ancient ideas in the phraseology of modern religious thought.

are distinctly marked. Similarly, a coin of Constantine struck at Trèves shows not only the gate, as mentioned in a preceding note, but also the bridge over the Moselle, a detail which M. Cohen has failed to notice. British Museum, Catalogue of Greek coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, p. 103, Plate Seleucidæ, XXVII, 5, 6; Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii, pp. 247, 248.

¹ Congrès Scient. de France, 1877, tome i, pp. 49, 50.

² Rossignol reads v. 7, thus :

Ἰχθὺς, χερ[σὶν] σ' ἦ[ρ]α· λιλαίω, δέσποτα σῶτ[ε]ρ.]

Mr. Marriott, following him, but with a slight variation, proposes :

Ἰχθυί χεῖρε ἄρα· λιλαίω, δέσποτα σῶτερ.

The word λιλαίω is an ingenious conjecture derived from Homer, *Odyssey*, A. v. 222, Ἄλλὰ φῶσδε τάχιστα λιλαίω, struggle to the light of day (Liddell and Scott). But we have here a twofold error : the initial letter of a word which is difficult to decipher bears a closer

It is impossible to assign an exact date to this monument, but we may safely accept the limits within which Kirchoff has placed it, viz., the introduction of Greek Christianity in the second century on the one hand, and the barbarian invasion of Gaul in the fifth century on the other.¹

Whatever ambiguity may reside in some expressions, the general meaning is quite clear. We have here an epitaph, and the person over whom it was erected speaks by it from his tomb. In the symbolical language of the period he exhorts Christians to remember their Baptism and to celebrate the Lord's Supper. He prays to Christ as the source of light and salvation; lastly, he implores his father, mother, and brothers to remember him when they partake of the Eucharist.²

The metrical arrangement of these lines deserves attention. Verses 1—6 are acrostic, and the initial letters form *ἰχθύς*; verses 1—6 are Elegiac, 7—10 hexameters, and 11 a pentameter, so that the irregularity of the whole composition shows a wide departure from classical models.

In this inscription unquestionably the most conspicuous word is *ἰχθύς*, which, besides the case already mentioned, occurs at least three, probably four times. Whether this emblem should be derived from the Phœnician Dagon, from devices on Greek money,³ from facts in Gospel

resemblance to the Γ of ΓΑΛΙΑΙΩ than to the Α of ΑΙΑΑΙΕΩ; and secondly, *ἀλῆσθαι* has not the meaning Rossignol assigns to it, viz., to approach. Kirchoff truly remarks, *ἀλῶν* verbum induxerunt (editores) Græcis prorsus incognitum notione præditum ea, qua ne medium quidem formam *ἀλῆσθαι* usam esse unquam satis constat. In Homer, loc. cit., motion is expressed rather by the termination *δε* of *φῶςδε* than by the verb, but in the Inscription no such particle occurs. For the meaning of *ἀλῆσθαι* comp., the references in Dammii Lexicon Homericum.

¹ Kirchoff assigns the inscription to the latter part of this period on account of the mode in which the letters are formed, "recentis notæ et noviciæ." Mr. Franks and Mr. Newton, who are experts in this matter, agree with Kirchoff's opinion. Rossignol thinks that these lines were composed in the latter half of the sixth century, because they show great ignorance with respect to orthography, syntax, and prosody. Dr. Pusey,

Doctrine of the Real Presence from the Fathers, pp. 337, 338, A.D. 1855, following Pitra, is in favour of an early date, and places the Autun inscription between Tertullian and St. Hippolytus: it stands No. 8 on his list of Testimonies, but it should be near No. 80. Since Dr. Pusey wrote, this monument has been viewed in the searching light of modern criticism; it must therefore "begin with shame to take the lowest room."

² We must bear in mind that Pectorius is a deceased person; hence the exhortation to remember him at the Lord's Supper expresses a sentiment similar to that with which our prayer for the Church militant concludes; "and we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear."

³ Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, art. Dagon, with four woodcuts: comp. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i, 462.

Dagon his name, sea-monster, upward man
And downward fish.

history, or from the phrase Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, we cannot now stay to inquire; at all events the fish is so well-known as a Christian type that I need not multiply examples. One may suffice: Garampius in his "Dissertatio de Nummo Argenteo Benedicti III, Pont. Max.," p. 150, has a woodcut of an ancient ring-cameo, on which an anchor is engraved with a fish on each side of the shank; the word IHCOYC appears above the device, and XPEICTOC (*sic*) below it.¹

As to the acrostic, S. Augustin, "De Civitate Dei," lib. xviii, c. xxiii, supplies us with a very similar instance taken from a Latin translation of a prophecy ascribed to the Erythræan Sibyl. In this passage the initial letters of the lines, with few exceptions form not the word Ἰχθὺς, but the whole phrase from which its use is said to come. This is written vertically on the left-hand side of the lines, and the form Χριστὸς is used for Χριστός, as in the cameo just mentioned. St. Augustin explains the symbolical meaning, loc. cit., si primas literas jungas, erit ἰχθὺς, id est, piscis, in quo nomine mystice intelligitur Christus.

Autun itself affords some apposite illustrations, with which Mr. Mariott seems not to have been acquainted. The museum at the Hôtel de Ville contains a glass vessel in the form of a fish. It is of the usual light green colour, ribbed, and about half a foot long. It was found in a Christian tomb, at a place called La-Croix-Saint-Germain, near Givry in the Department of Saône-et-Loire, and is supposed to have contained holy oil.² Mr. King has expressed his opinion that this object was not of an ecclesiastical character, but only an unguentarium in a fanciful shape, because the cross is not anywhere marked

For the coins of Cyzicus see Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 24, fig. 5, Caput leonis ad sinistram; infra piscis: *ib.*, fig. 19. Pisces duæ (*sic*).

¹ Raphaelis Fabretti . . Inscriptionum Antiquarum quæ in ædibus paternis asservantur Explicatio; Romæ, 1699, cap. viii, Monumenta Christianorum, pp. 568, 569, Nos. 123, 125, and especially 129, where we have the monogram of Christ, and a fish on one side of the inscription and an anchor on the other (Epistle to the Hebrews, vi, 19), ἄγκυραν ἔχομεν ψυχῆς ἀσφαλὴ τε καὶ βεβαίαν.

Fabretti gives references to Clemens Alexandrinus, Pædagog, lib. iii, and Aringhi, lib. v, c. 19, de Tobia, and lib. vi, c. 38, de Piscibus.

² Congrès Scient., 1877, vol. i, p. 166, woodcut, "Le poisson de verre du musée d'Autun," which is taken from the work of M. Eug. Pélégot, entitled, Le Verre, son histoire, sa fabrication; Paris, 1877, in 8°, p. 328.

The finder of this remarkable, perhaps unique, object was going to give it to his children as a toy, but M. Bulliot fortunately saved it from destruction.

upon it. However, this objection is perhaps not insurmountable, as the *provenance* indicates some Christian use. It should be particularly observed that this glass fish has a *handle*, and thus differs from figures of the same material and shape that have been found in Catacombs, and from others made of bronze that were probably given as tesserae to the newly baptized.¹

Again, the fish occurs very frequently in illuminations of manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Grand Séminaire; when the Bursar was showing me one of the eighth century he truly remarked, "toujours le poisson." To give a single example out of many, the initial L for Lucas is made by two fish, one eating the other. The Vesica Piscis is also very common. So in the Congrès Scientifique de France held at Autun the report of a visit to the Library of the Grand Séminaire appropriately begins with an initial letter imitated from a manuscript of the ninth century; it is S composed of a fish between two birds.²

¹ Mr. King thinks the Autun fish is of the same character as the bronze carp used for burning incense, which is figured by Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. vi, Pl. XCIV, Nos. 1, 2, described pp. 296, 297. The same writer in his *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. i, p. 56, note, says that "persons making vows to her (Atargitis), dedicated figures of fish in gold or silver (Athen, viii, 346)."

For the tesserae given at baptism see Dr. W. Smith's *Diet. of Christian Antt.*, vol. i, p. 674, s.v. Fish.

Mr. J. H. Parker in the *Glossary of Architecture* mentions a grotesque use of this symbol. On the seal of Aberdeen Cathedral the Nativity is represented, but instead of the infant Saviour a fish is lying in the manger!

At St Germain des Prés, Paris, we see on one of the capitals, which probably belong to an earlier church of the sixth century, two females like mermaids, each holding a fish, with other fishes below. This column is on the spectator's left as he enters by the great western door.

Early Christian Art loved to portray the fisherman Tobit and Jonah swallowed up by a monster of the deep; for the latter see the Skale Collection, Part I, *Ancient Glass* ii, E, Roman Glass with gilt decorations, pp. 50-52; fig. 71, remains of a shallow dish discovered near the Church of St. Ursula at Cologne.

² Mr. E. M. Thompson of the British Museum informed me that ichthyomorphic

initials are often found in Visigothic (Spanish), Merovingian (French), and Lombardic MSS., but that they are less common in Anglo-Saxon and Irish: *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, Paris, 1757, tome ii, Plates 17-19; Count A. de Bastard, *Peintures des Manuscrits Français, Ecritures Mérovingiennes; Early Drawings and Illuminations*, by Walter de Gray Birch and H. Jenner, 1879.

Within the Vesica Piscis our Lord usually appears seated on a rainbow; e.g. Queen Mary's Psalter, British Museum Royal Manuscripts, 2 B vii, fol. 3b. No. 603, fol. 1 of the Harley MSS. shows the Trinity in the Vesica which is rare; God the Father embraces the Son, and supports a bird emblematic of the Holy Ghost.

Vol. xix, pp. 353-368, of the *Archæologia*, contains Observations on the use of the Vesica Piscis in the Architecture of the Middle Ages and Gothic Architecture, by the Rev. Thomas Kerrieh, with fifteen plates.

I learn from Dr Günther that in some fish, e.g. the pike, the air-bladder (vesica aëria) is a pointed oval. Some fish have it single, others double. This must not be confounded with the vesica urinaria.

The fish is said to symbolize our Lord, because it does not become salt as it passes through the briny deep; so He lived without contamination in the midst of a sinful world. Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte Christiana*, 1881, vol. i, p. 154, lib. iii, cap. ii, Il Pesce e la Croce,

This inscription may be also considered from a totally different point of view, viz., as a proof of strong Greek influence, where at first sight we should not expect it—in a comparatively obscure city of France. But closer examination will enable us to account for the language of this document, and for the remarkable peculiarities of its style. These consist in a singular mixture of Homeric phraseology with theological expressions derived from Irenæus or the missionaries who succeeded him.

In the first place the course of trade, which we know from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, would greatly tend to promote the use of the Greek language in the district where Autun is situated. The former writer says that tin was brought from Britain over land through Gaul to the Rhone, and that the journey occupied thirty days.¹ Strabo describes the great lines of traffic from Marseilles and Lyons in a northerly direction; the eastern branch followed the valley of the Dubis (Doubs), the western that of the Arar (Saône); goods were thence conveyed by land (*πεζεύεται*) to the Seine, and down that river to the ocean. Augustodunum, if not on the direct route, was very near the communication between the rivers Saône and Seine.² Hence it appears that this city was connected at an early date, and for a long time with Marseilles, which was not only a great commercial

quotes Omelia 39 di Teofane Cerameo, *Θεοφάνης κεραμεύς*, edit. Lutet. Paris, 1644, p. 176. *Τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς ἀμαρτίας ἐμεινεν ἀγευστος, ὅν τρόπον ὁ ἰχθύς τῆς θαλαττίας ἄλμης τερεῖται ἀμέτοχος.*

The collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis contains a curious gem which is early Christian work, and supposed to belong to the period of Honorius. A ship is engraved upon it, manned by four persons, the Saviour being at the stern, and St Peter (probably) at the prow, hooking the mystic fish; there are two figures amidships, one has caught a fish, the other is handling a net; the sail and mast form an image of the Cross. IHX in the exergue perhaps express the title ΙΧΘΥΣ. This description is taken from the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, vol. v.

Dean Stanley, Christian Institutions, Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects, third edition, 1882, pp. 50-52, has some remarks on fish as a part of the primitive celebration of the Lord's Supper. He speaks of ὄψον as meaning fish exclusively;

but it signifies anything eaten with bread as a relish: compare the use of the Latin opsonium and opsonare. He also says that "bread and fish went together, like bread and cheese or bread and butter in England." This statement is incorrect. In the South of Europe fruit and vegetables usually go with bread, and oil takes the place of butter, because for a great part of the year there is no pasture. The ancient writers generally speak of fish as a luxury: Mr. C. W. King has reminded me of Horace, Satires, ii, 2, 120.

Bene erat, non piscibus urbe petitis,
Sed pullo atque hædo.

¹ Diodor. Sic., v, 22, Περὶ διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας ὥς τριάκοντα, κατὰ γουσον ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ φορτία πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ.

² Strabo, iv, i, 14, Ὁ δ' Ἀραρ ἐκδέχεται (τὸν Ῥοδανὸν) καὶ ὁ Δοῦβις ὁ εἰς τοῦτον ἐμβάλλων, ζῆτα πεζεύεται μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοᾶνα ποταμοῦ, κἀντὺθεν ἤδη καταφέρεται εἰς τὸν ᾠκεανὸν καὶ τοὺς Ληξοβίου καὶ Καλέτους, ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐλάττων ἡμερησίου δρόμος ἐστίν.

emporium, but a seat of Greek art and learning, that radiated throughout the neighbouring countries.¹ Professor Boyd Dawkins has explained this subject by a Map, showing the principal Trade-routes from the Mediterranean and the distribution of Tin and Amber; "Early Man in Britain," p. 467, Fig. 168; cf. p. 476. We may also observe that the statements of ancient writers are abundantly confirmed by the evidence of coins. Under the head of Autun, Barthélemy, "Numismatique Ancienne," mentions among the devices the Massaliot Diana, whose image, as Strabo tells us, was like one on the Aventine.²

The establishment of the Moenian schools must also have powerfully contributed to the use of the Greek language. The Romans were not mere conquerors, like the Turks, but wherever they went they civilized. Accordingly it was part of the wise policy of Augustus to diffuse Italian culture amongst the newly-subjugated Gauls. He seems to have selected as a place of instruction the hill that bore his name, Augustodunum; and we know that under Tiberius the noblest youths of the country resorted thither to cultivate liberal studies. Autun, in fact, was a university town frequented by numerous alumni, but they did not amount to forty thousand, as some have represented through misunderstanding a passage in Tacitus.³ With respect to one

¹ Strabo, iv, i, 5, ἐξημερουμένων δ' αὖτε τῶν ὑπερκειμένων βαρβάρων . . . ὥσθ' ἡ πόλις μικρὸν μὲν πρότερον τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνείτο παιδευτήριον, καὶ φιλέλληνας κατεσκεύαζε τοὺς Γαλάτας, ὥστε καὶ τῇ συμβόλῳ αἱ Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν. Cf., Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. iv, p. 100, edit. 8vo. Tacitus relates that Agricola was educated at Marseilles, locum Græcia comitate et provinciali parcimonia mistum ac bene compositum, Vita Agricole, c. 4: see also Annals, iv, 44, and Orelli's notes on both passages.

The coinage of the surrounding Gallie tribes shows the influence which Marseilles exercised over them: Hunter's Catalogue, tab. 36, figs. 1-16, enables us to compare the Greek types with the barbarous imitations.

Cæsar bears testimony to the diffusion of the Greek language in Helvetia and Gaul; Bell. Gall., i, 29, In castris Helvetiorum tabule reperte sunt, literis Græcis confectæ. Plautides, in his para-

phrase uses the same word, Ἑλληνιστί, as occurs in Strabo, loc. cit. Cæsar, B. G., vi, 14, says that the Druids wrote Greek characters for most purposes.

Cf., Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. i, p. 62, Gallia, Prolegom., s. 1.

² Numism. Anc., p. 36, Gallia Lugdunensis, ÆDUI (Autun). Rollin et Feuillant, Catalogue de Médailles de l'Ancienne Grèce, pp. 35, 36, No. 325, Buste pharètre de Diane à gauche, and Nos. 326—333 bis, and 336.

³ This error, which is really amazing, has been repeated by Mr. Roach Smith in his Collectanea Antiqua vol. v, p. 219, Art. Autun. The words of Tacitus, Ann., iii, 43, are "Quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris, quæque alia venantibus tela sunt;" on which Orelli truly remarks "Eduorum, non ut Ryckius et Chateaubriand (Martyrs, L. vii), mire accipere, adolescentium, qui Augustoduni liberalibus studiis operam

branch of their education, geography, we have the statement of the orator Eumenius, confirmed by a discovery made recently. He says that youths could contemplate in the porticoes all seas and lands, the situation of places distinguished by their names, the sources and embouchures of rivers, the sinuosity of coasts, and the circuit of the ocean. This passage was elucidated by a fragment of a marble map dug up at Autun; it exhibited part of Italy in which several cities were marked, and was doubtless one of the charts to which Eumenius alluded.¹

Lastly, Christianity co-operated with the causes already mentioned to promote the study of Greek. Irenæus, a hearer of Polycarp at Smyrna, became bishop of Lyons, and wrote his treatise *Against Heresies* in this language. Though the greater part of his book is extant only in a Latin translation, Mr. Marriott has been able to show by careful comparison that in at least three passages the Autun inscription reflects the thoughts and style of this early Father.² But the case of Irenæus does not stand alone; for Benignus, the Apostle of Burgundy, who suffered martyrdom at Dijon, and his companions Andochius and Thyrsus, are also said to have come from Smyrna.³

dabant." Even in the Middle Ages we never find any University attended by so large a number of pupils. In Paris, "at the death of Charles VII in 1453, it amounted to 25,000; and when Joseph Scaliger was a student, it had reached 30,000." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 7th edition, Art. Universities, vol. 21, pp. 485, 488. And one may suspect some exaggeration in these statements, as Cambridge in this year, 1882, has less than 3,000 resident undergraduates. For the numbers at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, cf. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. iii, pp. 421, 422 (11th edition).

The old reputation of Autun, as a seat of learning, is now worthily sustained by the Grand et Petit Séminaire, which are magnificent educational establishments. A brief account of their valuable manuscripts and other collections will be found in Ad. Joanne, *Auvergne*, etc., edit., 1880, p. 133.

¹ Eumen. *Pro Instaurandis Scholis*, c. xx; Traduction par Landriot et Rochet, p. 125. Roach Smith, *Collect. Ant.* v. 224 "This precious geographical monument was again consigned to the earth whence it had been taken, and worked into the foundation of a building!"

The etymology of the word *Manian* is uncertain; some derive it from *mania*, others from the proper name *Menius*: Traduction, op. cit., Notice Historique, c. vi, p. 28, note. Congrès Archéol. de France, Séances Générales tenues à Autun, 1846, pp. 415-423, Ecoles Mèniennes, Notice abrégée sur leur fondation—leur emplacement—leur célébrité—leur destruction—leur reconstruction; par M. L'Abbé Rochet. Tacitus, edit. Justus Lipsius, Antverpiæ, mdcvii, p. 90, note 98; p. 520, Excursus, H. The reference to Lipsius is incorrectly given at p. 419, Congrès Archéol.

² Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, iv, 38, vol. i, p. 284, edit. Venet; *Βράμα ζωής*: iv, 39, p. 286, *præsta autem ei cor tuum molle et tractabile*: v. 22, p. 320, *esurientes quidem sustinere eum quæ a Deo datur escam*.

³ At Dijon the Cathedral is named St. Benigne. Lazarus, mentioned in the Gospel, is stated to have been Bishop of Marseilles; he is the patron saint at Autun, and the annual fair held there in September is called *La foire de St Ladre*—a corruption of Lazare.

Moreover, the very name of the place in which the inscription was found indicates Greek influence. Its *provenance* is a cemetery, originally Pagan but afterwards Christian, and called by the inhabitants a *Polyandre*. This term is used by the local historians and antiquaries as one with which the Autunois are quite familiar; they have evidently retained it from classical antiquity, but, as far as I am aware, no other city in France has done the same.¹

III. The Ceramic inscriptions look unpromising, because they present us with little more than a list of obscure names, occurring on fragments of slight intrinsic value; but we shall soon find that these records lead to many conclusions, historical, philological, and ethnographical.² The investigation has also a special interest for us here, because many objects of this class found at Autun are analogous to those preserved in our National Collection and in the museum belonging to the Corporation of London. Whoever wishes to study potters' marks will do well to peruse a very elaborate essay by Monsieur Harold de Fontenay, entitled "*Inscriptions Céramiques Gallo-Romaines découvertes à Autun, &c.*" and contained in the third volume of the "*Memoirs of the Æduan Society*," pp. 331-449. A dissertation is prefixed to the catalogue, which is divided into the following branches:—1, Samian pottery; 2, black-glazed pottery; 3, lamps; 4, bowls; 5, amphoræ; 6, tiles and antefixa; 7, graffiti; 8, inscriptions à la barbotine;³ 9, inscriptions

¹ *Κοιμητήριον*, whence cimetière, is the Christian word for burial place, "frequens nomen apud priscos historic ecclesiasticæ scriptores," Suicer. *Πολυάνδριον* occurs in the later classical writers, Ælian, Dionysius, Strabo, Pausanias, and Plutarch. For the distinction between these words see Stephens' Thesaurus, edit. Didot. Joseph Rosny, *Histoire d'Autun*, 1802, p. 233, says "*poliandres* (sic) ou cimetières publiques" without further explanation. The word is local in *this* sense. Littré only gives the following meanings: 1. Having many husbands. 2. (As a botanical term) belonging to polyandria, a class in the Linnean system.

² Roach Smith, *Collect. Ant.* I, 148-166, Plates I. and LI; this memoir includes copious lists of Potters' Marks discovered in London. Illustrations of Roman London, by the same author, pp.

101-108; Potters' names in the Museum of Douai are mentioned at p. 107.

³ Alexandre Brongniart, *Traité des Arts Céramiques*, vol. i, p. 107, explains this term: "la pâte, amenée par décantation de l'eau surabondante à cet état de bouillie qu'on nomme barbotine." Ib. p. 425, the process is fully described. Cf. Atlas, Pl. XI "Suite du façonnage par coulage. Colonnes, tubes, cornues, anses"; Pl. XXIX, fig. 1 "Fragment d'un vase sphéroïde, à reliefs d'anneaux modelés en barbotine." Brongniart says that the abbreviation M stands for *manu* or *magnariis*. The latter explanation seems to me very improbable. *Magnarius*, a wholesale dealer, is a rare word which occurs in Appuleius and in Inscriptions. Dr Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, edit. 1873, p. 563 "The last mode of fabric consisted in laying upon the general body of the

on glass; 10, on metal (bronze and lead); 11, on schist or boghead. After the potters' names initial letters are added to indicate the collections at Autun; the part of the city from which each specimen came is noted, if it could be ascertained; places in France and other countries affording the same or similar inscriptions are also mentioned. As an appendix to this long and instructive list, the author has given an account of the incomplete stamps which it was impossible to arrange alphabetically, and of patterns which were not accompanied by letters (anépi-graphes.) The treatise ends with geographical and bibliographical indices, that will greatly facilitate reference to many important works on ceramic art amongst the ancients. At the end of the volume there are forty-three Plates containing 624 figures. I have described this memoir at some length, because the valuable publications of the *Ædun Society* are not generally known among us.

It is impossible to discuss all the details which these engravings supply, but we may remark that F, G, L, N, O, S, are often formed in a peculiar manner, and that many letters are connected by ligatures: attention must be directed to these features, in order to read the inscriptions accurately. Sometimes the double I is used for E, *e.g.*, COCCILIANI. M., LICINVS FII, PATIIRNOS.¹ Elsewhere COCCEIANI occurs, which proves the use of II for E beyond dispute. DVENOVILLAVNVS, VOSH(NOS), VIIRVLAMIVM, ADDIIDOMAROS, are examples of the same practice, derived from ancient British coins; and similarly in the series of Gallic medals, we find on a reverse TASGIITHIOS for TAS-GETIVS.²

vase some clay in a very viscous state, technically called *barbotine*, either with a pipe or a little spatula in the form of a spoon, and with it following out the contours of the branches of olives or laurel, animals with thin limbs, etc." There are many specimens in the provincial museums of France, *e.g.* Boulogne-sur Mer and Soissons. That of Amiens is rich in pottery. The manner in which fragments of Samian ware are exhibited deserves special notice; they are attached to a pyramid placed in the centre of an apartment, so that the visitors can see them much better than if they were in glass cases.

† For "poteries décorées en *barbotine*"

in the Museum at Autun, *see* De Fontenay, *Mémoires de la Société Educenne*, Nouvelle Série, tome iii, p. 422, Nos. 591-598, Planches xxxiv-xxxvi.

According to Littré *barbotine* is "bouillie pour coller les garnitures des poteries de terre," but this definition is evidently inadequate.

¹ *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 160 sq., my Paper on Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo, which gives references to Torremuzza, *Siciliæ Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio*, 1784, and to Salinas, *Catologo del Museo dell'ex-Monastero di S. Martino delle Scale*, 1870.

² Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, pp.

If we compare the list of potters whose red-glazed ware has been discovered at Autun with those of Roman-London, we shall observe that in many cases the names are identical. Taking the instances under the letter A, we have the following common to both places:—Acutus, Albanus, Albus, Amandus, Aquitanus, Andacus, Attilianus. Atticus. It had been inferred from the resemblance in shape, material, and decoration, that vases of this kind were imported into Britain from Gaul. As the latter country preceded our own in civilization, and contains remains of ancient potteries where the existing specimens were manufactured, there can be little doubt concerning the course of trade; but the repetition of Gallic names in England corroborates the other arguments. The abundance of Samian ware found in London shows the commercial importance of our metropolis at an early period, and illustrates the account of it given by Tacitus, who says that it was frequented by great numbers of merchants—words no less applicable now than when they were written nearly eighteen hundred years ago.¹

As might be expected from the proximity of Burgundy to Auvergne, many potters' names which we meet with at Autun occur also in valley of the Allier. The most common at the former place are ATEIVS, LICINVS, XANTHVS, MODESTVS, PRIMVS, CANTVS; four of these are included in Monsieur Tudot's "List of Marks" from the latter District, re-printed by Mr. Roach-Smith in his article on "Romano-Gaulish Fictilia."² A comparison of Ceramic products with coins affords similar results, PISTILLVS is repeated eighteen times on the Graffiti of Autun, and

262, 263, 266, 258, especially 259, 328, 339, 372, and Fairholt's admirable engravings appended to this work.

Tasgetius is a chief of the Carnutes mentioned by Cesar, *Bell. Gall.* v. 25; et. Rollin et Fournier, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, p. 21, No. 244.

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 33, *Londinium . . . copia negotiatorum et comæatuum. maxime celebre*. This passage seems to be imitated in a letter written by the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of the Uni-

versity of Cambridge, A.D. 1575, opposing Sir Thos. Gresham's intention to found a University for London: "*Suis commoditatibus Londinium, portu amplissimo, mercatu omnium rerum celeberrimo . . . fruatur ac gaudeat.*"

A full account of the potters' marks found in London is supplied by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Insec. *Britannicæ Latine*, edit. Hübner, cap. lxxxix, *Supellex Cretacea*, § *Vasculis variis, patellis et similibus impressa*, pp. 249-295.

² *Collect. Ant.* vi, 71-75.

PIXTILOS is well known from medals as a chief of the Arverni.¹

Lastly Monsieur de Fontenay thinks he has discovered, by minute examination of the forms of letters in the stamps, some traces of the employment of moveable characters ; if this is really so, fragments of earthenware that seem very insignificant would assume great importance, as exhibiting a near approach made by the Ancients to the modern art of printing.²

(To be continued.)

¹ De Fontenay, *ubi sup.*, Inscriptions tracées avant la cuisson, pp. 410-419 ; five Gallic coins bearing the name of Pixtilos are copied on p. 418. Cf. Rollin et Feuarent, *Catal. de Médailles de la Gaule*, p. 11, Chefs Arvernes, No. 141 ; p. 24, sq, Chef Aulerke, Nos. 281-289.

² The full title of De Fontenay's Memoir, quoted above, is *Inscriptions Céramiques Gallo-Romaines découvertes à Autun, suivies des Inscriptions sur verre, bronze, plomb et schiste de la même époque trouvées au même lieu.*

TRANSCFERENCE OF ALSACE TO FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.¹

By JAMES HEYWOOD, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, at Lutzen, in 1632, Bernard, Duke of Weimar, commanded the Saxon army, fighting against the Imperialists in Germany. The Duke of Weimar was unsuccessful in the battle of Nordlingen, 1633, and his losses were made up in 1634, by a treaty concluded at Paris, under which France engaged to maintain 12,000 men, Germans or others, under the command of a German prince. Several towns in the Black Forest were taken by Bernard, and in 1638, with the aid of the French General Guébriant, the Duke of Weimar obtained possession of the fortress of Old Breisach, in the Brisgau.

Cardinal Richelieu, the prime minister of Louis XIII, sent special instructions on this occasion to General Guébriant to inquire in the most polite manner from Duke Bernard, if in his opinion the French, who had contributed to the conquest of Old Breisach, should have a share in the glory of preserving that important military position.

Guébriant was further requested to suggest the appointment of a French governor of Old Breisach, and to propose an arrangement by which two-thirds or at least one-half of the garrison should consist of French soldiers, the other half being Germans; and the supreme direction of both divisions was mentioned as desirable to be vested in General Guébriant.

Old Breisach at that time was a very important fortress, and the Duke of Weimar could not possibly be pleased with the practical cession of such a German stronghold to the French. The Duke dined at Pontarlier shortly afterwards with Colonel Ehm, and after the banquet was taken ill. Some months subsequently he died. General d'Erlach, a friend of the Duke, and a Swiss by birth, succeeded Duke Bernard in the command of the German army, and with him were associated Colonel Ehm, the Count of Nassau, and Colonel Rosen. M. de Gonzenbach, in his memoir of General d'Erlach, describes a fresh nego-

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Carlisle Meeting, August 7th, 1882.

tiation between General Guébriant and General d'Erlach and their respective friends. The Weimarian German army was proposed to be transferred in single regiments to the service of France. Yearly pensions were to be granted to each of the colonels in addition to their usual pay.

The governor of Old Breisach was offered £4,000 if he promised to hold the fortress under the authority of France, and either £6,000 or £8,000 if he gave up the fortress altogether to the French Monarchy. An arrangement was also proposed for the governor of Freiburg. Protracted negotiations ensued, and as the soldiers in Old Breisach were in a state of uncertainty, and restless, a mutiny was apprehended in the Weimarian army if matters were not speedily concluded.

The Duke of Longueville assisted the French generals in the settlement of terms, and ultimately the governors of Old Breisach and Freiburg, in Brisgau, who had been in office under the Duke of Weimar, were allowed to remain in command of their respective fortresses, after taking an oath of allegiance to the King of France, and of obedience to the orders of the Lieutenant-General commanding the Royal troops in Germany. France obtained supreme control over the greater part of Alsace as well as over Old Breisach and Freiburg in Brisgau.

Vienna was the capital of the German Empire, and General Mercy, who commanded the Bavarian army, on the side of the Imperialists, marched towards the Rhine. He laid siege to the fortress of Freiburg in Brisgau, and took it. Marshal Turenne and the Duke d'Enghien commanded the French forces, and General d'Erlach, with the German Weimarian troops, aided the French cause. Fierce engagements ensued, terminating in the victory of the French. General Mercy retreated into Wirtemberg.

In 1648 the peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster. Alsace, as well as Old Breisach in Brisgau, were confirmed to France, but by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 Old Breisach was restored to Germany. Alsace remained as a province of France until the recent Franco-German war, when Alsace and Lorraine were added to the German empire. Both provinces now send representatives to the parliament meeting at Berlin.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT SANXAY IN FRANCE.

By the Rev. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.

At a time when the discoveries of further remains of the ancient baths at Bath are attracting so much notice, and public attention has been called to those interesting remains illustrative of the Roman history of Britain, it may not be undesirable to show what has been done in other countries in a similar direction, and especially in France, the ancient Gaul, which has a close relation to ancient Britain.

Having seen a notice of the discoveries at Sanxay, near Poitiers, I was induced to pay them a visit, and having been so fortunate as to form the acquaintance of the Père de la Croix who made the discovery, and also has been at the sole expense hitherto incurred in uncovering the remains, I obtained a note from him to his overseer of the works.

Sanxay is about 18 miles from Poitiers, by road, but there is a nearer approach from Lusignan, where one may go by rail, on the way from Poitiers to Niort. We found it more convenient, however, to drive there through a level country, slightly diversified by hill and woodland scenery, until coming near to the old town of Sanxay on the small river Vonne. Sanxay is situated in the domain of La Bois Sière, on a rising ground on the northern banks of the river, and the uncovered remains consist of a temple with the surrounding portico or ambulatory, a system of baths with a hostelry and a theatre. The façade of the temple measures about 250 feet English, and is approached by three flights of steps, one in the centre which is the widest, and one on each side; within the enclosure is the temple, having a triple colonnade in front, three rows of fluted pillars with richly ornamented capitals, only fragments of which remain. The total number of columns was 66—three rows of 22, and the temple is in the form of a Greek cross, with an octagonal *cella*, a good portion of which still remains entire; at the end of this, and on each side as well as in front, are projections which form the cross.

In the centre is the place where the statue of the Divinity was placed, which appears, from a well-cut fragment of inscription found on the site of the temple, to have been Apollo, corresponding to the Gaulish Hesus, or Esus. The place of sacrifice was in front of the *cella*, and on one side of it was a building, or stable, where the victims were placed before being offered. All this is distinctly laid open. Immediately below the place of sacrifice is a fine drain, 6 feet in height, to carry off the water used in cleansing the temple and its surroundings, and also a large reservoir which supplied the adjacent baths as well as the temple.

The peculiarity of the temple is the form, unlike that of any other similar building hitherto found, and suggests the idea that the form of some early Christian churches has been taken from that of earlier temples, or the temples adapted, where convenient, to Christian uses, after purification.

The next range of buildings forms the baths, which have large hypocausts, or heating chambers, and cover a great extent of ground, and seem to have had additions made to them. On the south side of the baths has been found a large hostelry with chambers, covering about seven acres, for the accommodation of those frequenting the baths and the temple. The underground passages are quite perfect, but the flooring of the bath chambers has been taken up and burnt into lime. A large kiln has been found used for this purpose after the city became ruined, and pieces of sculptured stone found within it. The city is supposed to have been destroyed by fire in the first half of the fifth century, and the coins and medals that have been found reach from Hadrian to that date, about 400 years.

The third portion of these interesting remains that has been uncovered is the Theatre on the slope of the hill that rises on the southern side of the river, and the seats are formed out of the rock in the declivity of the hill reaching to the summit. The stage or arena is perfect, and quite circular, unlike the usual form of Greek or Roman theatres, but the acoustic principles are carefully observed, as every word can be heard from any point of the enclosure, and there is a large room close behind the stage. The seats range only above half the enclosure, but the arena seems to have been adapted to feats of horsemanship as well as scenic performances. The masonry is of excellent quality, and the stones all worked to one size. The seats will accommodate 7,000 or 8,000 persons, so that the city must have had a very large population, but it seems to have been unwallled, as no traces of any enclosure have been found. The inference is that it was a place of resort for religious purposes or for health or pleasure. It is situated in a forest district, and is supposed to have been one of the spots used as places of assembly by the ancient Gauls. In fact it was in trying to ascertain the situation of one of these places of assembly that Mons. de la Croix found the Gallo-Roman remains at Sanxay.

The public spirit and liberality of this gentleman cannot be too highly commended; he has not only defrayed all the cost of uncovering, but has himself drawn and planned all the remains discovered, and he purposes to erect a museum on the spot if the Government will undertake the further cost of excavation.

If the efforts of a single individual can effect so much, may we not hope that a joint effort made in Bath may effect much more? The remains of the ancient baths uncovered hitherto in Bath are of greater extent than those at Sanxay, and the work more massive, and perhaps earlier than at Sanxay. The extent of frontage of the baths at that place does not exceed 125 yards, by a depth of about 35; but what has been already found in Bath much exceeds this, and the plan is much more regular, and much remains still to be discovered.

If the researches in Bath can be continued, they will prove not less instructive than the discoveries at Sanxay. The character of the two places has much similarity. They were not occupied as most large stations

by a military force, but were resorts of health and recreation, for leisure and personal enjoyment. It is not impossible that Bath possessed a theatre in Roman times, but no traces of it has been found. Verulam is the only place where such remains have been exposed to view, but there must have been many in Roman Britain.

No doubt the tribes in Britain had places of assembly for judicial purposes, as well as those in Gaul. Stonehenge, Abury and Stanton Drew are regarded as points of tribal meeting; but may not Bath also have originally been one of them, and the Romans, who did not roughly violate national religious feeling, but adapted to their own system, have superseded the old British worship of *Sul* by incorporating it with that of *Sul Minerva*?

There seems little reason to doubt that Sanxay was the ancient place of meeting for the tribe of the Pictons or Pictavi, where deputies were chosen to represent that tribe at the general meeting "in Finibus Carnutum," which, as Cæsar tells us, represented the whole Gaulish nation. The connection of *Sul* with *Minerva*, and the altars found at Bath dedicated to their deity, lead us to think that the Romans, finding the British deity already worshipped on the spot, united with *Sul* their own divinity *Minerva*, and substituted as at Sanxay their own refinements and polished luxury for the ruder religious rites of the Belgic Britons. Roman manners and Roman religious rites were thus made by degrees to supersede the ancient worship and habits of the Britons.

THE CARLISLE CULLERY TENURE.¹

By W. NANSON, B.A.

To those who have had to do with the conveyance of land in the city of Carlisle the existence of the peculiar customary tenure called cullery is doubtless well known, but to others the word "cullery" must have a strange sound. In the proof sheets of our programme it appeared at first as "cutlery," and I am told that some one ingeniously conjectured that the subject of this paper had something to do with a *scullery*. It is not surprising that little or nothing should be known about it, for the usual sources of information do not help the inquirer. Neither in Hutchinson, nor in Burn and Nicholson, nor in Lysons is the word "cullery" to be found, and in Jefferson's "History of Carlisle" it is just mentioned and no more. The particulars which I have been able to obtain I have collected from the records of the Corporation, but even from these authentic sources, though they explain to us what cullery tenure is, we can derive but little enlightenment as to its origin, and still less as to the derivation of the word. As far back as I have been to trace it, the word is practically the same. It is spelt now with a final y, and was spelt in the same way 100 years ago. A few years earlier the y becomes ie, and in 1597, which is the earliest date under which I have as yet met with the word, it is spelt with a final e. These minute variations of termination hardly amount to a difference in spelling, and only once have I found the word in another form, and then it appears as "coulerie."

But whatever may be its origin, cullery is the name which for nearly 300 years has been applied to customary property within the city, and is also used in speaking of the tenure by which such property is held, and the rent which is payable in respect thereof. Without therefore attempting to speculate upon its derivation (though I hope the clue may yet be found), we may say generally that the word cullery has the same meaning as the word customary has when applied to tenure. That this is so, is shewn by the admittances to cullery tenements recorded in the Cullery Admittance Books of the Corporation, where the usual form of admittance speaks of the tenement as being held "according to the custom anciently used within the city of Carlisle called cullery tenure" by the payment of a rent described in the admittances as a "yearly customary or cullery rent."

It is rather difficult without going into legal technicalities to explain what this customary tenure is. The tenant, as lawyers say, is seised of a customary estate of inheritance commonly called tenant right, descendible

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Carlisle Meeting, August 3rd, 1882.

as at common law, save only that (as was recently held, though I know of no previous instance) when a customary tenant dies intestate, leaving no heir male of his body, his customary tenement descends to the eldest of his daughters, instead as in the case of freehold to all his daughters as co-heiresses. This estate of the tenant which he holds of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens as the Lords of the City is subject to a fixed annual rent, a certain fine on death or alienation, and other manorial incidents common to copyhold and customary property, which at the present day are not exacted, and are of little or no practical importance.

In order to understand the nature of this tenure, let us suppose that a man has bought a house in Carlisle, which is of cullery tenure, and having paid his purchase money, has received from the vendor a conveyance of the house duly executed and attested, whereupon he enters into possession of the property. Now if the property were freehold nothing more would be required to perfect his title, but as it is of cullery tenure it is necessary that he should be admitted to the property, and, therefore, he has to come to the Corporation, as the lords of whom the vendor held the property, and asked to be admitted to it. Formerly, no doubt, both the seller and the buyer had to appear personally before the mayor, as the representative of the Corporation, when the seller surrendered the property to the mayor, either verbally or by some symbolic act, and the mayor thereupon admitted the buyer. A record of the proceeding was then entered in a book kept for that purpose, and signed by the mayor. A copy of such entry was made at the same time; and to authenticate it, it was signed by the mayor and sealed with his official seal. The copy was handed to the purchaser to keep with his conveyance as one of his title deeds, and he then paid a fine fixed at three times the amount of the cullery rent, and took an oath of fealty. At the present day the admittance is carried out much more simply, for the personal attendance before the mayor of neither party is required and no oath of fealty is exacted. The conveyance is considered sufficient evidence of the sale, and from it the admittance is prepared. On other respects the same formalities are still kept up. The admittance is entered in the Cullery Admittance Book, and is signed by the mayor. The copy is made for the tenant, which the mayor signs and seals, and the tenant has to pay the fine and the fees of the town clerk as steward for making out the admittance and copy. After a tenant is once admitted he has at the present day nothing further to do in respect of the tenure of his property, except to pay to the city treasurer the yearly cullery rent, which in many cases does not exceed a shilling, and in no case is more than 12s., so that the tenure is nearly equal to freehold. It should be mentioned here that upon the death of a cullery tenant, his heir or devisee had to be admitted to the cullery tenement in the same manner as a purchaser, except that whereas the fine payable on alienation, either by deed or will, is treble the amount of the rent, it is only double in the case of an heir.

The Cullery Admittance Books unfortunately do not form a continuous series nor go farther back than the seventeenth century. The first book commences in 1673, which is the date of the first enrolled admittance, and in the beginning of the first book are the words "*Liber admissionum customariorum tenentium in Carlile,*" the book of the admissions of the customary tenants in Carlisle. The book is not quite full, and it only goes as far as the year 1680, whereas the next book which is to be found

commences in 1782, so that the admittances for upwards of 100 years are missing. From 1782, the series is complete up to the present time.

The form of the admittances varies very little, but those in the first book are in Latin, the subsequent ones being in English. I will read one of the latter as an example.

There is not much that is interesting to be extracted from such records, but here and there perhaps some useful information may be found, and for a hundred years back, at any rate, they form a complete registry of title for all the cullery property.

It is only in certain parts of the city that cullery tenure is met with, and there is no evidence that it ever existed in other parts. We have in the first book a list of the names of the cullery tenants for 1673 under the head of "*Tenentes customarii secundum consuetudinem vocatam Coulerie infra dictam civitatem*," but the situation of the tenements is not given, and only a few of the names occur in the subsequent admittances. At the end, however, of one of the audit books there is "A Rentall of the Rentes belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle called Cullerie Rentes as they are collected in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight," and in this list the names of tenants are arranged according to the situation of their tenements. The property included in the list consists of "The County Gaol and Garden and the ground adjoining," one house in Botchardgate, twelve tenements in "Annetwell Lane," and one house in Fishergate. Then follow "Redness Hall in the Tenure of the eight Guilds," and "Shoppes under the Redness Hall," four in number. Then we have the names of five tenants in Baxter Row, after which come six "shopps under Motehall," followed by nine "shopps under the Hall," and lastly fourteen shambles. Mixed up with these are certain other small rents, and amongst them two in respect of Kingmoor, so that it is clear either that the term cullery rents in its widest signification included any small annual rents due to the Corporation besides the rents of customary tenements in the city, or that these other rents were irregularly included merely for convenience. In a subsequent list for the year 1782 no such confusion exists. There we have under the head of "Rents due Lammas in every year," the county gaol and garden, and the house in Botchardgate, which were not cullery tenements, and then follow the Cullery Rents, under the heads of "Annetwell Street," "Finkle Lane," "Redness Hall," "Shops under the Hall," and "Shambles." It is to be observed that there is no mention of Baxter Row, which must be an accidental omission. To the last-named places with Baxter Row, I believe, what we now call cullery tenure was restricted, although, as we have seen, the term cullery rents had sometimes a wider signification than rents of cullery property, and in one of the audit books under the year 1600 appears this entry—"Item the rent of the cullerie or pettye farmes of the cittye." This and other similar expressions have led me to suppose that the word may have originally had reference to the collecting of the rents, and be derived from or be akin to the French verb *cueillir* to gather. This, however, is merely a supposition of my own.

The situation of the different cullery tenements affords, I think, a possible clue to the origin of this tenure, for it must be noticed that they are all grouped in or about the Market Place, with the exception of those in Annetwell Street and Finkle Street. The old "flesh shambles," as

they were called, stood in the Market Place, beyond the Cross, and about the year 1783 were bought up by the Corporation with a view to their being pulled down, which was subsequently done and new shambles were erected between Fisher Street and Scotch Street, where they now are. Baxter's Row is also in the Market Place, and was once a good deal longer than it is now, as may be seen by looking at any old map of Carlisle. Redness Hall, which is made up of cullery tenements, where the eight guilds have, or at any rate had their different rooms on the first and second floors, with shops underneath, adjoins the Green Market on one side, and was probably always looked upon as a sort of public building. The shops under the Moothall or Guildhall, now generally called the Town Hall, are also part of a public building, which has always been the common property of the whole body of citizens. How exactly it came to pass that the ground floor was ever divided into as many as fifteen shops, which seems an extraordinary number when we consider the area covered by the present Town Hall, and how it was that these shops were held by tenants who as long as they paid their rent were virtually owners, whom the Corporation had no power to turn out, and whose heirs or assigns they were obliged to admit, is a thing which has never yet been fully explained. There is every reason to believe that the shops have been held by cullery tenure for a very long period, possibly for several centuries. We know from the list of the different cullery rents in 1708 that there were cullery shops under the old Town Hall as there are under the present one, and the fact that the Corporation had no power to oust the tenants seems to have occasioned some difficulty when it was decided to pull down the old Hall and rebuild it. On the 25th May, 1717, the Council, I find, ordered "that Mr. Mayor, and two Aldermen, and two of Counsellmen are hereby authorized to provide a shop for Mrs. Haddock, during the time the Town Hall is in building, and if she refuse to accept thereof, that then the workmen be directed to pull down the said Hall and rebuild it on the Corporation ground, and to acquaint her therewith," from which entry it would seem that the difficulty was got over by finding temporary shops for the tenants, and building them new shops under the new Hall, an arrangement which may have been convenient and economical at the time, but which perpetuated a most undesirable state of things, which the Corporation are now trying to put an end to by buying up the shops as opportunity offers.

The only place, so far as I know, besides the centre of the town where cullery tenures existed was Annetwell Street and Finkle Street, and it is to be observed that all the cullery tenements were on the north side of those streets. The houses fronted to the streets and the gardens, which afterwards became the wretched courts, now happily swept away by the late improvements, ran back as far as the Castle orchard, so that these tenements must have occupied what is believed to have been the site of the vallum of the Roman Wall, and which seems at one time to have formed the boundary between the city and the area occupied by the Castle, known as the Castle-ward. All the cullery property was therefore on public ground forming originally part of the great open space in the centre of the city, or on the site of the Roman foss which ran along the north side of Annetwell Street and Finkle Street, across the narrow end of the city separating it from the castle. I can only suppose that the cullery tenements in the centre of the city must have originated in grants

of small plots of public land made by the general body of the citizens to individual burgesses. At first the tenant held his plot merely for life, or a term of years, or even at will, and on the payment of the yearly ground rent which was originally no doubt the full annual value of the ground, but as time went on the tenant who had built his own house on the public land, and who had quietly and regularly paid his rent came to be regarded almost as an owner, and the rent having been once fixed remained the same though the value of money decreased, just as the fee farm rent of the city has remained at £40 ever since the reign of Edward IV. The shops under the Town Hall, and the different rooms and shops in Redness Hall were originally, I suppose, let out in the same way, and what was once merely a tenancy, grew by degrees into tenant-right. Our records tell us what I believe was the commencement of this process, for the charter of Edward II. (1316) says, "We have also granted to them (the citizens) and by this our Charter confirmed for us and our heirs our void places (*vacuas placeas*) within the aforesaid city and the suburbs of the same and that they and their heirs and successors may build upon those places or demise them to others in fee or in any other manner, and that they may make their profit thereof at their will in aid of the farm aforesaid." At the date of the charter, therefore, there must have been a certain amount of void or waste land within the compass of the city walls. The greater part of the space within the walls was doubtless occupied, as the first settlers from the south increased in numbers and in wealth, by the free burgages of the citizens, which they held as tenants in chief under the Crown, but there was other land not covered by buildings or inclosed as gardens, which consisted partly of streets, partly of the open market place in the centre of the city, and partly of the old Roman foss, uneven and perhaps marshy ground, which no builder would chose to build upon, until what would now be spoken of as the more eligible building sites were taken up. When therefore at the date of the charter of Edward II the unappropriated portions of the city area became by virtue of that charter the common property of the citizens, I conjecture that the site of the old foss was still vacant ground. We may assume that having got a grant of the open places, the "*vacuas placeas*" of the city, the citizens proceeded to do what their charter contemplated, and granted out to those who wanted them plots of land to build upon. Some of those plots may have been granted in fee, but most of them I think it probable were demised to tenants, and became in time, by the process I have alluded to, cullery property. There is actual evidence that this was done, though on a very small scale, as lately as the beginning of the last century; but in Edward II's time it would be done on a much larger scale, as it would be to the interest of the citizens to make as much as they could out of their waste land, in order to pay the fee-farm rent of £80 which they found no slight burden. It would seem, indeed, that within a few years most of the vacant spaces not required for streets or markets had been disposed of. I think this was the case, because the next charter, viz., that of Edward III in 1353, makes no mention of vacant places in the city. In it, however, we find for the first time the expression "*minutas firmas*," the small rents which had been found by inquisition to belong to the citizens, and were by this charter granted and confirmed to them. Unless it can be shown that these small rents were something else, it seems reasonable to suppose that

they were for the most part the cullery rents, at which the plots of vacant ground had been let out, especially when, as I have mentioned before, in 1600, we come across the expression "the rent of the Cullerie or pettye farms of the Cittye."

Whether this conjecture is right or not, it is clear that in a limited area like the city of Carlisle, with an increasing population, all the vacant ground would soon be appropriated for houses and gardens, but even in comparatively modern times grants by the Corporation of small pieces of the public street were made to persons who in rebuilding or otherwise had encroached upon the public ground. In these cases it is certainly remarkable that the encroachment is always spoken of as being made on "the City waste," as if the street was still regarded as a part of the "vacuas placeas" of the charter of Edward II. The following entries, which I have taken from the recently recovered Order Book of the Corporation, relate to this matter, and seem worth reading:—

ORDER BOOK 2.

Nov. 14, 1709.

"Whereas, Mr. William Tate paid formerly two shillings per annum cullerie rent for his house and shop, and having made an encroachment into the City Waste by building thereon, it is hereby ordered that the said encroachment be charged with an additional rent of 3d. per annum, payable at the usual times the said Cullerie rent was payable, and that he take an admittance for the same.

"Whereas, also, John Sewell having in like manner made an encroachment upon the said City Waste by building thereon, it was also ordered that the rent of three shillings and fourpence formerly charged out of his house at Baxter Row be increased from three shillings and fourpence to three shillings and sevenpence, and that he be admitted to the same.

"Whereas, also, Jeremiah Jackson having likewise made an encroachment on the said City Waste by building thereon, it was hereby also ordered that the rent of 1s. 4d. be charged on the said encroachment, and that he be admitted to the same.

"And whereas, also, Wm. Young taylor made an encroachment lately on the Waste of the said City by building thereon, it was therefore ordered that the said Wm. Young's cullerie rent issuing out of the house at Baxter Row be increased from ten shillings to twelve shillings, and that he be admitted thereto.

"Ordered that an Indictment be preferred at the Quarter Sessions of the City against all such persons as have encroached any on the Waste of the said City and have not compounded with the Mayor for the time being, and taken a title thereto.

"Dec. 12, 1709.

"Ordered that the said Gill and Railton be desired to measure the ground which the Fraternities of Smiths and Glovers have added to their respective Chambers, and that the said Fraternities be called upon for the money by them agreed to be paid to the Corporation for the same, and for non-payment thereof that they be sued in the Court of the City.

"March 27, 1710.

"Whereas, the Fraternity of Smiths have seised and possessed themselves of a parcell of waste land under Reddness Hall to which they have no right, it was therefore hereby ordered that, unless the said

Fraternity of Smiths do at their next Quarter day or sooner agree with this Corporation for the Waste ground, so inclosed and taken up by them, that Mr. Rook do hereby sue the said Fraternity in such manner as he shall be advised.

“January 8, 1711.

“Mr. Crosby acknowledging his barn to stand partly on the City’s waste ground, and that the same was an encroachment, and being willing to submit to the Corporation, and to pay yearly such rent for the said encroachment as the said Corporation shall set thereupon, it was therefore hereby ordered that a penny rent be charged upon the said Mr. Crosby for the said encroachment, to be put in the Cullery Rental or amongst the free rents.

“March 25, 1713.

“Ordered that three yards of the waste ground to be set out for Jas. Robinson, at the end of his house in Rickardgate, near the City walls, to be granted to him by lease for 99 years, under the yearly reserved rent of 1s. at Lady Day yearly.”

Assuming my idea of the origin of cullery tenure to be the true one, there is no reason to suppose that the tenants ever formed a distinct class of citizens in an inferior, social, or political position, and though to a certain extent a feudal relation subsisted between them and the general body of the citizens of which they held their tenements, it is more likely that the feudal incidents of the tenure, the fealty and the suit of Court, were annexed to it, when the citizens in imitation of other Lords of Manors began to hold Manorial Courts. There is nothing now to show whether the cullery tenants ever had a Customary Court separate from the Court Baron of the city; but as in many manors the Customary Court of the Copyholders has been merged in the Court Baron of the freeholders, or rather by common usage the name of Court Baron is given to what is really the Customary Court, it is possible that in early times the city of Carlisle had its Customary Court, at which the cullery tenants were bound to appear in person, pay their rents, and do homage to the Mayor, and at which new tenants were admitted in open court.

But into the nature and constitution of the Manorial Courts of the city time forbids that I should enter now. Little has been heard of them since they were discontinued, shortly after the reformed Corporation commenced its reign, and people seem almost to have forgotten that the city of Carlisle is a manor of which the Corporation are the Lords, being described in old deeds of freehold property as the capital lords of the fee. The manorial history of the city has, however, owing to a recent claim put forward on behalf of the Crown, become a matter of practical importance, and will soon have to be thoroughly investigated. In such a history the incidents and the origin of the customary tenure of the city will form an important chapter; and for this reason, and because cullery tenure is fast passing away, I have ventured to call attention to it. Its extinction is now merely a question of time, for when a cullery tenement is purchased by the Corporation and surrendered to them, the customary estate of the tenant merges by operation of law in the freehold estate which has all along been vested in the Corporation as the Lords. This is a process which is being rapidly accomplished. The old Shambles were bought up in the last century, and now the improvement of Annetwell Street has extinguished the

cullery tenants there. The Corporation already own nearly the whole of Baxter Row, and are bent on acquiring all the shops under the Town Hall. Redness Hall, which, though much modernized, still remains as a solitary example within the secular part of the city of mediæval domestic architecture, owes as I believe its preservation to this, that being composed entirely of cullery tenements the owners could never combine to pull it down. But even Redness Hall will some day have to give place to a less quaint but more commodious building, and then supposing the contemplated widening of Finkle Street to have been carried out, the last of the cullery tenements will have been swept away. For its own sake cullery tenure is certainly not worth preserving, and we may see it vanish without regret, but as it has lasted so long as a peculiar institution of the city, and as the records of its history are stored up amongst the Corporation Muniments, I think it may claim, in spite of the somewhat legal and technical nature of the subject, at least a passing notice from those who are interested in our legal archæology.

NOTE.

Since the above paper was written I have found amongst the Corporation Muniments documentary proof of the existence of a ditch near the castle, the site of which was the property of the mayor and citizens. Such a ditch could only be on the north side of what is now Annetwell Street, where there were several cullery tenements of the annual rent of one shilling, and there seems no reason to doubt that in the document given below we have the origin of one of these cullery tenements. The document is a small parchment indenture to which the seal of Alan Blennerhasset is attached, and forms the counterpart of a grant to him from the mayor and citizens of a piece of waste ground lying within the city in the ditch of the castle, at the yearly rent of twelpepence. The grant would have attached to it the common seal of the city, and would be retained by Blenerhasset. The original is in abbreviated Latin, of which the following is the full text :—

“*Sciant presentes et futuri nos maior et tota communitas civitatis Carlioli dedimus concessimus et hac presente carta nostra indentata confirmavimus Alano de Blenerhayset civi ejusdam civitatis unam placeam vasti sicut jacet infra dictam civitatem in fossato Carlioli juxta tenementa Annote Moffyt ex una parte et quamdam placeam Thome del Sandes quam habet ex dono et concessione predictorum maioris et Communitatis ex altera parte habendum et tenendum predictam placeam vasti predicto Alano heredibus et assignatis suis reddendo inde nobis et successoribus nostris duodecim denarios annuatim ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis per equales porciones et husgabulum domino Regi sicut pro libero tenemento suo et si contingat quod predictus redditus duodecim denariorum retro fuerit ad aliquem terminum supradictum quod bene liceat nobis maiori et communitati et successoribus nostris in predicta placea vasti pro predicto reddito distringere et districciones retinere quousque de predicto reddito nobis plenarie fuerit satisfactum Et nos vero predictus maior et communitas et successores nostri predictam placeam vasti predicto Alano heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus imperpetuum In cuius rei testimonium huic parti carte indentate penes predictum maiorem et communitatem remanenti ego predictus Alanus sigillum meum apposui. Datum apud Carliolum in die*

mercurii proxima post Pentecosti Anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Angliæ tercio decimo.

"[Endorsed]

"Alanus Blenerhaysett in fossa versus castrum."

It is a curious fact that in the body of the deed the plot of waste ground is described as being "in fossato *Carlioli*," which would seem to mean the city ditch outside and immediately below the walls. The endorsement, however, shews that the ditch referred to was over against the castle, and a close examination has convinced me that the word "*Carlioli*" in the body of the deed has been written over an erasure of the word "*castri*."

The seal of Alan Blenerhasset appended to the deed is in good preservation and bears his arms.



The legend is—

"*sigillum halani de bleneray...*"

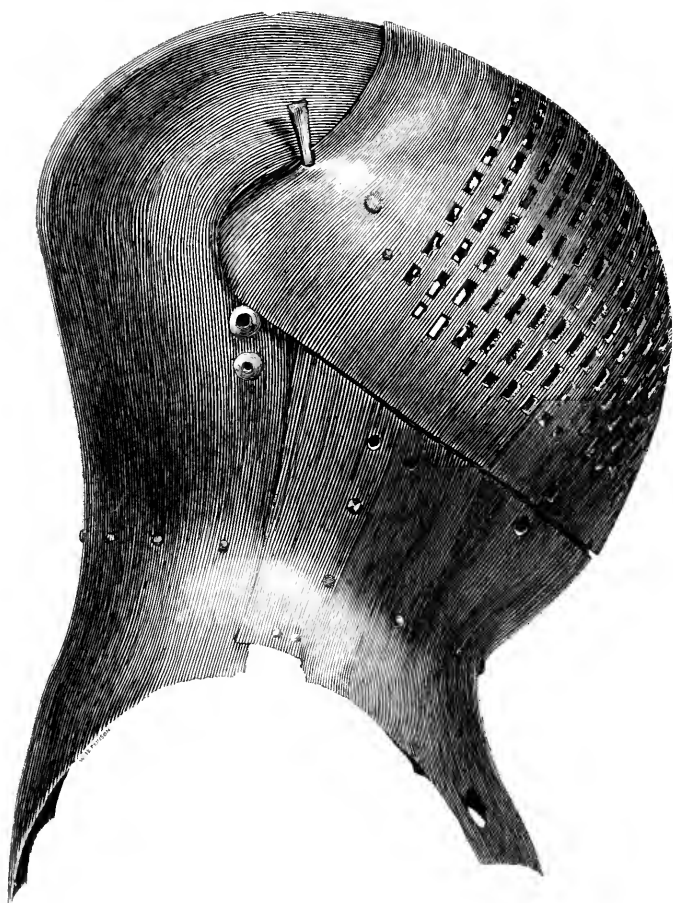
THE CAPELLS OF RAYNE HALL, ESSEX :
WITH SOME NOTES ON HELMETS FORMERLY IN RAYNE CHURCH.

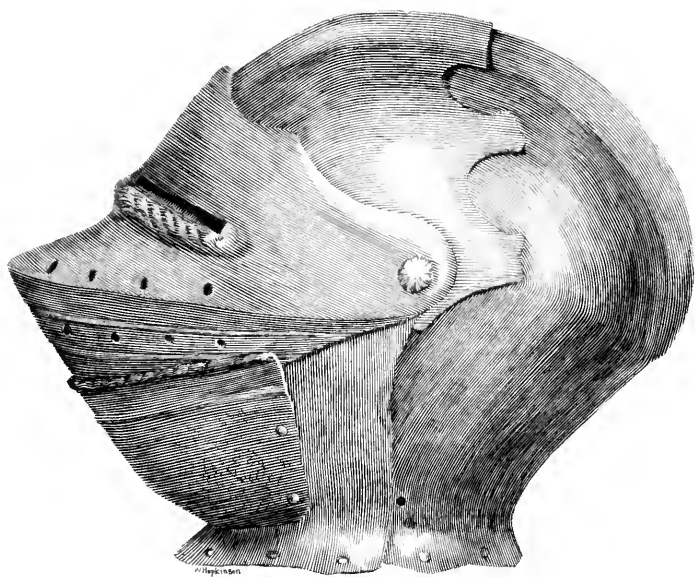
By THE BARON DE COSSON, F.R.G.S.

Some three years ago I unexpectedly became the possessor of an English helmet of great interest and very uncommon form. I had been to the house of a talented and charming lady, who not long before had seen my collection of armour, and as I went away she requested me to carry home with me a remarkably fine tournament helm which hung in her dining-room, that it might, as she expressed it, find a congenial home amongst the other relics of the armament of our forefathers which I possessed. So unusual was the form of the helmet which my generous hostess pressed me to take, that when I first entered the room where it hung, I fancied it must be the reproduction of some rare piece in a foreign museum. I learned however, that when she was quite a little girl, it had attracted her artistic fancy, and that she had bought it of a builder in a country town, in whose yard it lay. She also told me, that it had formerly hung (with another helmet, still in her possession) in a church near where she then lived, but which had been pulled down before her time. I begged her to get me what details she could about the history of this helm, and the builder who had sold it to her informed her that his father had bought it, with the stone-work of the tomb over which it hung and other old materials, from the Building Committee, when the old church of Rayne in Essex was pulled down in 1840, and furthermore, that he remembered that it used to hang on an iron bar over a large and beautiful altar-shaped tomb of the Capells, who lived at Rayne Hall during the early part of the sixteenth century, and who were the ancestors of the present Earl of Essex.

Having obtained this clue, I forthwith sought out who could have been the wearer of my helm, but before I speak of the results of my search, I must mention another strange event in my experience as a collector of armour.

In the summer of 1880 the tournament helm was exhibited at the Royal Archæological Institute, on the occasion of the Exhibition of Helmets and Mail described in the thirty-seventh volume of this *Journal*, and when there, it bore a label stating where it came from, and that I attributed it to Sir Giles Capell, knight. A few months later I was staying at Pampisford Hall, Cambridgeshire, and one morning my host, handed me a note written by a gentleman whom he had met the previous evening, and who had told him he had been seeking to learn my address. It was to the effect that he had in his possession the original war helmet of a Capell which he had obtained from the old church of Rayne in 1837.





I naturally did not leave that part of the country without getting a sight of the helmet, which proved to be an armet of the early part of Henry VIII's reign, of English fashion and make. I also learned that another helmet from the same place was now in Saffron Walden Museum. They had both long lain uncared for in the belfry of the church, until my friend became possessed of them, and as a matter of course I left him no peace until I had induced him to cede me the helmet he had kept, which, although not in very fine preservation, interested me much from its association with the one I already possessed.

It thus became clear that in former days there had been at least four helmets in Rayne church; firstly, my large tournament helm dating from the early part of the sixteenth century; secondly, my armet of the same period; thirdly, the Saffron Walden helmet, a close one of about 1550 to 1560; fourthly, the helmet still in the possession of the lady who had so generously given me the tournament helm, and which seems to date from the time of Elizabeth. My friend, Mr. William Hopkinson, having most kindly engraved for me on steel the two helmets in my collection, I begged him to allow impressions from the plates to accompany this paper, and it is to him that the readers of the *Journal* owe the beautiful representations of two interesting examples of English armour which precede these notes.

The tournament helm has been fully described in the "Catalogue of Ancient Helmets and Examples of Mail," published by the Institute, and which was reprinted in the thirty-seventh volume of this *Journal*, so it is needless to repeat what is there said about it. The armet much resembles in type the No. 41, Fig. 37 in the same catalogue, which also came out of an English church. It has not, however, the rosette on the reinforcing piece, which characterises that helmet. The tournament helm weighs 13 lbs. 11 oz., the armet 7 lbs. 3 oz. It is apparent in the engraving of the armet that it originally had gorget plates at its neck. One of these is in my possession; the other is lost.

I must now turn to the results of my search into the history of the occupants of Rayne Hall at the time when my helmets might have been in use; a search which led me to learn much of the lives of two men, who, if they did not leave a great name in history, still took an active part in some of the principal events of their time, and were men of great note in their day.

"I ask not the store of Cosmus or Capell" says a poet of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and the man whom Alexander Barelai in his fourth Eclogue thus likens to the great Florentine merchant and magistrate, was a noted citizen of London, the only monument to whose well-nigh forgotten fame is now perhaps to be found in the name of a small court leading out of that busy street Bartholomew Lane.

The Capells, his ancestors, had for centuries been lords of a manor, from which they took their name, near Stoke-by-Neyland in Suffolk.¹ When John Capell died in 1449, he left three sons and one daughter, all in their minority. John, the eldest, succeeded in due course to the manor of Capell, and is not again heard of. The second son, William, less advantaged by inheritance than by dame fortune, turned his thoughts

¹ Morant, "History of Essex"; Clutterbuck, "History of Herts"; Salmon, "History of Herts"; Berry, "Hertford-

shire Genealogies"; Collins's "Peerage," &c.

to commerce, went to London, and in course of time amassed wealth so vast that it became proverbial with his contemporaries as that of the Rothschilds is in these days, and he ultimately came to be regarded as the most eminent merchant in London. When the Earl of Richmond, victorious at Bosworth, marched on his newly gained capital, he was welcomed at Shorelitch by the Mayor and City Companies.¹ It is probable that William Capell, *Draper*, was then present, but it is certain that at the coronation of the king on the 30th October, 1485, he received the honour of knighthood at his Sovereign's hand. Nor is it to be marvelled at that Henry, with his well known love of money, should have sought to attach to his person a man who was already well noted for his store of wealth. Next year, doubtless with the desire properly to maintain his newly gained dignity, Sir William Capell purchased of Richard Tournant (or Turvant) gentleman, the ancient manor of Rayne in Essex, together with its hall, and the presentation to Rayne Church, a venerable building dedicated to All Saints, and said to date from the days of Henry II or Richard I.²

This manor of Rayne had formerly belonged to the de Welles family, but for several generations previous to its purchase by Sir William Capell had passed through the female line. In 1770 we are told that "the ancient mansion house of Rayne Hall seems to have been built at two separate times; the old part by some of the de Welles family, and the new by Sir Giles Capel sometime between the year 1510 and 1520."³

To the church of Rayne, Sir William Capell added a lofty and substantial steeple, with a peal of four bells, It was of brickwork, with a small shingled spire at the top, and near the base on either side of the belfry door was an escutcheon, on one of which was embossed an anchor, Sir William Capell's arms, and on the other a lion rampant.⁴

In 1489, Sir William was one of the Sheriffs of London, and two years later he sat in Parliament for the same city. In 1493 we find him holding the manor of Arnolds in the Hundred of Chelmsford; and his wealth had, no doubt, been waxing during these years, for he was one of the first who was troubled by Empson and Dudley, later so infamous as the king's extortioners. Here is Lord Bacon's account of the affair: "The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Capell, Alderman of London; who upon sundry penal laws was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded for sixteen hundred; and yet Empson would have cut another chop out of him, if the king had not died in the instant."⁵ Stow gives the exact sums, saying he was condemned in £2,743 for the breach of certain statutes made before times and that he compounded for £1615 5s. 8d., which he paid.⁶

And yet if the stories told of Capell may be believed, Henry VII had had no cause to complain of his want of liberality. We are told how at

¹ Lord Bacon, "History of the Reign of Henry VII."

² Morant's "Essex," &c.

³ A new and complete history of Essex by a gentleman. 6 vols. 8vo, Chelmsford, 1770-2.

⁴ Morant's Essex; "History of Essex," by a gentleman. The lion rampant is

still part of the Capell arms. The anchor would seem to have been a special device of Sir William and his son Sir Giles. See the account of Sir Giles's standard and arms, page 76.

⁵ "History of the Reign of Henry VII"

⁶ Stow, "Annales," Ann. 1495.

one feast which he gave in honour of his royal master, he threw into the fire several bonds for money which the king had borrowed of him ; and how at another, rivalling Cleopatra's folly, he drank in a frolic, to his sovereign's health, a dissolved pearl of great worth.¹ It is likely, indeed, that some of the many large sums which appear in the king's accounts as having been "delivered and paid by the kinges commandment for diverse precious stones and other juells that com from beyonde the see," may have passed from the coffers of the great city merchant into those of the "Lambardes" who figure as the sellers of these costly luxuries.²

In 1501 Sir William bought the manor of Walkern in Hertfordshire, with the advowson of the Church of Datchworth,³ and in 1503-4, he for the first time filled the high office of Mayor of London, and "caused in every ward in London a cage with a paire of stocks therein to punish vagabonds" to be set up ; and what perhaps was more noteworthy because a more lasting work, he "caused all Hunsditch to be overpaved which many yeares before lay full noiouslie and perillouslie for all travellers that way."⁴ Next year, 1505, he purchased Little Hadham Hall and manor in Hertfordshire of Lord Darcy. This estate had belonged to the Baul family since the reign of Henry III. Later it appears that Sir William stood trial on the point of paying Castle guard to the Bishop of London, when his castle of Stortford was demolished. The judges determined it a sort of quit rent, and the money due in lieu of those services to which the manor was liable.⁵ I have found no record of Sir William from 1505 to 1508, when Empson and Dudley attempted to "cut their other chop."

"The same three and twentieth year, was there a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capell, now the second time, and this was for matters of misgovernment in his mayoralty ; the great matter being that in some payments he had taken knowledge of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine and beat it out who were the offenders. For this and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds : and being a man of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to pay a mite ; and belike, used some untoward speeches of the proceedings ; for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the king's death."⁶ Stow says, "This yeare Sir William Caple was commanded to ward by Empson and Dudley, put in sute by the king for things by him done in his maioraltie, for that (he was charged) false money had come to his sight, and had not done due punishment upon the partie that to him was accused to be the coynor of it ; but were this true or not, for that he would fall to no agreement, he was by Darby and Symson and other of their company, whereof there was a jurie (bound to the girdles of Dudley and Empson), indited, and after by Dudley put in prison some while in the counter, sometime in the shrives house while William Butler was shrive, and then delivered to Thomas Exmew, and for so much as he would not agree to pay unto the king £2,000 was commanded to the Tower."⁷

¹ Morant's "Essex."

² "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII," Bentley's "Excerpta Historica," Lond., 1831.

³ Cussans's "Hertfordshire."

⁴ Holinshed "Chronicles."

⁵ Clutterbuck's "Herts" ; Salmon's "Herts."

⁶ Lord Bacon, "History of the Reign of Henry VII."

⁷ Stow, "Summarie of the English Chronicle."

Thomas Knesworth, likewise lately mayor, and both his sheriffs, were heavily mulcted. Hawis an alderman died before his trial came to an end; and another ex-mayor, Sir Lawrence Ailmer and his sheriffs were fined £1,000; but like Capel, Sir Lawrence preferred prison to the payment of these iniquitous fines.¹

Stow's account throws sufficient light on the method adopted by Empson and Dudley; Lord Bacon adds, "it is no marvel if the faults were so high and the rates so heavy, that the king's treasure of store that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted, as by tradition it is reported to have done, unto the sum of near £1,800,000, a huge mass of money even for these times."²

At the death of Henry VII, Empson and Dudley were arrested, and afterwards executed, whilst a general pardon was granted by the new king to many of those in prison; but by a document still in existence dated 30th April, 1509, containing "the names of persons exempted from the king's general pardon,"³ it appears that Capell was not released from the Tower immediately on the king's coronation, for his name is comprised in it, and in another document he figures in a list of "debtors to the late king."⁴ Letters of general pardon to Sir William Capell were however sent to Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, then Chancellor, early in 1510;⁵ and on the 12th January of that year Sir William was for the second time elected Mayor of London.⁶

It was during his second mayoralty that Capell published a curious judgment on certain women convicted of disorderly practises, the text of which has been preserved by Stow. It concludes thus: "therefore it ys adjudged by the Mair and Aldermen of this Citie after the laudable laws and ancient customs of the same, that the seyd Elyn Davy, Elizabeth Eden, Johan⁷ Michel, Agnes White, Marian Beckworth, and Johan Westhede shall be brought to Newgate, and the same day in the market reason to be ladde from thens, with basons and pannes afore theym,⁸ ray-hoods⁹ on their hedes, and white rods in their hands to the pillory in Cornhil, and there the cause to be proclaymed; and so from thens to Algate, and from Algate to be conveid to and through Candlewiewk strete, Watling strete, and Flete strete to the Temple Barre, and there to be voided out of the Citie for ever. And yf the seyd Elyn, Elizabeth, Johan, Agnes, Marian, and Johan, or any of them hereafter may be found within this citie, they or she so found to be set on the pillory aforesaid three market days next following, every day for the space of an hour, and furthermore to have imprisonment by the space of an yeare and a day."¹⁰

¹ Lord Bacon, "History of the Reign of Henry VII."

² As a point of comparison the following may be quoted from Stow—

"It was enacted that butchers should sell their beafe and mutton by waight, beef for an halfe penie the pound, and mutton at three farthings, at that time oxen were solde for 26 sh 8d the peece, fat calves the like price, a fatte lambe for twelve pence."—*Summarie of the English Chronicle*, ann. 1533.

³ "Calendar of State Papers, Reign Henry VIII," vol. i (12).

⁴ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. i (777).

⁵ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII,"

vol. i (815).

⁶ Stow's "Summarie."

⁷ Joan

⁸ These were to make a mocking noise.

When widows marry a second time in Spanish villages, they are often serenaded with instruments of this kind, the performance being called a "cencerada."

⁹ Striped hoods, the distinctive head-dress of women of disorderly character. In 1439, many "were set on the pillory and banished the city, except they ware their ray hoods." Stow, *Summarie*.

¹⁰ Stow's *Survey of London*, Ed. by Strype 1755, "Wardmote Laws," vol. ii, p. 420.

In 1512 and 1514 Capell again sat in Parliament; and on the 6th September, 1515, he died. What his age was at this time I have not found, but as he had survived his father sixty-six years and was not the youngest of the children at his father's death, he had probably well passed three score and ten.

He was buried in a fair chapel which he himself had built, on the south side of the Church of St Bartholomew near the Exchange,¹ and on his monument Weever in 1631 read the words—*HIC.....WILLIEMVS CAPEL.....MAIOR LOND.....FIL IOHANNIS CAPEL.....NEYLAND IN COM.....OB.....1509.*²

This parish church stood in Bartholomew Lane, and had been rebuilt about the year 1438 by Thomas Pike, Alderman, and Nicholas Yoo, Sheriff in that year, both of whom lay buried in it; and in the chapel of his founding lay Sir William, at least until the great fire in 1666, after which the church had to be rebuilt by Wren. Whether any remains of Capell's tomb were in existence when Wren's church was pulled down in 1840 to make room for the new Royal Exchange, I know not, but it is strange that the church in which Sir William Capell had been buried should have disappeared just at the same time when the church at Rayne, the steeple of which he had built, and in which lay his son Sir Giles and many of his descendants, was being destroyed, and the monuments of the Capells were being sold as old rubbish by an enlightened building committee. The fact that Sir William Capell was a benefactor to this church of St. Bartholomew would seem to indicate that he lived in the parish, and this idea is confirmed by a "Verdict of the inquest of wardmote in the ward of Bradstrete, held on the feast of St. Thomas 1523," where amongst the "presentments" we find "St. Bartylmew's. Defective pavement before Sir Gylys Capell's"³ for Sir Giles no doubt owned his father's house in the city. Now close to where stood the church of St. Bartholomew, there is still a place known as Capel Court, and I would venture to suggest that it was here that the house of the great city merchant stood, and from him that it takes its present name.

Sir William had married, but at what date does not appear, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Arundel of Lanhern in Cornwall;⁴ and by her left a son, Giles, and two daughters,—Elizabeth, married to Sir William Paulet of Hinton St. George, afterwards first Marquess of Winchester; and Dorothy, married to John Lord Zouch of Harringworth.

¹ Some writers say *north* side but Stow who wrote when the chapel still existed has *south* side. He however erroneously says, that Sir Giles Capell was also buried there. "Survey," vol. i, p. 448. See also Dugdale, "Baronage," Lond. 1675, vol. ii, p. 466.

² Weever's "Ancient Funeral Monuments," p 417. He read the date incorrectly. There is no doubt about the date 1515 for Sir William's death, and John Capel died in 1449.

³ "Calendar of State Papers. Hen. VIII," vol. iii, (3657).

⁴ She survived him, for in 1519 a license was granted to Margaret Capell, widow, to alienate one messuage and two shops in the parish of St. Sepulchre

without the Bars, held of the king in socage by the rent of 10 pence a year. "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. iii (405). There is also in the British Museum a deed (Add. chant. 6212) by which Sir Giles Capell, Kt., grants to Dame Margaret his mother, widow of Sir William Capell, Kt., some property in Little Hadham. Cussans, who quotes this deed in his "History of Herts," says it is dated 24th Feb. 1515, or some months before the time assigned to Sir W. Capel's death, but an examination of the deed itself proves it dated 24 Feb. of the *seventh* year of Henry VIII, and that only ended on the 22nd April 1516, in the Feb. of which year this deed was executed.

His landed estates were very considerable at the date of his death, and comprised besides the manor of Rayne Hall, those of Berwick Berners, in Roding Abesse, Hundred of Ongar, which he held of the king as of his castle of Plashy or Pleece: of Goldingtons in Colne-Engaine, Lexden Hundred, which he held of Sir John de Broughton; of Russals in the Hundred of Winstree, which he held of Sir William Finden, as of his manor of East Mersey; of Bacons in Mountneysing, Hundred of Chelmsford, which he held of Sir John de Mountney; ¹ of Blake Hall ² in the Hundred of Ongar, which he held of Catherine, Queen of England, as of the honour of Clare, and a capital messuage in St. Rumbald's (Runwald's?) in Colchester, &c.³

Besides these estates all in Essex, he owned Little Hadham Manor, an important estate in the Hundred of Edwinstree in Hertfordshire, not far from the Essex border, and the Manor of Walkern in the same county but somewhat further east,⁴ and several considerable estates in Norfolk.⁵

The few scattered notices which remain to us of Sir William Capell when brought together, enable us to discern in him a fine example of the great London citizen and merchant of the end of the fifteenth century. Industrious, thrifty, diligent in the affairs of the great city of which he was an active magistrate, a devout benefactor to his church, princely and magnificent in his relations with his royal master when need was to maintain his dignity, but at the same time one who went to the Tower (for what might have been an indefinite period had the king not died) rather than submit to exaction or compound with injustice.

His son and successor, Sir Giles, was a man of a different stamp, but also one who made his mark in the days when he lived. A doughty soldier by land and by sea, a hardy joustier, an assiduous courtier and accomplished gentleman, he was well fitted to take a prominent part in the brilliant feasts and warlike enterprises which characterised the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, and wherever the names of those who figured in the jousts, the masks and revels, the warlike expeditions of the young king, have been preserved, there are we almost sure to find that of Giles Capell.

When he was born does not appear, but as his eldest son was born in 1507 and he himself lived until 1556,⁶ it was probably somewhere about the time when his father purchased Rayne Hall, that is to say, about 1486. It may have been before that date, but could scarcely have been later.

Already in 1509 he is found at the coronation of the king, taking part in the festivities with which the monarch of eighteen began his reign. Great jousts were held at Westminster, and we read—"Next to them came on horseback eight persons, whose names were Sir John Pechie, Sir Edward Neville, Sir Edward Guildeford, Sir John Carre, Sir William

¹ The manor of Arnolds belonged to this estate, for Henry Elvedon, Esq., died holding it of W. Capell, and in 1504, Dionysia Spark held this manor of Sir William Capell as of his manor of Bacon's by fealty. Morant's "Essex."

² Called Blachall in Inquis. 7th Hen. VIII. Morant's "Essex."

³ Morant's "Essex" (Inquis, 7th Hen.

VIII), "Hist. of Essex," by a gentleman, &c.

⁴ Chutterback's "Herts.;" Salmon's "Herts.," &c.

⁵ "Collectanea Topographica," vol. vii, p. 200; and Blomfield's "History of Norfolk."

⁶ Morant says that the son was 49 when he succeeded his father in 1556.

Parre, Sir Giles Capell,¹ Sir Griffith Dun, and Sir Rouland, armed also at all points with shields of their own arms, with rich plumes and devices on their head pieces, their basses and trappers of tissue, cloth of gold, silver and velvet." These eight champions were brought forward by a knight, who announced "how he had been informed that Dame Pallas had presented six of her scholars to the king, but whether they had come to learn or to teach feats of arms he knew not; any way his knights were come to do feats of arms for love of the ladies, wherefore he besought her grace's" (the queen's) "licence for them to prove their skill against Dame Pallas's scholars." These disciples of Pallas were the "emprisers" or holders of the jousts, the "tenans" as they are called in French accounts of tournaments. They were Thomas Lord Howard, Sir Edward Howard his brother, the Lord Richmond, brother to the Marquess of Dorset, Sir Thomas Knevet² and Charles Brandon, Esquire. On the second day of the joust the leader of the eight knights who on the first day fought without announcing who they were, declared themselves the servants of the goddess Diana.³

In January, 1510, the birth of the King's first son was celebrated with brilliant feasts and jousts. On one side was the King and his aids, on the other Sir Charles Brandon, Henry Guilford, the Marquess of Dorset, and Thomas Bullen, who appeared dressed as pilgrims, and we read "then entered Sir Giles Capell, Sir Rouland with many other knights armed and apparelled."⁴

This same year amongst the king's payments there appears "Giles Capell for a spear and two month's wages £10 3s. 4d."⁵ Stow says that shortly after his coronation "the king ordayned fiftie gentlemen to be speares, every one of them to have an archer, a demilaunce and a cistrall,⁶ and every speare to have three great horses to be attendant on his person, to which band the Earl of Essex was lieutenant and Sir John Pechie captaine, which ordinance continued not long, the charges was so great; for there were none of them, but they and their horses were aparelled and trapped in cloth of gold, silver, and goldsmiths worke.⁸ No doubt Sir Giles served in this very brilliant band.

In 1512 he is mentioned in a list of "names of them which be appointed to go in their own persons with the number of men which they have granted to bring with them to serve the king's grace by land."⁹ Whether he accompanied any expedition in that year is not shown, but next year he took an active and honourable part in the war against Louis

¹ He was not knighted until 1513.

² Afterwards drowned with 700 men of his ship, the Regent, in a fight off the coast of Brittany, when the Breton ship *la Cordeliere*, built at Morlaix by Anne of Brittany, grappling the Regent, both ships were burnt and went to the bottom with their entire crews. Stow's "Summary," Ann. 1512, and du Bellay's *Memoires*, who gives 1513 as the date, and is probably right, as he relates the event very circumstantially.

³ Hall, "The Union of the two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York," and Holinshed, whose text is here followed.

⁴ Hall, "The Union, &c.," Holinshed, "Chronicles."

⁵ "Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.," vol. iii. "The king's book of payments."

⁶ A coustrel, or horseman armed with a coustil or kind of vouge, in French called *coustiller*.

⁷ At the rate at which Sir Giles was paid, the fifty men would have cost £3,050 a-year, a large sum at that day, besides which the captain and lieutenant would receive higher pay.

⁸ Stow, "Annales."

⁹ "Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.," vol. i (3231.)

XII of France which ended in the capture of Théroutanne and Tournay and of which the Battle of the Spurs is the most memorable incident.

It is well-known that Henry, having joined the Holy Alliance, undertook to land in Picardy with a force of 5,000 horse and 40,000 foot, the Emperor Maximilian joining the expedition as a simple captain under Henry's orders, with a wage of 100 crowns a day for himself and his men. The army landed at Calais in June 1513, and on the 17th July sat down before Théroutanne. On the 16th August was fought the battle at Guinegate which, the French men-at-arms making more use of their spurs than of their lances, came to be known as the Battle of the Spurs.

"Th' Englishemen folowed the chace three myle long from the felde to a water in a valey, and there a Frenchman sayde to Sir Giles Capell that one daye they would have a daye, which answered hym agayne in Frenche, that was a bragge of Fraunce; and so th' Englyshemen returned to the king which was comyng forward, who gave them thanks with greate praisynge for their valiantnesse."¹ Sir Giles's repartee was, perhaps, less keen than his sword, but the record of his speech by Hall shows that he was already a noted soldier.²

Bayard, with fourteen chosen companions, setting at nought the orders of his chief, made a stand for a while on a bridge, seemingly over the very "water in a valey" mentioned above, and for a brief space, held the English in check, but he and his men were soon taken prisoners. It was after this, that Maximilian rallying the "bon chevalier sans peur et sans reproche," laughingly remarked that he understood that Bayard never fled. "Sire, had I fled, I had not been here," was the quick answer.³

Théroutanne fell, and was burnt with the exception of the churches and other holy buildings, and for the valour he had displayed during the siege and at the Battle of the Spurs, we find Sir Giles Capell named amongst "the knights made at Tourayne" (Théroutanne) "in the church after the king came from mass under his banner in the church."⁴ There is also a record in 1513 of "£55. 3s. 4d. paid to Sir Giles Capell for one month, as captain of the Mary George of Hull, 120 tons, and the Antony of Lynne, 80 tons, with 158 men, these being the ships which he commanded in the expedition."⁵

Peace was soon concluded with Louis XII, and to cement it a marriage was arranged between that king and the Princess Mary, Henry's sister, which took place in October 1514. The coronation of the youthful Queen of France was to take place on the 1st November, and to celebrate it the "Lord Dolphin of France, Lord Francis Duke de Valois,"⁶ proclaimed jousts to be held at that date, "Namelic, that he with his nine aids should answer all commers being gentlemen of name and of armes. First to run five courses at the tilt with pieces of advantage,⁷ and also five courses at random with sharpe speares and twelve strokes with sharpe swords; and that done he and his aids to fight at the barriers with all

¹ Hall, "The Union &c."

² A fine contemporary picture of this battle is at Hampton Court and affords valuable studies of the armour worn at the time.

³ Loyal Serviteur, "Histoire du Gentil Seigneur de Bayard."

⁴ "Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII," vol. i (446S.)

⁵ "Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII," vol. i (3980.)

⁶ Afterwards Francis the First, King of France.

⁷ The extra or reinforcing pieces used for tilting are probably meant.

gentlemen of name and armes; First six foines¹ with hand speares, and after that eight strokes to the most advantage if the speare so long held;² and after that twelve strokes with the sword. And if anie man be unhorsed, or felled with fighting on foot, then his horse and armour to be rendered to the officers of armes; and everie man of this chalenge must set up his armes and name upon an arch triumphant, which shalbe made at the place where the justs shalbe, and further shall write to what point he will answer to one or to all."³

"When this proclamation was reported in England by the noble men that returned from the marriage, the Duke of Suffolke, the Marquesse Dorset and his foure bretheren, the lord Clinton, Sir Edward Nevill, Sir Giles Capell, Sir Thomas Chenie, and other, sued the king to be at the chalenge which request he gratuslie granted."⁴

They speedily shipped their horses and armour, landed at Calais "all in greene coates and hoods because they would not be known," and by the end of October they reached Paris where they were heartily welcomed by the Dauphin, "but most of all by the Queen," who was at St. Denis awaiting her coronation and entry into Paris. She was sixteen, her royal husband fifty-three, and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was foremost amongst those who came to answer the challenge.

The "Loyal Serviteur" has left a pathetic picture of the married life of the king. "He had no wish to marry again and on account of his wife he had to change all his manner of life, for where he used to dine at eight in the morning now it behoved him to dine at noon, where he used to get to bed at six, now he often could not get there before midnight.⁵ In view of these hardships it is not to be marvelled at, that two months, day for day, after her coronation the girl queen was a widow, and that in the merry month of May following, her first love, Charles Brandon, became her husband.

For the entry of the queen into Paris, there "was erected an arch of widdess at the tornels beside the street of Saint Anthonic directly before the bastell,"⁶ on which were set four targets or scutehions, the one of silver, and he that set his name under that shield to run at tilt according to the articles. He that put his name under the golden target should run with the sharpe spears and fight with sharpe swords. They that put their names to the black shield should fight on foot with spears and swords for the one hand. And he that touched the tawnie shield should cast a speare on foot with a target on his arme, and after to fight with a two-hand sword. On this arch above, stood the arms of the King and Queen, and beneath them stood the names of the Dolphin and his aids, and underneath stood the foure scutehions that you have heard of, and under them all, the arms and names of such as set their names to any of the said foure scutehions."⁷

The joust, the back-ground of which is thus described, began the day

¹ Thrusts.

² If it did not break.

³ That is to say in which of the above modes he would wish to fight.

⁴ Hall, "The Union &c.," and Holinshed "Chronicles."

Marc Wulson de la Colombiere, "Vray Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie," gives a detailed account of this tourna-

ment and mentions "Cappel. Anglois" several times.

⁵ "Histoire du Gentil Seigneur de Bayard."

⁶ By the towers of the Porte St. Antoine and facing the Bastille.

⁷ Hall "The Union &c." and Holinshed "Chronicles."

after the coronation and lasted three days, and Hall and Holinshead relate many of the episodes adding "but the Englishmen had ever on their apparell red crosses to be knowne for love of their countrie." After gaining great honour they departed, reaching England before Christmas.

On the 24th May, 1516, Thomas Alen writing, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, says, "Great jousting at Greenwich, on Monday and Tuesday last. The King, the Lords Suffolk and Essex, Sir Geo. Carewe, were challengers; Sir Will. Kingston, Sir Giles Capell, John Sedley, and others defenders." The King either was not, or affected not to be satisfied with the skill of his opponents, for Alen adds, "The King hath promised never to joust again except it be with as good a man as himself."² But this promise was not likely to be kept for long and was probably broken before 1519, when we find the King greatly distinguishing himself in a joust where five hundred and six spears were broken, and wearing on his head a lady's sleeve full of diamonds;³ and 1520 he did not disdain again to encounter Sir Giles, for on the 19th February he "answered the challenge of Sir Rich. Jerningham, Mr. Ant. Brown, Sir Giles Capell, and Mr. Norris, in garments from his store."⁴

In 1516, Sir Giles is mentioned as one of the knights of the body to the King and he attends his master at a banquet at Greenwich on the 7th July, 1517.⁵ The next year he was again in France, for in September he appears as one of the "Pensioners of the French Embassy," and in November receives £40 for diets in France.⁶

The summer of 1520 is memorable for one of the most famous knightly pageants ever seen, the Field of Cloth of Gold, and here again Sir Giles is to be found amongst those knights who, with the kings of England and France at their head, undertook to hold the lists for thirty days against all comers.⁷ Each king had seven gentlemen as companions in this feat of arms, the English being the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, Sir William Kingston, Sir Giles Capell, Sir Nicholas Carew and Sir Anthony Knevet. The French king headed an equal number of well tried lances. His appearance at this time is strikingly drawn by Hall. "A goodlie prince, statlie of countenance, merrie of cheere, brown coloured, great eies, high nosed, big lipped, faire breasted, broad shoulders, small legs and long feet."⁸ The portrait of him as a youth, in the Louvre, by Clouet, and his suit of armour at the Musée d'Artillerie, exactly tally with and complete this description.

King Henry and Monsieur de Grandeville opened the tilting on the 11th June, and at the second stroke the king "gave the said Monsieur Grandeville such a stroke that the charnell of his head piece, although the same was very strong, was broken." Later we learn that "the king's noble grace never disvisored nor breathed until he ran the five courses."⁹

¹ These crosses will be seen on the breasts of the English knights in the picture of the Battle of the Spurs at Hampton Court.

² "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. ii (1935).

³ Hollinshead "Chronicles."

⁴ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. iii, p. 1553.

⁵ *Ib.*, vol. ii, (2735) & (3446).

⁶ *Ib.*, vol. ii (4409), and the "King's book of payments," 10th Hen. VIII.

⁷ "Cal. State Papers, Henry VIII,"

vol. ii (870), also under "Revels," where the dresses of attendants on Sir Giles and other knights mentioned. Stow "Annales;" Hall "the Union &c.," and Holinshead "Chronicles;" Marc Wulson de la Colombiere, "Vray Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie;" also Fleuranges "Memoires;" and du Bellay "Memoires;" for accounts of this pageant.

⁸ This is Holinshead's text, but copied from Hall.

⁹ Holinshead "Chronicles."

On the 20th June began the "tournies," they ended on the next day, and on the 22nd they did "batell on foot at the barriers," which ended "all the justs, tournies and batells on foot at the barriers by the said two kings and their aids." On leaving Guines King Henry went to Gravelines, where he met the Emperor Charles V, who in no way rivalled the pomp and splendour of his brethren of France and England, but with a small retinue, accompanied Henry as far as Calais. Here again, in a list of "noblemen and others appointed to attend upon the king at Gravelines"¹ for his meeting with Charles V, 10th July 1520, we find the name of Sir Giles Capell.

Two years later the Emperor came to England to visit King Henry, and a document of the time says, "At the emperor's arrival at Dover the Cardinal and the following gentlemen shall meet him,"² Sir Giles Capell being amongst those named to form Wolsey's suite. A treaty was signed at Windsor by the English king now won over by the Emperor from the friendship with Francis sworn to on the Field of Cloth of Gold, and its results were soon apparent. "They," the Emperor and the King, "departed out of Windsor, and by easy journeys came to Wynchester the 22nd day of June, and in the way thither the Emperor hunted the hart. Before the Emperor was come to Wynchester, th' erle of Surry Admyrall of England with all the king's navy was come to Hampton,³ and with him the Lord Fitzwater, the Baron Curson, Sir Gyles Capell, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Bryan, Anthony Brown, John Russell, of which many were of the king's prevy chamber. These with many more departed from Hampton with XXX shippes well manned and ordynanced, in the end of June, noysing that they should only skoure the sea for safeguard of the Emperor and his navye, but they had privy instructions to go to another place, as you shall see."⁴

There still exists in Surrey's handwriting a list of that portion of the fleet commanded by Admiral Lord Fitzwalter on the Maglory 300 tons, and amongst the ships is "the Spaniard Maria Gadalopec 140 tons, Sir Gyles Capell," the total of that fleet being "11 ships, 1400 men."⁵

Instead of safeguarding the Emperor, this expedition landed 7,000 men near to Morlaix in Brittany, who marched on that town, which they took, and "the souldiers fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of marchantes, for the toune of Morles was very rich, and specially of lynnene cloth; the gentlemen suffered the souldiers to do what they would. When the souldiers had taken their pleasure of the toune, as much for a truth or more than they could beare away, the Lord Admiral commanded the trumpettes to blow, and commanded all men to set fyre in all places of the toune (the holy places only except); the fayre market-place was set on fyre and the subburbes brent ardantly. Wherefore all men were commanded to their standardes, and at about six of the clock the army retretd, and as they passed they brent the villages and places, and next day with honour they took to their shippes." After this *honourable* exploit, unsuccessful attempts were made to treat Saint-Pol de Léon and Brest in the same fashion, and they then took themselves off to Picardy, where they burnt divers towns and castles.⁶

¹ "Cal. of State Papers, Henry VIII," vol. iii (906).

² *Ib.*, vol. iii (2288).

³ Southampton.

⁴ The "Union, &c.," Hall.

⁵ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. iii (2480).

⁶ Hall, "The Union &c."

According to the Breton account of this affair, the English having been apprised by a traitor that the nobility of the neighbourhood had been convoked to an assembly at Guingamp, and that the principal townspeople would at the same time be at the fair at Noyal Pontivy; their fleet of 60 sail entered the river of Morlaix on the evening of the 4th July, 1522, and having reached the place called Hantevallen, the English landed, some disguised as merchants, some as peasants. A portion marched towards the suburbs and the castle, but the greater part remained hidden in the wood of Stivel.

Towards midnight, when all in the town were in their beds, the English rushed forward, forced the gates and spread such an alarm amongst the inhabitants that they fled on all sides without thinking of defence. Two people only kept their wits about them. The Chaplain of Our Lady of the Wall raised the drawbridge of the gate of Our Lady, and mounting the gate-tower shot down several of the enemy with an arquebus, but was himself at length killed. A maid-of-all-work in the High Street seeing all had fled from the house, got some other women to join her, raised the trap-door of a cellar just inside the doorway, and opening a sluice which communicated with the river, filled the cellar with water. Then leaving the house door ajar, she shut herself up with the other women at the top of the house.

One after another the pillagers tried the house, and in the darkness straightway fell into the cellar, where full four score were drowned. At length, however, the trick was discovered, the house forced, and the brave maid, hunted from room to room by the soldiers, was caught and flung from the top of the house down on to the pavement of the street.

About daybreak most of the enemy retired with plunder and prisoners to their ships; but from six to seven hundred still tarried drinking in the cellars of the houses called "of the Lances," on the Tréguier quay. These, when they departed, halted in the Stivel wood, not far from the town, to sleep off their liquor.

The Lord of Laval, who had called the meeting of nobles at Guingamp, having heard from fugitives what had happened, was hastening to succour the town when he fell across the tipsy pillagers, whom he easily cut to pieces, recovering the booty. A spring near the spot is to this day called in the language of the country, "*Feunteun ar Saozon* ; or fountain of the English," for, says Albert le Grand, "its waters were reddened with their blood on that day," and it was then that Morlaix took its punning device "*S'ils mordent, mors-les* "; "If they bite, bite them." But after this the town languished, for many of its noble men were long kept prisoners in England.

With this expedition Sir Giles Capell's feats of arms seem to have ended, but nine years later, that is in 1532, he again went with his sovereign to Calais, and Boulogne,¹ when Henry, once more, the ally of Francis I against Charles V, endeavoured to win over the French king to his contention that the lady who for twenty-three years had been Queen of England, was not, and never had been, his wife.

In 1544, Sir Giles was charged with providing twelve men for his Majesty's service in his wars.² Henry was again the ally of the Emperor against the King of France, and besieged and took Boulogne; but it is not stated whether Sir Giles accompanied the expedition.

¹ Stow, "Annales."

² Cotton MS., quoted by Collins, "Peerage," 5th ed.

We may know what the standard under which Sir Giles and his men fought was like, for it is emblazoned with his arms in a roll preserved at the College of Arms.¹ It is thus described by Bentley in his "*Excerpta Historica* :—"Syr Gyles Capell de Stebbing in com. Essex, Or, (A) an anchor erect Gules bezanty, the ring Or, between in the dexter chief and sinister base, two jessamine slips proper, in (B) one, in (C) three similar slips.—*Motto*, POVR EXTRE TENIR. *Arms*: Gules a lion rampant, between three cross crosslets fitché Or; a label of three points."² The standard was shaped like what is now called a pennant, and was forked at its end. As a knight Sir Giles's standard would be four yards long.

The domestic life of Sir Giles has as yet been left aside, so as not to interrupt the narrative of his exploits as a man at arms, but it is now time to turn to it.

All the genealogies of the Capell family, all the histories of Essex and Hertfordshire, all the peerages,³ repeat the statement that he first married Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Roos, younger son of William Lord Roos of Belvoir, and secondly Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Newton of Wake, in Somersetshire. In this statement they are all in error, as two documents quoted in the "*Calendar of State Papers*" will prove conclusively. Here are the documents—"10 July 1516, For Sir Giles Capell. Livery of lands of his deceased wife Isabella, a daughter and heir of Ric. Newton and Eleanor his wife; Henry being son and heir of the said Sir Giles and Isabella. The other daughter and heir is Joan, wife of John Gryffyne."⁴ Next—10th March, 1530, "Sir Giles Capell and Mary his wife" are mentioned in an indenture concerning lands in Middlesex.⁵ No further proof is needed: Isabel was the first wife and Mary the second.

Most of the historians and genealogists above referred to rightly make Henry the son of Isabel, but Phillip Morant erroneously calls him the son of Mary, and adds that the children of the second wife Isabel were Margaret (married to William Ward of Brooks, Esquire),⁶ and Edward. All three children were probably born of the first wife Isabel, for most authorities state that Mary died without issue.

Sir Giles added to the considerable estates already enumerated which he inherited from his father, and his additions were mostly made with a view of rendering his possessions more compact. Just to the north of Rayne Hall lay the Priory of Pantfield and the park of Bocking. The Priory, until the suppression of religious houses, had belonged to the Prior of Canterbury, but on the 12th March, 1538, it was granted by Henry VIII,

¹ The fact that Sir Giles is called of Stebbing, shows that this roll was compiled after 1545, when that manor was granted to him, and not about 1520 as Bentley thinks.

² The letters A, B, C, refer to the parts of the standard, which, roughly speaking, was divided into four parts. That nearest the staff was occupied by the cross of St. George, Gules, on a field Argent. Next to that was the portion called A, then B, and at the forked extremity was C. Two Capel crests are given in the Harleian MS. described in the "*Collectanea Topographica*," vol. iii, dating from the reign of Henry VIII.

The first (p. 70) is—On a wreath a demi lion rampant holding in the sinister paw a cross crosslet botonnée Or; the second (p. 75)—An anchor Sable, the beam and rings Or.

³ Berry's "*Hertfordshire Genealogies*"; Clutterbuck's "*Herts*"; Salmon's "*Herts*"; Morant's "*Essex*"; Collins's and Burke's "*Peerages*," &c.

⁴ "*Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII*," vol. ii. (2158.)

⁵ "*Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII*," vol. iv. (6264.)

⁶ Collins mentions a daughter, and says she married Robert Ward of Kirkby Beedon, Norfolk, Esq., "*Peerage*," 5th ed.

together with Bocking Park and 400 acres of wood, to Sir Giles Capell, to hold in capite to him and his heirs for ever, for the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee and the yearly rent of 54sh. 8d. at Michaelmas, with frank pledge, waifes, estrayes, &c., as fully as the late Prior held the same.¹ In 1549, however, Sir Giles obtained a license to alienate the Priory to John Gooday of Braintree, clothier.

To the west of Rayne was the manor of Stebbing Hall, which had belonged to Henry Grey Marquess of Dorset, the father of the Lady Jane Grey. He sold it to Sir Robert Southwell from whom it was purchased by the king, who, in 1545 granted it Sir Giles Capell in exchange for the manors of Honeylands and Pentriches, the moiety of the manor of Russals, and the manor of Ditton Vallaunce.² Honeylands was in Herts, Pentriches adjoined it in Middlesex, Ditton Vallaunce was in Cambridge-shire, and Russals was on the estuary of the Blackwater in Essex. All were far from Rayne, so that Sir Giles gained greatly by exchanging them for Stebbing. Porter's Hall, another manor in the parish of Stebbing was also held by Sir Giles at the time of his death, with appertenances in Stebbing, Dunmow Priory, Little Saling and Great Saling, of Queen Mary, as of the Castle of Plashey, but whether he acquired it with Stebbing Hall does not appear. Besides these estates and those which he had inherited from his father, he held the manor of Purley in Dengey Hundred, parish of Snorcham, south of the Blackwater estuary, and the presentations to the church show that he held it in right of his first wife Mary.³

Sir Giles was Sheriff of Essex and Herts in 1528-9, and on the Commission of the Peace in 1525-6, 1530 and 1532.⁴ In 1529 he is mentioned in a list of debtors to Thomas Cromwell, and in the same year in King Henry's privy purse payments is an entry—"to a servant of Sir Giles Capell for bringing cheeses to the King 5 sh.,"⁵ and again in 1530, "Reward to a servant of Sir Giles Capell for bringing a doe 10 sh."

In 1533 we read that "the Earls of Oxford and Sussex and Sir Sir Giles Capell dined with the Princess Mary,"⁶ and again "Tuesday 2 Sepr., came to supper Sir Giles and Henry Capell and their wives and servants, and remained three days." This took place at Beaulieu where the Princess was then staying. Henry Capell, Sir Giles's eldest son, had been knighted on Trinity Sunday of this same year, when a number of knights were made to celebrate the coronation of Anne Bullen,⁷ and it is curious that so shortly after that event he should be found with his father on apparently intimate terms with the daughter of the Queen who had been divorced to make way for her own maid of honour, for the Princess Mary was now completely estranged from her father, who even deprived her of her title the Princess of Wales.⁸

¹ Morant's "Essex."

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. iv, (1136) (2002) (4914) (6803), vol. v. (1694).

⁵ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. v, p. 747.

⁶ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII," vol. v, (1540), Princess Mary's household account.

⁷ "Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII,"

vol. v, (601).

⁸ It is however to be remembered that just before the coronation of Anne Bullen, all men of £40 lands were commanded to receive knighthood or pay the fines. "The assessment was appointment to Thomas Cromwell who so used the matter that a great sum of money was levied to the King's use by those fines." Stow, "Annales." Sir Henry therefore may only have received knighthood as a matter of necessity.

It is not clear whether Sir Giles adhered to the old faith of his fathers or espoused the ideas of the German reformers then in favour at court, but his attendance on the king on his journey to France in 1523, proves that he did not openly side with the partizans of Queen Katherine.

He lived three-and-twenty years after the family supper with the Princess Mary recorded above, but that is the last notice which I have found of him.

He died on the 29th May, 1556,¹ and was succeeded by his son Sir Henry,² then forty-nine years old, who, dying without issue four years later, was succeeded by Sir Edward his brother, knighted that same year 1560,³ who lived until 1577.

The history of the later Capells is well-known:—How Arthur Capell a devoted adherent to the cause of Charles I, was created Baron Capell of Hadham, raised considerable force at his own expense, fought for his king with untiring valour, and at length after holding out in Colchester to the last extremity, was taken prisoner, condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, but ultimately beheaded on Tower Hill, his tomb in Hadham Church bearing the inscription—"Here under lieth interred the body of Arthur Lord Capell, Baron of Hadham, who was murdered for his Loyalty to King Charles 1st March 9th 1648"—and how his son, created Viscount Maldon and Earl of Essex by Charles II, was accused of complicity in the Rye House Plot, sent to the Tower, and a few days later found with his throat cut.

My task ends with Sir Giles Capell, who was buried with his wife in the chancel of Rayne Church, seemingly in the very tomb over which for well nigh three centuries hung the tournament helm which was the motive of this paper; for may we not fairly assume that the wearer of that interesting relic was the doughty man at arms who was in every joust, who was face to face with Bayard at the battle of the Spurs, at his king's side on the Field of Cloth of Gold, and whose standard was raised in all the warlike enterprises of his day.

¹ Some authors have 29th March but this appears to be an error.

² Berry, "Hertfordshire Genealogies," entirely omits to mention Sir Henry Capell and makes his younger brother Edward succeed!

³ I owe to Mr. Probert of Bishop's Stortford, a copy of the inscription on a brass in old Rayne Church, of which he possesses a rubbing. "Heare lyeth buried y^e lady Katherin one of the daughters of y^e right hon^{ble} S^r Thomas Manners Knight late lorde Roos Earle of Rutlaunde and of the lady Elizabeth his wief daughter of S^r William Paston decessed and late wife of Henry Capell Esquier son'e & heier aparant of Sir Edward Capell Knight & Anne his wief daughter of Sir William Pellam Knight w^h said Henry Capell & lady Kathryn had issue of their bodies thēs x children sixe son'es and iiij daughters whose names w^t y^e

dies of their birthes hereafter foloweth, viz., William borne 14 Septebris 1556 and died Arthur 9 Januarii 1557 Edward 4 Martii 1558 John 5 Junii 1560 Gamalell v Januarii 1561 Agnes i Januarii 1562 Frannces 18 Martii 1564 Anne 8 Junii 1566 Robert 19 Februarii 1567 Mary 26 Januarii 1569 w^{ch} Lady Kathryn dyed 9 Martii 1572. Heare lyeth also buried the sayd Henry Capell Esquire who died the daye of " date not filled in, as this brass was made before he died. The Saffron Walden helmet may very possibly have belonged to one of the sons of Sir Giles, Henry or Edward, and the helmet, still in the possession of the lady who gave me the tournament helm, to his grandson, Henry Capell, Sir Edward and his son Sir Henry, who died in 1588, having both been buried in Rayne Church. See Wright's "History of Essex."

ON THE EXISTENCE OF A BRITISH PEOPLE ON THE CONTINENT KNOWN TO THE ROMANS IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

By THE REV. JOSEPH HIRST.

A six months' residence in Rome during the past winter (1881-2) has made me acquainted with a work on early British history, published during the month of February last by the learned Roman archæologist, Dr. Vincenzo de Vit, the well-known discoverer of the *Sententiæ* of Varro.¹ It is entitled "On the difference between the British of the island and those of the Continent," and occupies the first half of the sixth volume of the uniform edition of the author's minor works, the latter half being in support of the thesis that the Cimbri descended into Italy by the Val d'Ossola.

The first portion of this work, to which I here wish to direct attention is a striking instance of the light that the modern study of Epigraphy, in which the labour of compilation and elucidation inaugurated by Grætherus and Smetius have been so ably continued by Borghesi, Henzen, and Mommsen, is calculated to throw on obscure points of history. It has hitherto been generally taken for granted that the two names of *Brittones* and *Britanni* were used to designate one and the same people, viz., the inhabitants of the island of Britain. A closer study of the matter, necessitated by his publication of an entirely original work called *Onomasticon*, in which he explains all the proper names known to antiquity down to the end of the fifth century, led De Vit to the undoubted conclusion that the names in question referred to two entirely different people. This circumstance, besides the light it throws on history, particularly on the Roman conquests in the north of Europe in the first and second centuries, gives a new and satisfactory interpretation to various passages of Procopius, Livy, Juvenal, Martial, Horace, Lucretius, and Quinctilian, while it explains some hitherto quite unintelligible lines of Virgil.

What first attracted the attention of our author was a bronze inscription of a diploma of Domitian [A.D. 85], in which mention is made of the *honestam missionem* being granted to the *Cohors i. Britannica miliaria* and to the *Cohors i. Brittonum miliaria*. That one of these peoples is here discriminated from the other there can be no manner of

¹ Formerly a professor of humanities in the Seminary of Padua, he has continued the classical traditions of that abode of learning by editing an enlarged edition of his predecessor Forcellini's Latin dictionary. By embracing all the Latin words in use down to the end of the sixth century, and by adding such illustration of earlier terms as modern

discoveries suggested, he has expanded the original four volumes in 4to into six large quartos in double columns of closely printed matter of about a thousand pages each, so that this new edition, recently completed, forms by far the largest and most complete work of the kind. The London agent is Dulau, Soho Square.

doubt. Then again, stamped tiles bearing the name of the fourth cohort of Brittones have been found in Cumberland and Yorkshire, while we know from other sources that there were never more than three cohorts of British auxiliaries recruited in England. Moreover, it was not the custom of the Romans to employ troops of the same nation for military service in their own country, just as we station Scotch regiments in Ireland and Irish in England. There is, however, an inscription given by Orelli, n. 804 of *Coh. II. Fl. Britton. equitat. electo a Dico Hadriano et misso in expeditionem Britannicam*. We find inscriptions of Brittones as auxiliaries of the Roman legionaries in Egypt. But most inscriptions of Brittones are found in various parts of Germany pointing to regions above the Rhine as their original home. True, these two peoples, the Britanni and Brittones, were originally identical, both having come, according to our author, from the so-called island of *Brittia*, peninsular Jutland; but according as each nation in turn became subdued the Romans found it necessary, chiefly for administrative and military reasons, to introduce a legal and conventional distinction between names hitherto used indiscriminately. This is the thesis our author devotes himself to establish with much ingenuity and learning.

What places beyond all doubt the existence of two nations having names so much alike is the incontrovertible fact of the two separate armies or levies of auxiliaries raised from amongst them, of which distinct record has been preserved to us. Under the words *cohors* and *ala* our author gives in his *Onomasticon* a complete view of the whole auxiliary Roman army, *cohors* and *ala* forming, according to their local distribution, so many proper names. Under the names *Britanni* and *Brittones* he gives the forces belonging to these separate tribes, each with its respective authority. A list of the *cohortes* of foot soldiers and *alae* of horse apportioned to each tribe, will not be uninteresting to the readers of this *Journal*. Indeed, this is the first time so many British troops marshalled under the Roman colours have ever been brought under the notice of the learned, and his exhaustive treatise on the subject from page 86 to 132 will form for the majority of readers the most interesting and original part of the work.¹

A. TROOPS RECRUITED IN THE ISLAND.

Cohors I Britannica	Pedites singulares Britannici
Cohors I Britannica miliaria	Ala I Flavia Aug. Britannica
Cohors II Britannica	miliaria civium Romanorum
Cohors I Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum	Ala II Britannica Miliaria civium Romanorum
Cohors II Britannica civium Romanorum.	

All these levies of horse and foot were made for the first time between Claudius and Domitian, A.D. 41-96.

¹ Dissertazioni sui Britanni e sui Cimbri coll' aggiunta di tre articoli archeologici

del Dott. Vincenzo De Vit, Edizione seconda, Milano, Boniardi-Pogliani 1882.

B TROOPS RECRUITED AMONGST THE BRITISH OF THE CONTINENT.

Cohors I Brittonum	Cohors III Brittonum (<i>vel</i> Britan- norum)
Cohors I Brittonum miliaria	Cohors III Brittonum veteranorum
Cohors I Brittonum miliaria equi- tata ¹	Cohors III Brittonum equitata
Cohors I Flavia Brittonum	Cohors IIII Brittonum
Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum miliaria	Cohors IIII Brittonum antoniana
Cohors I Aelia Brittonum	Cohors V
Cohors II Brittonum equitata	Cohors VI Brittonum
Cohors II Brittonum miliaria	Cohors VII Brittonum
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata	Ala I Brittonum veteranorum
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum Alex- andriana	Ala II
Cohors II Aug. Nervia miliaria	Ala III
Brittonum	Ala IV

The seventh cohort of Brittones appears to have been raised in the time of Trajan or Hadrian, A.D. 98-138, and at least one squadron of horse may be attributed to the first age of the Empire.

A.

The British reader in modern times may be curious to know how such an army of bygone days has been conjured into existence. We will therefore append the chief of our author's authorities, which will more-over give some idea of his method of reasoning.

The first levy of British auxiliaries was very probably made under Plautius, who was the first Roman who governed the island (from 797 to 800 A.U.C.), and before the submission of Caractacus; or, at the latest, under Ostorius Scapula, who succeeded Plautius after his victory over the rebellious Britons in 803. That a levy was made in Britain under Claudius we have indubitable proof from a military diploma of Titus in the year of Rome 833 (A.D. 80), which has preserved the memory of a Cohors I Britannica. This inscription of Titus was first published by Arneth, *Militär dipl.* Tab. vii. and viii., p. 33, re-produced by Henzen in his Supplement to Orelli n. 5428, and afterwards by Mommsen in the Berlin Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. iii., Dipl. xi., in which third volume all the military diplomas have been collected together. From this first British cohort's being registered amongst those of which the soldiers had passed the term of twenty-five years of service it is evident that it must have been first formed at least twenty-six years before, viz., A.U.C. 807, or A.D. 54, the last year of Claudius, though from the words used (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis*) it may have been formed as early as A.U.C. 804.

But from the fact of this cohort's being styled *I Britannica* we are authorised in concluding the existence of at least one other, for if the Romans had levied only one they would not have departed from their usual custom and would have called it simply *Cohors Britannica*.

The cohorts were of two kinds; some were *quingenaria*, that is, composed of 500 soldiers, and some were *miliaria*, consisting of 1000 men. The latter, however, were alone designated by this numerical addition,

¹ A cohort to which a small number of horse was attached.

the former being simply styled *Cohortes*. A *Cohors I Britannica miliaria* is recorded in another diploma of Domitian, only five years after the former, viz., A.U.C. 838 (A.D. 85) published by Henzen (n. 5430) and in the Corpus above quoted Dipl. xii, so that this cohort must have been formed in the year 812, if we allow that the soldiers, when dismissed, may have already remained in it at least some months after the 25 stipends. This Cohort, like the first named, had fought in Pannonia.

There are three other inscriptions in the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* that must be referred to this cohort. They were all found in Dacia, so that we may conclude that it dwelt for some time in this province, which was contiguous with Pannonia. In the first of these inscriptions (n. 821) we read CH. (for *cohortis*) PRIMA BRITANNICA ∞ (viz., *miliaria*) V.L.P. (*votum libens posuit*) JOVI FULG. (for the well-being of the Emperor, whose name has not been preserved.) The second (n. 829) is a mere fragment on which can be read BRIT in one line and RENSES in the second, which Mommsen explains to be *Britannica miliarensis* for *Miliaria*. The third inscription (n. 1633 (2)) is on a tile found in Dacia bearing the stamp COH I BR ∞ , viz., *cohortis prima Britannica Miliaria*.

To the three cohorts of native Britons, amounting in all to something over 2,500 men, we must add the cohorts of Roman citizens levied in the island, namely, of those settled there for trade or other purposes, or of colonists and their children, or again, of those amongst the natives who had obtained the privileges of Roman citizenship. That there were such we have undoubted proof in a lapidary inscription of Nomentum, published by Orelli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (n. 208), in which we read that a certain Cn. Munatius Aurelius Bassus, procurator of Augustus, was a *censitor civium Romanorum colonie Victricensis, que est in Britannia, Camaloduni*. This colony was so called from the veterans of the Sixth Legion, surnamed *Victrix* or *Vincitrix*, by whom it was formed. Besides the two colonies of *Camalodunum* and *Londinium*, there existed also from the time of Claudius, the Municipium of Verulam. There must then, even at that time, have been a good number of Roman citizens in Britain. Hence we find mention made in a diploma of Trajan of the year of Rome 863 (A.D. 110) published by Henzen (n. 5443) of a *Cohors I Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum*, which, for the reasons given above, must have been enrolled at the latest in 837 (A.D. 84) under Domitian. Moreover, from this cohort's being styled *I miliaria civium Romanorum*, there is every reason to believe that there must have been another, enrolled later, of at least 500 men. This first cohort of Roman citizens had seen service in Dacia, as is stated in the diploma.

Besides this cohort there is also mention in the same diploma of a body of troops styled *pedites singulares Britannici*. These were probably a body of picked foot soldiers who had in former campaigns given proof of distinguished bravery. In the *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico* for the year 1855, p. 29, we find the fragment of a diploma of Antoninus Pius in which there is mention of I SINGUL. BRITANNIC., where instead of I should be read the final T of *PEDIT*, v. *ib.* p. 37.

From the cohorts, which were all composed of foot, let us pass to the alæ, which were of cavalry. These also consisted of 500 men, unless composed of 1000, in which case they were styled *miliaria*. There is mention of an ala styled simply *Britannica*, and therefore consisting of

500 horse, in two inscriptions. One is in the Berlin Corpus (n. 3305) and is thus conceived:

H E R C U L I ·
A U G U S T I ·
M · D O M I T I ·
S E C U N D I N ·
V S · D E C · A · B R I · V ·
S · L · M ·

namely, *Herculi Augusti* (read *Augusto*) *M. Domitius Secundinus decurio ala Britannica votum solvit libens merito*. This belongs to Lower Pannonia. The second was published by Steiner, *Inscript. Rhen.* (n. 826) and is at Trèves.

T · V A R I O · C L E
M E N T I · P R O C
P R O V I N C · B E L G
P R A E P · E Q U I T · A L A E
B R I T · P R A E F · A U X I L
H I S P · T R E V · C I V
O P T · P R A E S I D I

namely, *Treverorum civitas optimo praesidi*, the word *posuit* being understood.

Of an *ala miliaria*, formed of the natives of Britain, we have record in four inscriptions given in the same *Corpus* under numbers 5211 to 5215, to which may be added a fifth published by Steiner, *op. cit.*, n. 825. All these inscriptions are honorific and dedicated to the same T. Varius Clemens, who, in the first, is called simply PRAEF. AL. BRITANNICAE MILLIAR, and in the others PRAEF. EQUIT. ALAE BRITANNICAE MILLIAR.

This *ala*, having no number, will have been the only one recruited amongst the natives of the island, the original *ala* of 500 men being raised later to 1,000, as appears from its remaining all the time under the same Prefect, a supposition which, from the dates of the documents in question, can be proved not to be the case with the first cohort of British foot soldiers.

Besides the first wing of British horse there were two other wings, both of 1000 men each, of Roman citizens, as we find recorded in various military diplomas. The first is that of Trajan A.U.C. 867 (A.D. 113 or 114) given by Henzen under n. 6857, or in the *Corpus l.c.* n. xxvi, with this name *Ala I. Flavia Augusta Britannica* (sic) *miliaria civium Romanorum*, which must have been formed about the year 88 or 89 under Domitian, from whom consequently it would have received the name of *Flavia Augusta*. There was another *ala miliaria* styled simply *Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum*, of which mention is made *l.c.* in diploma xlvii, granted by M. Aurelius and L. Verus (A.D. 167). The first, Flavia Augusta, is also recorded on a stone in Orelli (n. 3041) dedicated to the names of a soldier belonging to it, *EQUES ALAE I FLAV. AVG. BRIT. ex C. R.*, and, though the second appears for the first time in a diploma of the year 167, ii BRITT. ex C. R., which would refer its conscription at the latest to the year 141, it must have been contemporary with the former which could not otherwise have received the denomination of *first*. Of an *Ala Britannica civium Romanorum*, there is mention among the diplomas of the *Corpus* under the number xlii and xliii, most probably of A.D. 145 and 146. The mutilated state of the bronze makes it impossible to draw any conclusion from it, as to the difference from or identity of this wing with either of the two former.

B.

Let us now pass to the records in stone and bronze of the auxiliaries raised in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire amongst the British of the Continent.

The first cohort of Brittones, of which we have any memory, is that recorded in a diploma of Domitian A.U.C. 838 (A.D. 85) with this title *Cohors I Brittonum miliaria*. The name is written in full, so that we may be certain of its existence, according to the method of calculation given above, at the time of Nero. Perhaps to this same cohort refer two stones and a tile, on the first of which it is called COH. I. BR. ∞ EQ., viz., *Cohors I Brittonum miliaria equitata* (given by Promis in his "History of Turin," p. 365, n. 147), while in the latter two it is styled simply, on the second stone, COH. I. BRIT. (Orelli, n. 3575 and in the Berlin Corpus III, 5455), and on the tile, COH I BR, viz., COHORS I BRITTONUM (given by Hübner in the Corpus VII, 1229.) If these last three inscriptions must be referred, as is probably the case, to one and the same first cohort of Brittones, we may conclude that it was at first composed of only 500 men and was afterwards raised to 1,000; or else, after being first *miliaria*, it became reduced by loss in war, &c., to *quingenaria*, when it was later on brought up to its original strength of 1000 men, and reinforced with a body of horse, whereon it would take the name of *miliaria equitata*.

This first cohort of Britons must be discriminated from three other first cohorts distinguished by different chronological titles, namely :

(a) COH. I. FL. BRITTONUM on a stone given by Henzen *l.c.* n. 6519, and on another stone in the Corpus III, 2024, COH. I. FL. BRITTONUM; n. 1193 COH. I. FL. BRITTONUM; n. 3256 COH. I. FL. BRITTONUM; n. 4811, CHOR. I. FL. BRIT.; n. 5668, CHOR. I. FL. BT. (*sic.*);

(b) COH. I. ULPIA BRITTONUM ∞ (viz. *miliaria*) in a diploma of Antoninus Pius given by Borghesi (Œuvres, vol. iii p. 371) and in the Corpus III. n. XLIV.;

(c) COH. I. ÆLIA BRITTONUM on a stone of the year 238, given by Borghesi (*Ib.* v. p. 227).

These three cohorts took their names from the Emperor under whom they were raised, namely the Flavian under one of the three Emperors of that gens, Vespasian, Titus or Domitian, the Ulpian from Trajan, and the Ælian from Hadrian. As a rule, no doubt, fresh troops were enrolled every certain number of years, or on the occurrence of any emergency, and each tributary nation had a fixed contingent of auxiliaries to furnish. These distinctive names of the Imperial families appear to have been given to several first cohorts of Brittones in succession, at once to embody the fresh levies, and to supply the losses occasioned in the original first cohorts by death, casualties, or disbandment. These names must have been given them from the beginning or otherwise they could not be discriminated one from another, each being called *Cohors I*.

The name of first cohort always implies at least a second under arms at the same time. The second cohort of Brittones is not far to seek.

The inscription furnished above by Promis contains mention of a prefect, L. Alfius Restitutus of COH. II. BR. EQ, viz. *Cohortis II Brittonum equitate*, the formation of which like the first must be referred to Nero. This second cohort is probably identical with COH. II BR. ∞ , viz., *Cohors II Brittonum miliaria* found on a stone in Hungary and published by Akner and Muller (n. 787).

However two entirely different second cohorts must here be admitted. The first enrolled under one of the Flavian Emperors, and hence called Flavia, is recorded on a stone given by Orelli (n. 804) thus: COH. II. FL. BRITTONUM EQUITAT., and belongs to the time of Hadrian. This inscription enabled Desjardins to supplement another fragment discovered by him in one of the Danubian principalities, and published in the *Annali dell'Istituto Archeologico* for 1868, p. 55, thus :

D. M.
ANTONIO
VALERIO 7. C.
II BRITT. . . .
ATUS
.

(The 7 or ill-formed C inverted is meant for centurio.)

The supplement here required is *Coh. II. FL(aviae) BRITTONUM*. It is probable that this same Flavian cohort acquired later by its valour the title of Alexandrian from the Emperor Alexander Severus, with which title it appears on a stone of Lower Moesia of the year 230, and published in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. ii, p. 295, n. 355, thus *Balnear Coh II. Fl. Britt. Alexandrianæ a solo restitute*, where Flavian appears to have been the original designation, and Alexandrian an honorific addition.

The other second cohort is mentioned in a diploma already quoted and granted by Hadrian, A.D. 114: COH. II, NERVIA AUG. PACENSIS ∞ BRITTONUM.

The third cohort of Brittones is recorded for the first time with certain date on a stone of the year of Christ 211, under Septimius Severus, discovered at Ratisbon and lately published in the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (vol. iii, n. 5935), where it is called simply COH. III. BRIT., namely *Cohors III Brittonum*. It appears under the same name on two other stones found on the Danube and published by Akner and Muller (nn. 13 and 799). This cohort must have been stationed for a very long time in Rhætia, as we find it there, except perhaps with some short intermission, from the time of Trajan, at the latest, down to the beginning of the fifth century, as we may judge from the testimony of the *Notitia dignitatum utriusque Imperii*, ch. 34, where we read—

Tribunus cohortis tertie Brittonum Abusina.

(Abusina is the present Eining near Abensburg.)

The existence of this cohort at a very early date is attested by two diplomas, one of Trajan (A.D. 107), lately discovered at Weissenberg in Bavaria, and published in the *Corpus*, n. xxiv, p. 867, which brings its formation down to the year 82 at the latest, namely, to the time of Domitian, and the other of M. Aurelius and L. Verus (A.D. 166), published in the *Ephemeris Epigr.* ii. p. 460. This cohort is also mentioned in an inscription given by Henzen (n. 6729) COH. III BRITTONUM VETERANOR. EQUITATA, where the word *Brittonum* is written in full. This inscription of British veterans is attributed by Zaccaria and Promis (p. 47) to the time of Hadrian. If, as Hübner thinks, a tile discovered in Britain bearing the inscription c. III BR (vol. vii of *Corpus*, n. 1230) must be interpreted *Cohors III Brittonum*, we must allow that in the beginning it was stationed for some time in that island; and two other tiles, one (vol. iii, in 1703 [3]) COH. III BRITT. and the other (*Ephemer. Epigr.* iv, p. 77, n. 206) c. III B, interpreted *Coh.*

III Brittonum, found in Dacia, would lead us to believe that it was removed thither for a short time from its ordinary station in Rhætia.

The fourth cohort of Brittones is known only from two stones and a tile discovered in England. They were published by Hübner in the seventh vol. of the *Corpus*. The first is a fragment under n. 177,

GELLII
PRÆ C. III
: V BRIT . . .

and the editor observes that *de Præfecto Cohortis IV Brittonum cogitari posse certum est. cf. tegule ejus cohortis in Yorkshire et Cumberland repertæ infra edende.*

The second is a fragment under n. 458,

VAE . IVL . GER . . .
NUS . . ACTAR . . .
COH . III . BR . . .
ANTONINIA
L . L . M

The name *Antoniniana* was probably derived from Caracalla when he served with his father in Britain, and obtained for his victories¹ gained there the name of Britannicus (A.D. 210), as attested by coins struck on that occasion. This cohort must have distinguished itself in this war and have obtained the decorative title of the Emperor's cognomen.

The tile is given under n. 1231, thus: COH III BRE (*sic.*) We have two other examples, COH IV BRET and COHORT III BM.

Thus, the first, third and fourth cohorts of Brittones are proved to have been stationed for some time at least in Britain. Now if the Britanni and Brittones were both names of the people of the same island, Britain, the Romans would never have stationed them in their native country, and much less made them fight against their own countrymen.

Of the fifth cohort of Brittones all memory is lost, but it must be admitted to have had an existence as memorials of a sixth and seventh cohort are not wanting.

The sixth cohort is recorded in two inscriptions, one of which is given by Renier (*Inscriptions Romaines de l'Algerie*, Paris, 1855 in fol., n. 2776) and now reproduced in the *Corpus* (n. 5363).

Q . DOMITIO . Q . F .
QUIR . VICTORI
PRÆF . COHR . VI . BRITTON
TRIB. MIL. LEG . X . FRETENSIS etc.

The second inscription is registered in the 2nd vol. of the *Corpus* (n. 2424) and runs thus:—

L TERENCE
M F QUIR . RUFO
PRÆF . . . COH . . . VI . . . BRITTO
O . LEG : I . M . P . F. DON. DON. AB.
IMP TRAJANO DAC etc.

namely, *donis donato ab Imp. Trajano bello Dacico*. If this Terentius Rufus deserved promotion from the rank of centurion (signified by the

¹ Or for his success. For his *Victorie Britannicæ*, v. Eckhel, D.N.V.T. 7, p. 207.

inverted C) in the Legio I Minervia Pia Fidelis to that of prefect of the sixth cohort of Brittones for his valour in the Dacian war (whether the first or second does not appear), the sixth must have been contemporary with the third cohort of Brittones.

Lastly, the seventh cohort of Brittones is recorded on a stone by Smetius (147, 20) thus :—

I . O . M
L. OCTAVIUS
CELER. PRÆF.
COH . VII . BRIT.
ET COH . I . THRAC.

We can only conjecture that this cohort, certainly not Britannic, as the British cohorts of the Isle do not approach that number, belonged like the foregoing to the age of Trajan and Hadrian, if not to an earlier period. That besides these seven cohorts of foot, which must have existed contemporaneously, three of which were partially strengthened with horse, the Brittones may also have furnished some four *alæ* of cavalry, appears from the *Notitia Imperii Orientalis*, in which is registered a fourth wing of Brittones stationed in the Thebaid.

That there was at least one *Ala Brittonum* in the first ages of the Empire would seem certain from a lapidary inscription lately published by Renier (n. 3835), and now reproduced in the seventh vol. of the *Corpus*. It runs thus :—

D . M . S
MARCUS
ULP. FAUSTI
NUS . LIBRAR
ALE (*sic*) BRITT . . .
VETRAN . . . (*sic*)

which is there interpreted *LIBRARIUS ALÆ BRITTONUM VETERANORUM Miliar(ie)*.

The question now arises whence the Brittones of the Continent came, and how far they were known to the Romans. To both of these questions our author has a ready answer.

I.

He makes the Britanni and the Brittones both come originally from the same place, namely, from the island of Brittia, mentioned by Procopius, the modern peninsula of Jutland. Procopius flourished in the reign of Justinian, and in his history of the Gothic war (Bk. iv, ch. xx) he wrote as follows :—

Per id tempus milites, qui Brittiam (Βριττίαν) insulam colunt dimicaverunt cum Varnis . . . Brittia autem insula in hoc Oceano sita est haud amplius CC. stadiis procul a littore contra ipsa Rheni ostia inter Britanniam ac Thulem insulam . . . Porro Brittiam insulam nationes tres numerosissimæ suo quæque sub rege habitant, Angli ("Ἀγγιλοι) Frisones (φρίσσορες), cognominesque insule BRITTONES (Βριττώρες).

The geographical knowledge of the ancients was so limited that it is no wonder if Procopius called Jutland an island, whereas we know it to be a peninsula. That the island of Brittia mentioned by him is identical with modern Jutland is sufficiently established by the fact that he places it between Britain and Thule, an island to the east identical

with Scandinavia, called also by the Ancients Scantia and Baltia. As for the assertion that the island of Brittia was 200 stadia from the continent and over against the mouth of the Rhine, Borghesi is of opinion that our author included in the said island a part of Holland as far as the Zuider-Zee.

As for the Angles called by Procopius Ἀγγελοι, by Ptolemy (ii, 11, 15) Ἀγγελοι, and by Tacitus (Germ. XL) Anglii, we know that they inhabited for a long time the lower part of Jutland, namely Sleswig and Holstein, and there seems no doubt that it was these Angles who, together with the Saxons, were in the middle of the fifth century invited by the British of the island to aid them against the Scots and Picts.

That Britain, being an island, should have been peopled from the neighbouring continent, and that there should be a mother country on the continent common both to those who migrated to the island in such force as to change its name from Albion, by which Pliny says it was first known, to that of their own people, Britain, seems in itself in the highest degree probable; and that the greater portion of the British people remained on the continent and gradually came down from the north, and moved from place to place in their southward course, is in harmony with what we know of other similar migratory northern tribes.

In the passage of Procopius, which we have given incomplete in Latin, he not only discriminates the two islands, but says distinctly that he gives the history of each separately. *Sed de Britannia ac Thule in superioribus libris disserui*, he says of the one, and *Hactenus de insula Brittia* of the other.

If it is clear from the position given by Procopius to the two countries that they must be different, so is it from the history he gives of each. For he narrates four particulars concerning the Britons of the continent, or Brittia, which never could be referred to Britain proper or the island, viz. :—(1.) That the Angles submitted to be ruled by a king of these Brittones with whom they were allied, and whom they furnished with ships and men for their expedition against the Varni, a people of the continent, at a time when Procopius, who was a contemporary of these events, knew that the Angles and Saxons were engaged in establishing themselves by force in England, where they drove the British before them; (2) That in the sixth century of the Christian Era the use of the horse was not only unknown amongst the people of Brittia, but that they had never even heard of such an animal, a thing which might be true of the Brittones of the continent but not of the British of the island, as is testified by what we read in all historians from Cæsar to Procopius; (3) That there was a third people in Brittia, viz., the Frisones, of the existence of which in Britain proper we have no trace in history; and (4) that the Angles, Frisians and Saxons went every year from the island of Brittia to the continent into the territory of the Franks, in order to become their subjects, at a time when they were already so successful in founding kingdoms of their own in the island of Britain.

Thus we must admit that the inhabitants of Albion, la Bretagne and Brittia were originally one; that part came down from the grassy plains of Sleswick and Holstein into Belgium where they settled on either bank of the Rhine, while in the middle of the fifth century they pushed their way into Armorica, now Bretagne in France. Both Albion and Armorica had their names changed by the very force and completeness

of the invasion, just as after the Anglo-Saxon conquest Britain became England; after the Frankish conquest Gaul became France; and after the Lombard Conquest the north of Italy became Lombardy.

As regards the hitherto commonly maintained theory that Albion was peopled by British from Armorica, and that Britannia minor was peopled by British refugees from England, it is opposed by insuperable difficulties. The assertion of Bede, who wrote in the seventh century, *In primis hæc insula (Albion) Brittones solum, a quibus nomen accepit. incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam adrecti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt* (Hist. Eccles. L. i. C. i.), is sufficiently contradicted by the fact that no people bearing the British name were known to the Romans as peopling Armorica, for Cæsar, who traversed Gaul from one end to the other, never mentions them once. It seems incredible that so numerous a people should have passed over into Albion without leaving any trace of their residence in their mother country, a fact the more unlikely as we do find traces of this nation in other parts of the Continent. It may be added here that both Cæsar and Tacitus express complete ignorance as to the early inhabitants of Britain. The former declares (de B. G. v. 12), *Britannie pars inferior ab his colitur, qui natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt*; the latter (Agricola, c. 11) *Britanniam, qui mortales initio coluerint, indigence an adrecti, ut inter Barbaros, parum compertum*.

As for the invasion and peopling of Armorica by the British refugees from England these are the words of Gildas, our earliest authority (de Excidio Britanniae c. xxv). *Nonnulli miserarum reliquiarum (of the British) in montibus deprehensi acervatim jugulabantur: alii fame confecti accedentes manus hostibus dabant in ævum servituri: si tamen non continuo trucidarentur, quod altissime gratie stabat in loco: alii transmarinas petentes regiones cum ululatu magno; alii a montanis collibus minacibus preruptis vallati et densissimis saltibus marinisque rupibus . . . in patria licet trepidi perstabant*.

Gildas, we must observe, may have written his history less than a century after the events in question, and may have obtained his information from eye witnesses. Now that the refugees from England were not in great numbers we may conclude from what we are here told, that they formed but a fourth portion of those of whom he speaks; and that this portion, which fled to France, was not the largest, we may argue from what he goes on to narrate, namely, that after a short time, on the withdrawal of the enemy, the British who had remained on the island came forth from their concealment, took up a strong position and gained a series of victories over their invaders.

It is very probable that these refugees from Britain did not go over in a body. They were too much discouraged to join together in one plan of action, and too weak and ill-provided with necessities to attempt the invasion of a kingdom across the waters. It is more likely that scattered, deprived of almost everything, and encumbered with their wives and children, they crossed the channel where best they could, and landing at different points on the coast from Dunkerque to Armorica implored protection from the inhabitants.

Prosper of Aquitaine, who brought his Chronicle down to the year 455, the last of the Emperor Valentinian III, while he carefully records all the invasions Gaul had suffered from so many barbarous peoples, the

Alani, Goths, Franks, and Burgundians, makes no mention of the descent of the British on Armorica. We may say the same of another writer of Gaul, his contemporary, Sidonius Apollonaris, who, though he speaks of the British in the northern provinces, never hints even that they came over from Britain. The same must be said of Gregory of Tours who wrote in the sixth century, and who more than once makes mention of the British in Armorica, but without a word as to whence they came. Moreover it is most extraordinary that not only does Bede observe complete silence as to this invasion of Armorica, but so also does Gildas, who wrote in that very country then peopled by the Brittones, so that if the latter had been his fellow countrymen he would certainly have mentioned that fact as a matter of extreme interest to the British of the island at home and abroad.

As to the question when and whence Armorica received its British population our author answers as follows :

We are told by the historian Zosimus (vi. 5) that about the beginning of the fifth century, during the reign of Honorius, while the whole Roman Empire was being threatened with invasion by the Barbarians, who were hemming it round on every side, Gaul, roused by their success, raised the standard of revolt. Amongst the rebellious provinces he makes especial mention of Armorica (*ὁ Ἀρμόριχος ἄπας*) which, in imitation of the neighbouring island of Britain, drove out the Roman magistracy and formed itself into a free and independent commonwealth.

The policy adopted in this emergency by the Romans was to make peace with the rebellious provinces by recognising their independence in order to engage their former subjects to make common cause with them against their new invaders. Jornandes (*De Getarum origine* c. xxxvi) in describing the memorable campaign of Ætius against Attila gives us the following information as to the tribes who fought under the Roman colours :—*Adfuere auxiliares Franci, Sarmatae, Armoriciani, Liticiani, Burgundiones, Sarones, Riparioli, Briones* (sic), *quondam milites Romani, tunc vero jam in numero auxiliariorum exquisiti.* (The people Briones being altogether unknown to antiquity, De Vit would here read Britones, as, from what he shows further on, that name would correspond to a people living, like the rest of those here mentioned, in the north, and though formerly subdued, then enjoying independence.)

Now, there is mention here of the people of Armorica, who before this date (A.D. 451) were Roman soldiers and now were allies and auxiliaries. If then they had already for some time past cast off the Roman yoke, how can we admit their country to have been successfully invaded by the British refugees from England? and if they were ready to fly to the assistance of the Romans against the Huns, how would they have tamely submitted to a band of fugitives from across the seas, as some historians would have us suppose?

But the real invaders of Armorica are soon mentioned by Jornandes in a passage which has been misunderstood by Lingard and others as referring to the British of the Isle. In chapter xlv. he thus writes :—*Euricus, Vesegotharum rex, crebram mutationem Romanorum principum cernens, Gallias suo jure nisus est occupare. Quod comperiens Athenius imperator protinus solatia Britonum postulavit. Quorum rex Riethimus cum XII millibus veniens in Biturgicas civitatem, Oceano e navibus egressus, susceptus est.* This was in 467. Now, it seems incredible that

the British of the island, situated as they were, could at that period, corresponding with the first year of the reign of King Arthur, have sent a well equipped army of 12,000 men by ship in aid of the Romans, nor would it ever have occurred to the mind of the Emperor Anthemius to have recourse to them. Still less could they have been of the number of those British who twelve or fifteen years before had fled from their native island, who could not possibly in the short space of sixteen years have possessed themselves of Armorica, and fortified and garrisoned their position there so as to be able to despatch 12,000 men under their King Riothimus against the Visigoths.

As we must admit an invasion of Armorica by the Britons of the continent about the year 460, at the very time when Britons of the same stock and tongue were flying over from Britain on to the whole western coast of France, the coincidence of the two events has been the cause why historians have merged them in one and attributed the name and population of La Bretagne to the British of the island alone. That the language of some tribes in the north of Germany was similar to that of Britain, we are told expressly by Tacitus in his "Germania," ch. xlv: *Dextro Suevici maris litore Aestiorum gentes alluuntur; quibus ritus habitusve Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior: matrem deum venerantur*. Of the peculiar form of worship mentioned in the last words we shall have occasion to treat presently.

II.

A further elucidation of the question as to whence these Britons, who in the fifth century peopled Armorica and gave it their name, originally came, must be reserved till we have given our author's answer to the second, namely, how far this people of Britons living on the continent was known to the Romans. Our having prepared the way, by showing the necessity we are under of admitting such a continental tribe of Britons, will enable us to understand the meaning and weight of the testimony of various authors, which has hitherto been entirely overlooked or else misunderstood.

It is well known that Pliny the Elder, who finished his work on natural history and dedicated it to the Emperor Vespasian in the year of Rome 830, had served in Germany some thirty years previously, and was hence well acquainted with the places he describes. Now, in the enumeration he gives of the peoples who in his day inhabited Belgium, he makes express mention of the Britons. His words are as follows:—*A Scaldi incolunt cetera Toxandri pluribus nominibus, dein Menapii, Morini, Oromarsari juncti pago, qui Gesoriacus vocatur, Britanni, Ambiani, Belleraci . . . Frisiabones, Betasii* (l. iv. c. 31, sec. 106.) Hyginus also, who wrote his work *De Castrorum Munitione* during the lifetime of Trajan, twice makes mention of *Brittones* as furnishing auxiliaries to the Roman Legions, together with the Cantabri, the Getæ, and the Dacians (ch. 29 and 30.)

The passage of Pliny is in itself as clear and uncontrovertible as that we have given above from Procopius.¹ There are, moreover, various

¹ If any one should object to our admitting a race of Britons on the continent from their being mentioned only once by Pliny, the same objection might be urged against the existence of other peoples, as for instance, the Breuci and the Nervii,

who are mentioned only once by that author, and yet, as De Vit shows in his Onomasticon, we have record of eight cohorts of the former, and of six of the latter serving in the Roman army.

reasons why we should place the primitive seat of this people of Britons nearer the Rhine than the sea, though they were ever moving downwards towards the south in search of better lands, like all the other northern tribes in that age of transmigration, when in the race for new settlements one people pressed as it were on the heels of another.

This theory is confirmed by the discovery of various lapidary inscriptions which will here do us as good service, as they did in the matter of the two separate armies of the insular and continental Britons.

One of these stones was found on this side of the Rhine near Xanten, which is supposed to be not far from the encampment of the Romans called *Castra vetera*, hard by the colony founded there by Trajan, perhaps as early as A.U.C. 851, when he had command of the legions of the Rhine in the lifetime of Nerva. This inscription was published by Dr. Henzen in his supplement to Orelli, n. 5932, and is as follows :

MATRIBUS · BRITTIS · L · VALE
RIUS · SIMPLEX · MIL · LEG
XXX · V · V · V · S · L · M

namely *miles legionis XXX Ulpiæ Victoris*. The *Matres Brittæ* or *Britta*, to which this inscription is dedicated, cannot but be so called from the name of their country as given us by Procopius, namely, Brittia, whence came the Britons who paid them a sort of worship. The women of that country are called in Greek by Procopius, *Βρίτται*, and we know from Tacitus (*Annals* I, xiv, 30 *et seq.*) and from another stone given by Henzen (n. 5942), and dedicated to the *Matres Britannicæ*, that the women amongst the peoples of the German race, and especially the Britones and Britanni, were held in the highest veneration. (*Cf.* above the *matrem deum venerantur* of Tacitus, Germ. xlv). Now our finding a Roman legionary who discharges a vow in such a place to a foreign divinity is sufficient evidence to declare it a local or neighbouring deity, so that we must place not far hence the British people amongst whom he would find that worship. The assertion of Pliny, therefore, who enumerates the British amongst the population of Belgium in his day receives confirmation from this inscription.

To this worship of the British matrons may be referred that of the *matres Malvisæ* or *deæ Malvisæ* as they are called on a stone discovered at Cologne in an inscription recording a vow discharged in their name by an ordinary soldier of British race. *In H.D.D. diabus* (sic) *MalvasIs et Silvano Aur. Verecundus ordi. Brito V.S.L.M.*, viz., in honorem domus divinæ . . . *ordinarius* (miles) *Brito etc.* (published by Orelli, n. 2080 and later by Brambach, n. 362.) Another stone referring to the worship of the *Matres Brittæ* of the Continent was found in England bearing this inscription, "To the divine transmarine mothers," *deabus Matribus tramarinis* (sic) (given by Henzen, n. 5940). Besides the Brittian mothers, the *deæ Malvisæ* and the *transmarine matrons*, the British of the continent seem also to have worshipped the *dea Nealenia*. Several votive inscriptions to this goddess have been found in Zeland not far from West-Capell, between the Scheld and the Meuse, in one of which a merchant connected with that race by trade but not by birth, on his arrival from the island of Britain, discharged a vow for the safe arrival of his cargo on the continent. *Dee Nehalennia ob merces rite conservatas Secund. Silvamus negotiator cretarius Britannicianus V. S. L. M.* (Orelli, n. 2029, *Vide*

other inscriptions sacred to this divinity, nn. 2030, 2031, 2774, 2775, and 3912, and in Reinesius, cl. i, from n. 177 to 184.)

What goes to strengthen our belief of a British people on the continent hitherto almost unobserved by historians is the record we have, not only of the name Britones always carefully applied to the soldiers recruited on the continent and never once given to those of Britain, but even of various tribes of the former race which cannot be referred to Britain, such as the *Brittones Anavionenses*, the *Brittones Nemaningenses*, the *Brittones Triputienses*, the *Brittones Curvedenses* or *Curuedenses* and the *Brittones Aurelianenses*.

There is mention of the *Brittones Anavionenses* during the reign of Trajan, when the Romans had not penetrated far into the island of Britain, Spartianus telling us that at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, Trajan's successor, the British of the island, *teneri sub ditione non poterant* (Hadr. 21.)

We have seen above that the legion to which the soldier who discharged his vow to the Brittanian mothers belonged, was the Thirtieth Ulpian Victrix, which took its name from Trajan, who was surnamed Victrix for the victories he had obtained perhaps in these very regions. Anyhow we have reason to think that various tribes of Brittones were by Trajan subdued on the other side of the Rhine. This circumstance might be argued from a fragment now preserved in the Palazzo Comunale of Fuligno, in which we read—

coHORTIS	· · ·	primipilo	PRAEfecto
pRAEF	·	TRIB	MILItum
BRITTONUM	·	EQVIT	CENSITOr
PROC	·	AVG	ANAVIONens
	·	ARMENIAE	Major etc.

Borghesi, a great authority (*Euvres*, t. 3 and *Annali* for 1846, p. 315) attributes this fragment to *T. Haterius Nepos*, who must have been prefect of Egypt under Hadrian about A.V.C. 874, and imperial procurator of Armenia during the last year of Trajan, in 867, so that he must have been an extraordinary legate sent by the latter for the enrolling of the said *Brittones Anavionenses*. Certain it is, whoever may have had this office, that we must admit the region where dwelt this tribe, to have been reduced to the form of province, in the time of Trajan, and to have been therefore conquered by the Roman arms at a still earlier period. We are enabled to conclude therefore that they must have been a tribe of Brittones living beyond the Rhine.

We may apply the same reasoning to four other inscriptions which have preserved the memory of two other tribes of Brittones, the *Nemaningenses* and the *Triputienses*. They were all discovered in the Oden-Wald, between the Necker and the Maine, two tributaries of the Rhine, and are all votive, and record a number of each tribe under the charge of a centurion of the Legio xxii Primigenia Pia Fidelis. We know from history that this legion was in Germany in the time of M. Aurelius, and the first of these stones refers to that very period, for it is of the year of Christ 178, and may be read in Henzen (n. 6731). It begins thus—

APOLLINI ET
DIANAE . N . BRIT
ET . EXPLORAT
NEMANING . C
AGENTE . T . AUREL . etc.

and is of the time of consuls we know, *Orfito et Rufo Cos.*

Another stone, taken from Steiner (n. 166), is thus read by Henzen (n. 6731 note,)

I . O . M
N . BRIT
NE . M . ANC. etc.

namely, *numerus Britonum Nemanicensium*.

The *Brittones Triputienses* are known to us by several inscriptions. Those mentioned above are given by Henzen, n. 6787 and Orelli n. 1627.

FORTUNAE SAC
BRITTONES . TRIP
QUI . SUNT . SUB . CURA
T. MANILI . T . F . POLLIA
MAGNI . SENOPE
7 . LEG . XXII . P . P . F . O . P.

That the abbreviation TRIP has not been rendered amiss we know from the second inscription where it is given in full.

— NYMPHIS
N . BRITTON
TRIPUTIEN
SUB CURA
M . ULP[
MALCHI
7 . LEG . XXII
PR . P . F

To the same *Brittones Triputienses* must be referred two other lapidary fragments discovered in Hesse on the Rhine, and published by Bramback, nn. 1392, 1393. There is no reason to believe *Triputiens* to be here a corruption of *Tripotienses*, so that we might refer the stones to *Tripontium* (Dowbridge) placed in the Itinerary of Antonine between London and Lincoln. The diploma of Domitian establishing the distinction between the *Britanni* and *Brittones* make this unnecessary. It may be mentioned here that there is to this day a village, near Mayence, on this side of the Rhine, called *Bretzenheim*, in Latin *Vicus Britannorum*. Whether this name was derived from soldiers of the *Britanni* or *Brittones* being there stationed, is uncertain. There is nothing however against the opinion that the name may be derived from a tribe of *Brittones* having settled there in their transmigration from northern Germany.

The *Brittones Curuedenses* or *Gurvedenses* were made known to us by a votive hand discovered in 1831 in Heidenheim in Nassau, on which was engraved the following inscription published first by Becker (drei römische Votirhände, Frankfort, 1862, in 4^{to}), and afterwards by Bramback (n. 1455).

JOVI DOLICENO
C . JULIUS . MARINUS
O . BRITTONUM
CURUEDENS
D . D

This centurion Julius Marinus is recorded, it would appear, on another stone found near the same place (Henzen n. 6794) *C. Julius Marinus, Ara, Armatura eg. XIII. G. M. V. Ann. XXX. Stip. XII*, etc., to which fourteenth legion, stationed as we know in Germany, these *B. Curuedenses* were perhaps attached as auxiliaries.

Of the *Brittones Aurelienses* we have mention on a stone fragment discovered at Oehringen in Würtemberg and given by Brambach, thus :

COH . i . HELVE . ET BR + T
AURE . SUB . CUR . C

However this much must be admitted, that the separation of the name *Brittones* and *Aurelienses* in an inscription in ancient Falleri, and published by F. Garucci in his *Archaeological Dissertations* (vol. i, p. 49), which records a *præpositus* whose name has been lost *explorationis Seiopensis numeri Aurelianensis*, as also the separation of the names *Brittones* and *Nemaningensis* in one inscription we have, throws some doubt upon the existence of these two tribes of Brittones. That there were however *numeri* composed of Brittones we know from various inscriptions, as in the one given by Borghesi (*Œuvres*, vol. iv, p. 199), IDVS OCTOBRES GIINIO (*i.e.* *Genio*) HORREORUM NUMERI BRITTONVM. Another instance is given by Brambach (n. 1592), while a *quæstionarius numeri Brittonum* is recorded by Akner (n. 262) of A.D. 186, and a *Numerus Brittonum miliaris* is given by Brambach in n. 1563.

That the Romans never placed *cohortes* and *alæ* in the country where they had been recruited is certain ; that however this was the case with the *numeri* does not appear. There was a great difference between the last named and the two former bodies, at least in the first ages of the Empire and before Diocletian, to which period all the stones hitherto found are antecedent. The *numerus* seems to have been irregular bodies of soldiers taken from some province, as in the inscription of a PRÆPOS. NUMERI EQUITUM ELECTOR. EX ILLYRICO, given by Henzen (n. 6729) and supposed to be of the time of Hadrian ; or else the *numerus* may have meant a body of men detached from the cohorts or *alæ* for some special service ; or again a number of men enrolled for some special emergency, as the erection of fortifications or the quelling of a sudden revolt, at the end of which they were disbanded. It does not appear that they had fixed stations like the regular bodies of troops. We learn however from Zozomen that in the fourth century the Roman cohorts began at that time to be called *Numeri*, though the two names continued to exist contemporaneously side by side τα Ρωμαίων ταγματα ἃ νῦν ἀριθμοῦς χαλοῦσι (H. E., i, 8 ; cf. Vegetius, de re militari, ii, 9).

As it is apparent that the Romans came in contact with a people of Brittones on the continent whom they defeated beyond the Rhine, subdued in their settlements and enrolled as soldiers, whom they then stationed in various parts of the vast country now embraced by the name of Germany, as well as in more distant parts of the Roman Empire, we are now in a position to give its true value to the actual statements of Procopius and Pliny, as well as to various other testimonies.

Pliny himself in his *Natural History* records a circumstance of the highest interest. He tells us that when Germanicus, the brother of Drusus and of Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, was at the head of the Roman legions in Germany, between the years 764 and 770, at a time when Britain was still free from the Roman yoke, he came, in the territory inhabited by the Frisians, a people at that time friendly to the Romans, to a certain spring of fresh water near the shore of the German Ocean, beyond the island called Batavia, between the mouth of the Rhine and lake Flevo, the modern Zuidersee, upon drinking which the

Roman soldiers were seized with some scorbutic malady. Hereupon the Frisians made known to them a certain herb which had power to heal that sickness. Pliny was not a little surprised at hearing that herb called by the natives *Britannica*, for though the place was bordering on the German Ocean over against Britain, that island not being yet subdued, could hardly give a name to an article of common use that could not be procured hence in any great quantity: *mirorque nominis causa* (l. xxv, 6, § 21). No doubt the friendly people amongst whom the Romans then were came originally from the not far distant Brittia, as we are told indeed by Procopius, whence the herb derived its name, and though Pliny himself makes mention of a British people on the continent, on the Rhine, he was ignorant of their primitive seat in Jutland. Lipsius in his notes on Tacitus, Annals I, 63, relates that even in his time the Frisians called a certain moist kind of herb *Bretanscheide*. The same herb is called in Greek by Dioscorides, iv, 3, *Βρεταννίχη*, and by Paulus Egineta, vii, p. 233-9, *Βρεταννίχη*.

As we have seen so far, the distinction between the two names *Britanni* and *Brittones*, having little foundation in any difference of race, as the two people were originally one, though when discovered by the Romans they inhabited parts of Europe somewhat distant from each other, was invented by that eminently wise, administrative and logical-minded people, who did everything by rule and order, at first only for military purposes. A distinction in itself so necessary for the army and civil service, and hence strictly adhered to when possible, though exceptions from the merely conventional nature of the denomination itself did not fail to occur, was not long in being adopted by the writers of Rome. Hence the use of the word *Brittones* to designate the continental Britons becomes of great service in supplying the true meaning to various passages of the authors of antiquity which have hitherto been little understood.

Both Juvenal and Martial mention the *Britanni* and *Brittones*, and with such characteristics that we cannot doubt of their being two different peoples. Of the *Britanni* Juvenal thus speaks (Satire, xv., v. 110):

“Nunc totas Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas;
Gallia caudicibus docuit facunda Britannos;
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.”

This passage receives light from another of Tacitus (Agric. 21): *Jam vero principum filios* (he is speaking of Roman Britain) *liberalibus artibus et ingenio Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanorum abnucebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent; inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delentimenta citiorum, porticus, et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocatur, quum pars servitutis esset.* And of the same people Martial says (xi., 3)

Dicitur et nostros cuitare Britannia versus.

After the refinement and cultivation attributed to the inhabitants of Roman Britain, the passage to the poverty-stricken and barbarous *Brittones* is too manifest to require further comment. Of the latter Martial speaks thus—*quam ceteros brucebor Britonis pauperis* (xi., 22), while Juvenal in the same satire quoted above classes them with the *Cimbri*, *Agathyrsi*, and *Sauromati*, to whom for barbarity and cruelty they were not inferior (v. 124).

“Quâ nec terribiles Cimbri, nec Brittones unquam
 Sauromatæque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi
 Hæc sævit rabie inbelle et inutile vulgus.”

It may here be mentioned that not only the inhabitants of Britain, but even the Caledonians, not yet subdued by the Roman arms, are called *Britanni* by Martial (Epigram. x., 44), and Statius (*Silv.* v., 2, 149). Yet that the legal distinction introduced between the two nations was not always strictly adhered to we have a proof in the famous epigram of Ausonius, who wrote in the latter half of the fourth century. Yet even in this cunningly conceived epigram *de quodam Silvio, qui erat Brito*, we may note that he avoids in his repeated antitheses to oppose ever Brito to Britannus, for Silvius was a Briton of the Continent, one of an uncouth race, whom he half in compliment calls Britannus; so that if we take away the finely spun opposition existing between the two words we destroy all the point of the severe chastisement inflicted by the poet on his adversary.

Our author shews the value of this distinction between the Britons of the Isle and of the Continent for the elucidation of history. After the copious exposition of all we know concerning the connection of the Romans with Britain from Claudius to Septimus Severus (pp. 77-86), he gives a learned and interesting account (pp. 152-182) of the origin of the fictitious opinion that Augustus made an expedition into Britain, and establishes beyond doubt that Augustus never once visited our island, but that the Britons, subjugated by that Emperor, were those of the Continent. He shews conclusively that Apponius, who flourished probably towards the beginning of the seventh century, attributed the conquest of Britain to Augustus on the authority of Livy, who in a fragment which may belong to the 135th or to the 139th Book, chronicles the victory of that Emperor over the Britons of the Continent (gained A.U.C. 727-30 or 738-741); on that of the Scholiast Servius on the 5th line of the 3rd Book of Virgil's *Georgics*.

“Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni,”

where allusion is made to the same victory; and on the 287th line of the first Book of the *Æneid*,

“Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,”

which must be referred to Julius Cæsar, dictator.

If we examine impartially all the documents left us by Grecian and Roman classic antiquity, it will appear evident that Augustus never once set foot in Britain. True, it is, that he thrice conceived, or pretended to conceive, the design of subjugating that island, but at the same time we have undoubted proof that he never put his design into execution.

He conceived the design of conquering Britain for the first time in the year of Rome 719, and he even went with this intention into Gaul during the following winter. But an insurrection among the recently subdued Pannonians and Dalmatians obliged him to desist and betake himself into Dalmatia instead (v. Dion Cassius, xlix, 38.) During that and the following six years he was too much occupied with the war against the Dalmatians, the civil war against M. Antony, and the affairs of the East, to think of Britain, which, according to the testimony of Horace in the

Seventh Epode, written about 722, remained untouched by the Roman arms :—

“Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet Sacra catenatus via.”

Horace here gently hints that the Romans had much better think of the Britons still unconquered instead of tearing one another to pieces in a civil war.

In the year of Rome 727 Augustus again resolved to carry war into Britain. Hence he went a second time into Gaul in order to undertake the command of the expedition in person, but the British sent ambassadors to him there and sued for peace. This is related by Dion (livi, 22). This expedition furnished Horace with a theme in his Ode to Fortune, written in 727, before the Emperor's departure.

All negotiations with the British emissaries having failed, Augustus again, in the year 728, determined on an expedition against the Island, when the Salasi, Cantabri, and Astures once more revolted, so that all his efforts had to be directed against them. Here Dion Cassius and Horace are again our authorities, the former in Book LIII, ch. xxv, the latter in the fifth Ode, Book III, written it would appear in 728, in which the poet would say, that in the same way as Jove is declared a ruler in the heavens by his thunder, so Augustus shall be held for a manifest God on earth by the conquest he will make over the enemies of the Roman name, and by adding to its glories in enlarging the borders of the Empire—

“Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare ; præsens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio gravibusque Persis.”

After that date Augustus dismissed all thought of the conquest of Britain, and we may say the same of his two immediate successors Tiberius and Caius.

That Augustus gained a victory over *some Britons* is beyond doubt, and we are, perhaps, now in a position to give its due weight and meaning to a passage of Jornandes in his book, *de regnorum successione*, written in the second half of the sixth century of our era, and composed, without doubt, with the help of historical authorities that have now in great part perished. He says, *Germanos, Gallos, Britones, Hispanos, Hiberos, Astures, Cantabros occidentali axe jacentes et post longum servitium desciscentes per se ipse Augustus accedens rursus servire coegit, Romanisque legibus vivere.*

Here we have mention of the Britones being subjugated by Augustus, together with other tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Spain. Of the victories of Augustus over these tribes no one doubts. Now, that the Britones here mentioned dwelt on the continent is clear from another passage in the same book of Jornandes, where he says, speaking of Claudius, *Fecit Claudius expeditionem in Britanniam insulam, quam jam nemo ante Julium Cæsarem, sed neque post eum, quisquam, adire ausus fuerat.* It is not improbable therefore that the Britons of the continent came down from Germany and obtained a footing in Belgium between Cæsar's departure from Gaul in 704 and the arrival of Augustus in 720, Pliny recording that they were there at that time. Augustus, therefore, having to wage war against the Germans on both sides of the Rhine, no doubt encountered

and subdued the Britones either in person or by his generals. The ignorance of later authors as to a people of Britones on the continent, has led to their referring passages quoted from Livy and Virgil to the imaginary victories of Augustus over the British of the Isle.

Our author draws at length fresh proofs of his thesis from a consideration of Virgil's Third Book of Georgics, 10th and following verses, and from an epigram of this poet preserved to us by Quinctilian in his "Oratorical Institutions," Book VIII, ch. iii, sec. 28.

NOTE.—When writing the above paper I was not aware that the distinction between *Britanni* and *Brittones* had attracted attention in this country. I knew only that since 1843 when Arneth published the famous diploma of Domitian, in which both nations are mentioned, the distinction between them had been recognised, but not insisted upon, by many learned men on the Continent, as Borghesi in 1846, and later on by Henzen, who in so doing did but confirm the surmise of his predecessor Orelli. Since however these sheets were in print, I have been informed by Mr. Hartshorne that the distinction has been admitted by Dr. McCaul in 1863, by Rev. J. Colingwood Bruce in 1867, and by Mr. Thompson Watkin in 1873 and again in 1881. Amongst recent historians the only allusion I have found to the subject is in Pearson's History of England in Early Ages, who simply says at page 6, "The resemblance of name is probably not delusive." A dissertation, in which the Brittones were for the first time traced to their original home on the Continent was published by De Vit in the Opuscoli di Modena of 1867.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 2, 1882.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

In opening the new session the noble President spoke of the great loss which the Institute had sustained by the death of Mr. E. P. Shirley, one of the earliest and most distinguished of its members, and of Mr. Carthew, who had supported the Institute for so many years. With regard to the meeting lately held at Carlisle it had been most successful, nothing could exceed the cordiality of their friends in the north; the excursions had been of the highest interest and papers of great value had been read at the sectional meetings.

The Rev. H. WHITEHEAD sent some "Notes on the Old-Hutton Chalice and the Hamsterley Paten," which were read by Mr. HARTSHORNE, and are printed in the *Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 410.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON communicated through Mr. Hartshorne the following observations on "A pedigree of Chamber of Raby Coat in Cumberland":—

"I have the honour to exhibit to the Institute a parchment roll of an heraldic and genealogical character, measuring four feet eight inches long by eight inches broad. It contains nine large shields, arranged vertically one above the other, having between them rectangular labels for inscriptions, while roundels at their sides are provided for the names of collaterals. It has been made about the middle of the seventeenth century, and purports to deduce the descent of Chamber of Raby Coat from the family of Chamber, whose pedigree is given by St. George in his 'Visitation of the County of Cumberland in 1615.' According to St. George's pedigree William Chamber was at Holme in Holderness in the time of Edward I, and his grandson was of Wolstid (Wolsty) Castle in Cumberland. In the seventh generation from William of Holme in Holderness, St. George gives four brothers:—

1. Richard Chamber.
2. Robert Chamber lord Abbott of St. Maryes of Holme Cuttrayne and p'sonn of Plimland.
3. Thom. Chamber lord Abbott of ffurnes in Com.' Lanck.
4. Launcelott Chamber lord Abbott of Peeterborough in Com.' Northampton.

"Some of these are historical personages. Thomas Chamber was

Abbot of Furness from 1491 to 1510 or thereabouts; Robert Chamber was Abbot of Holm Cultram from 1507 to 1518. *John* Chamber was the last abbot and first bishop of Peterborough. Whether he is the same as the *Lancelot* of the pedigree I do not know.

"Of all the abbots of Holm Robert Chamber has left the most to be remembered by; his rebus or device occurs everywhere; on his tombstone, whose fragments are now in the porch of the abbey church; on the porch itself; on farm houses and other buildings for a wide radius round; on old aumbries, etc. I have on a previous occasion exhibited at a meeting of the Institute a quarry of glass bearing it, and I now exhibit a photograph of it, taken from the bottom of a large pump trough, two feet square, which I found and turned over in a field some six miles from the abbey, while searching for a Roman well. The device is a punning one, a *chained bear*—a bear muzzled and chained in front of a pastoral staff which passes through a mitre, and the chain passes between the bear's fore legs and is held to the ground by the staff. Above are the initials R. C. The mitre is not very distinct in this example, but is clear on that on the abbot's tomb.

"With Abbot Robert Chamber the parchment before us commences. It says—:

'Robert Chambers first Abbot of that name of the Abbye holme in Cumberland was born at Chamber Hall in ffurnace wh had a brother wth him whose name was Thomas with three other Bretheren, but the said Thomas brother unto the above named Robart had the Rule and and Gov'ment of all the Abbot's lands and tenements who delt so ffaithfully in that his * * * that the Abbot his Brother to requite his ffaithfull dealing peured him the marriage of ane Jane Staffeld, daughter and heir of William Staffeld, after whch marriage he lived awhile at Westey Castell continuing dealer ffor the Abbot his brother a long time after wch for the trust that he found in the said Thomas bestowed on him the Raby Coats wh is held by lawfull descent ffrom the said Thomas unto this daye.'

"The deed by which the Abbot granted Raby Coates to his brother is in existence, and is dated in 1503. I have not seen it, nor do I know where it is, but I believe it proves the pedigree by St. George to be right, and the one under consideration to be wrong. Thomas was the name of the Abbot of Furness; Richard of the good manager, who got Raby Coat. Below the inscription I have just cited is a shield on which is a debased edition of the device. The artist has seen the device, and he has also seen a dancing bear; he puts a ring into the snout of his bear; he changes the pastoral staff into the bearward's pole, and he sticks it through the animal's body. He omits the mitre, but retains the R. C. and introduces (or copies from somewhere) a crescent. Throughout the rest of the pedigree, this device, initials and all, is headed as the coat of arms of Chamber, and impaled with those of their alliances. Of these I can only say I cannot reconcile them with the pedigree given by St. George, nor have I had the opportunity of going through the registers, but the gravestones of several of the persons mentioned in this pedigree are in the Abbey churchyard at Holm Cultram. I quote two:—

“October 21. 1586.

Here lyeth Ann Musgrave being murdered the 19th of the said month with the Shot of a pistol in her own House at Raby Coat by one Robert Beckworth. She was daughter of Jack Musgrave Cap^t of Beawcastle Kh^t. She was married to Thomas Chamber of Raby Coat and had Issue six sons vidlt Rob^t Thomas John Row Arth. Will. and a daughter Florence.”

“Jack Musgrave is described by Lily the astrologer, in his ‘Memoirs,’ as ‘a most pestilent fellow,’ but Lily made him drunk and purloined some compromising papers he held.

“Feb. vii. 1655.

John Chamber, till death brought him here
Maintaind still the Custome dear
The Church, the Wood and parish Right
He did defend with all his Might,
Kept constant holy Sabbath daies
And did frequent the Church alwaies ;
Gave Alms truely to the poor,
Who dayly sought it at his Door ;
And purchas'd Lands as much and more,
Than all his Elders did before.
He had four Children with his wives.
They died young. The one Wife survives.
None better of his Rank could be
For liberal Hospitalitie.”

“He was, I believe, the most litigious of all the litigious men this most litigious district of Cumberland has produced. From the time of the dissolution of the monasteries until now litigation has never ceased, as to what were the Abbot's rights and powers. The parchment pedigree now before us was evidently compiled for this John Chamber, after the death of his second child, and before the birth of his third, a date the parish register should fix.”

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Ferguson.

MR. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE read a paper, the first of a series, on “The Domestic Remains of Ancient Egypt,” in which he considered the condition of the mass of the people as shewn by their dwellings and remains; describing the barracks of the Pyramid masons uncovered by him at Gizeh; the private houses of Memphis and Tel el Amarna; the barracks of the Theban garrison; and the Ptolemaic and Roman sites near Gizeh; specimens of the very rude stone implements of the latter sites were exhibited. The general parallel of the histories of Italy and Egypt was also sketched, and attention drawn to the great changes in Ancient Egyptian history, and the importance of studying it at first hand, and not through the medium of Greek ideas.

The Rev. W. J. LOFTIE said that on a former occasion he had lamented the apathy of English people as to Egyptology. He certainly

might now retract that complaint on hearing some of the results of Mr. Petrie's researches.

The noble CHAIRMAN said there could not be a second opinion as to the interest of Mr. Petrie's subject and the value of his paper. It was most desirable that the English should investigate Egyptian antiquities; much had certainly been already done by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson and others, yet in the British Museum there was only one monument of the early period, the fourth dynasty. Mr. Mariette had done immense service, and the museum at Boulac was the Egyptian museum *par excellence*.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL spoke of the flint implements which Mr. Petrie said were evidently late Roman.

On the motion of Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, seconded by Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Petrie whose paper is printed at p. 16.

The Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham sent the following notes "On the Discovery of three Tree-Coffins at Grimsby":—

"In excavating the ground of the churchyard of St. James's Church, Grimsby, between the western side of the north transept and the north aisle, to supply a heating apparatus, three coffins of a remote period were lately discovered five feet below the surface and lying east and west. They were formed out of portions of bowls of oak trees, cut to a convenient length, after which a slice was cut off their substance longitudinally to serve as a lid; the remainder was hollowed out, the body deposited therein, and the lid fastened down by wooden pegs.

"Such a tree-coffin was found beneath a tumulus near Wareham, Dorsetshire, in 1767, as recorded in Bloxam's 'Fragmenta Sepulchralia.' This was ten feet long and three feet wide, and contained some human bones that had been wrapped up in a deer's hide, also a drinking cup of oak; and another, seven feet long and three feet wide, is also described in the same work as having been found below a large tumulus at Grimsby, near Scarborough, in 1834. This had been deposited beneath a number of oak branches, and contained a skeleton and remains of a skin, serving as a shroud, fastened at the breast with a bone pin. With this was the blade of a brass dagger, and flint heads of a javelin and two arrows, &c. The three tree-coffins found in Grimsby churchyard, firmly embedded in its clay subsoil, were of this character but of smaller size, square at each end and having small projections there, cut out of the solid, to serve as handles to aid in their conveyance to the grave. Unfortunately they were destroyed almost as soon as found, as no one of any intelligence was at hand to protect them, and only a portion of one, about two feet in length, has been preserved. As no British or Roman vestiges have ever been found at Grimsby we have no reason to suppose that these coffins are of an older period than the Saxon or Danish times, and it will be well to bear in mind that the Saxons had maintained themselves at Grimsby up to the year 786, when Herman the Saxon defeated Kebright the Dane, although he then fell in battle himself, and the marauding invaders who survived fled to their 'sea-horses' in Grimsby haven. Eventually this part of Lincolnshire, as well as all the rest, was obliged to submit first to the rule and then to the settlement of those bold northmen. When they became Christians, in common with the Saxons, they were buried with Christian burial, near to Christian churches, and as

St. James's Church undoubtedly stands on a most ancient ecclesiastical site, probably these coffins are either of the Saxon or Danish period."

In a letter to Mr. Hartshorne, concerning the above discovery, the Bishop Suffragan added:—

"From the character of the Gristhorpe adjuncts, such as the brass dagger and flint heads of weapons, one might think that these solid and rude coffins were British, but from this Grimsby find, and its site, we can hardly think it possible that these coffins can be earlier than the Saxon or Danish period, and scarcely later. But of whatever period they are, I should think they were exceptional, as we well know how the Saxons buried their dead as a rule, but what the Danes did is, I believe, uncertain. Possibly tree-coffins represented ship-burial, and certainly as this was never, as far as I know, a common form of burial, it is well to note carefully such instances of it as come under our notice."

After some observations by the noble CHAIRMAN on burning and burying, a vote of thanks was passed to the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD.—A silver paten from the church of Hamsterley, Durham. In addition to Mr. Whitehead's notes on this paten in the *Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 410, further observations by Mr. Cripps will be found on the same page. Since Mr. Cripps's remarks were printed he has had occasion to come to a definite conclusion on the subject, as the following extract from a letter to Mr. Hartshorne from him, dated Jan. 5, 1883, will show:—

"I find we are right in leaning so strongly to 1519 as the date of the Hamsterley paten. I make out the proof of this at last from the maker's mark partly, and partly from the fashion.

"After much examination of the photograph you sent me, which shows the hall-marks, etc. very clearly, I make out to my own entire satisfaction that the maker's mark is a human figure erect with a spear or some such object in one hand. Now this same mark appears upon a similar paten at Heworth (I forget which of the two places of that name, one of which is in Durham and the other in Yorkshire), which is 1514 actually and for certain, being both hall-marked and dated.

"Next I have found a paten with a divided or bi-parted beard to the face of the Saviour, very rude and very much like our Hamsterley vernicle, at Stow Longa near Kimbolton as certainly of the year 1491, as the Heworth example is of 1514. I think these two coincidences settle the question."

By Mr. R. S. FERGUSON.—A pedigree on parchment of Chamber, and a photograph of his rebus.

By Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.—A collection of stone and flint implements, objects in glass, and plan of a Ptolemaic village.

By Mr. E. PEACOCK.—A bronze mortar, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. This object was obtained by Mr. Hartshorne from a dealer in Colchester, who affirmed that it had been lately found in that town together with other Roman remains. It will be observed that the bottom is pushed out to the extent of a quarter of an inch, partly in order to get an undulating motion, which is not undesirable in a mortar, and partly to prevent it from slipping on a table. Whether it is a Roman mortar

may perhaps be open to question. Mr. Peacock, a collector of mortars, is disposed to think that 'his example is early, but mediæval.



By MESSRS. HEDGES and GOODRICK.—An urn of slightly burnt clay 1 ft. 5½ in. high and 1 ft. 2 inches in its greatest diameter, of a cylindrical form, the remains of two or three others rather smaller, and a quantity of earth and partially burnt or calcined bones. Some of these vessels appear to have been cracked in firing, and holes have been made in the clay on each side of the crack to tie the portions together. The whole of these remains, which had been lately found in making excavations for houses in Mill Hill Park, Acton, are of the usual Middlesex type, such as have been found in considerable numbers in the parish of Ashford, Middlesex, and which closely resemble the urns of Dorsetshire and Hampshire. They have been most obligingly given by Messrs. Hedges and Goodrick to Mr. Hartshorne, who has deposited them in the British Museum.

By MRS. CARTWRIGHT.—A knife handle decorated in niello, found some years ago in the moat of Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire. There can be no doubt that this is Turkish work, perhaps Montenegrin, of the last century. Many fine examples may be seen in the Henderson collection at the British Museum, and it would appear that the peculiar form of the handle is a traditional mode of treatment. That such a weapon should be found in so unlikely a spot is passing strange.

By the Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES.—Drawings of a Roman inscribed sepulchral slab, discovered at Lincoln, towards the close of last year just outside the bend of the western wall of the lower Roman city. This wall ran down the hill from the southern wall of the upper (original) Roman city, near its western angle. The line may be traced along the east side of the rapid footway, known as "Motherby Hill," from which the ground slopes again rapidly towards the plain to the west. A considerable number of fragments of Roman masonry were discovered in and about the same place, during the widening of the street running from old St. Martin's church westwards. The slab is much fractured and mutilated, but still exhibits remains of four lines of inscription. Of the uppermost only the bottoms of two or three letters can be traced; the other lines have been thus conjecturally read (D) EC ALAE II (Secundae) ASTOR (VM) VIXIT ANNIS



Knife from Kirkstead Abbey.

LXX. Mr. Venables desired to know whether the form "Astorum" for "Asturum" was to be found elsewhere.

Concerning this inscription the Rev. J. WORDSWORTH has been kind enough to send the following note:—"I suppose the first line to contain a name, *possibly*, IVLIVS ALEX(ander), though several others might be suggested, as agreeing with the fragments of letters. Then follows clearly;

DEC . ALAE . II
ASTOR . VIXIT
ANNIS . LXX.

we might also combine the EX of line 1 with what follows and read EX DEC(urione). There can, I think, be no doubt that the officer in question was a 'decurio' not a 'legatus,' since he belonged to an 'ala' not to a legion. I have also no doubt that his corps was the second ala of the Asturians, well known as being stationed at Cilurnum (Chesters), on the Roman Wall. It is true that Astores for Astores is not the form found elsewhere in inscriptions, as far as I know them; but it is the spelling usual in MSS. of the *Notitia dignitatum*, when mentioning this very corps. See Böcking's edition, vol. ii, pp. 904* and 910*. Even without this evidence, Eburacum and Eboracum, Lugovalium and Lugovallium, &c., &c., would be sufficient parallels. As for a corps of Asti, which I believe has been suggested, I can find no trace of it in the records of the Roman Army."

PRECENTOR VENABLES also exhibited a drawing of a monumental sepulchral slab discovered last summer when lowering the ground at the west end of Lincoln Cathedral. This slab exhibits a plain cross standing upon a semicircular base, the rest of the surface being filled in with interlaced work. We gather from the notes which Mr. Venables was kind enough to send, that this memorial corresponds very nearly with one dug up in 1810 under the original ramparts of Cambridge Castle, which had been a Saxon burial place, on which the castle was built in 1070.¹ The ground where the Lincoln example was found was the burial ground of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, the church of which was removed by Remigius when he built the Norman Cathedral.

The general character of the Lincoln slab, and the fact of its narrowing to the feet would appear, to indicate a period not far removed from the time of Remigius, who died 1092, on the eve of the consecration of his cathedral.

By Miss M. BURTON.—A large drawing of the font at St. Peter's, Ipswich. This remarkable object consists of a great block of dark marble, carved upon each of its four sides, with three grotesque animals. Solomon's Brazen Sea supported by twelve brazen bulls has been thought to be here represented. Its great size and the general character of the sculptures seem to point to the middle of the twelfth century as its probable period.

By the Rev. J. S. TANNER.—A drawing of the east end of the church of Ashford-Carbonell, Salop, showing an unusual arrangement of windows in such a position, namely, a vesica above and two narrow round headed windows below.

By Mr. S. KNILL.—A plan showing excavations now being made for

¹ See for an account of the discovery *Archæologia*, vol. xvii, p. 228, and Mr. Kerrich's Illustrations, plates xv, xvi.

Mr. Kerrich's original sketches and notes are preserved in Brit. Mus. Additional MS., 6735, pl. 189.

new foundations in Rochester Buildings, Leadenhall Street, which have revealed the existence, at about eleven feet below the street level, of two portions of Roman pavements. When excavations were made at the East Indian House, opposite, a Roman pavement was found at about the same depth below the street, and it is thought possible that the pavement in both sites may have belonged to one original Roman building.

By Mr. H. MIDDLETON.—A drawing of the Little Farringdon Chalice. This illustration, together with Mr. Middleton's notes upon it, will be found in the *Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 411.

By Mr. H. HEMS.—Five swords of the latter part of the last century.

December 7, 1882.

The Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE read the following notes on "Egyptian Bricks," and a diagram of the sizes of bricks was exhibited, which is reproduced below in tabular form.

In Egypt brick buildings are abundant, though scarcely ever noticed, since they are eclipsed by the stone architecture; and as their age is in general very uncertain, owing to the absence of inscriptions accompanying them, it seemed desirable to make a beginning of a systematic study of bricks by carefully measuring several specimens from each building which could be dated. The results are that we have here about forty sizes, of which the dates are known within two or three centuries, and often within a few years. Arranged chronologically they stand thus, in English inches:

Dahshur, N. brick pyramid,	viii th Dynasty?	16·1	×	7·9	×	4·8
" S.	"	14·9		7·2		4·0
Howara, brick pyramid,	xii	17·7		8·8		5·4
Memphis, northern houses,	xviii?	17·5		8·9		5·2
Karnak, walls round great hall,	xviii?	16·3		7·2		5·4
Thebes, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. of Ramesseum,	xviii	16·3		7·3		4·5
Thebes, barracks of Ramesseum,	xix	16·2		7·2		4·4
Memphis, N. of road to Sakkara,	xix?	14·8	{	6·2		3·4
		13·4		6·2		3·9
El Heibeh, walls of Menkheperra,	xxi	16·2		7·1		4·1
Sakkara, in caverns,	xxvi?	14·7		6·9		5·1
Thebes, Deir el Bahari, large arch,	xxvi?	13·7		6·7		4·4
" " smaller arch "	"	13·4		6·8		4·2
" " parabolic arch "	"	12·4		6·1		4·3
" retaining wall of tomb,	xxvi	12·6		6·2		4·2
" opposite valley mouth,	xxvi?	12·7		6·2		4·0
" " two piers ?	"	10·7		5·5		3·8
Gizeh, village E. of Great Pyramid,	Greek?	15·0		7·1		3·4
Memphis, by Sakkara road,	Greek or Roman	14·7		6·9		5·7
" late Greek or Roman	"	13·9		6·4		5·2
Deir el Medineh, outer wall temple,	Ptol. ix,	12·6		6·2		4·3
" " arch joining temple, "	"	12·4		6·2		4·2
Memphis	Greek?	12·2		6·3		5·1
Gizeh, village by second pyramid,	Greek?	12·1		5·7		3·7
Kom Fares, village	Roman	18·3		8·7		4·8
Dendera, village	late Roman	12·0		5·7		3·8
* " village	"	11·7		5·4		3·1
Memphis,	Roman	10·7		5·3		4·2
Howara, so called "Labyrinth,"	"	11·3		5·4		4·0
Gizeh, Gebel Kibli	late Roman	10·5		5·2		2·5
Memphis	Christian	9·3		4·9		3·0
Memphis, overlying	Roman	9·8		4·7		3·3
* Gizeh, Kom el Ahmar	late Roman	?		4·5		2·7

*Sakkara	„	...	9·8	4·5	2·6
*Gizéh, E. of Great Pyramid	„	..	?	4·5	2·4
*Gizéh, Gebel Kiblí	„	...	7 + x	4·3	2·1
*Abu Roash, Deir,	„	...	?	4·3	2·4
*Sidi Mislin,	„	...	8·4	4·0	2·1
El Heibeh	Roman ?	...	8·2	4·6	3·4
Kom Fares, on top	late Roman	...		4·2	2·6
*Faium, Arab dyke	Arab	...	7·3	3·9	2·8

Those marked (*) are red baked bricks ; the others are all black crude mud bricks. The bricks of the IIIrd dynasty at Medum are not so large as those of the VIIIth at Dahshur, and these in turn are exceeded in size by those of the XIIIth dynasty, the largest that I have seen. The earlier bricks are very rarely met with, and hence they need scarcely cause any confusion with the regularly diminishing sizes that prevailed from the XIIIth dynasty down to Arab times. One apparently great exception to this diminution are the bricks employed in Roman times at Kom Fares, or Medinet el Faium ; but as they are exactly like bricks of the XIIIth dynasty which form a brick pyramid at Howara, five miles distant, they may very probably have been brought in Roman times from there, or have belonged to some nearer building of the early date now entirely destroyed. We must always beware of such re-use of old materials, like the Roman tiles built into Saxon churches.

It might be expected that the sizes would vary with place as well as time ; but this is strangely not the case. The bricks of the XIIIth dynasty in the Faium are nearly the same size as those of perhaps the XVIIIth dynasty down at Memphis. The bricks of Karnak and of Thebes of the XIIIth dynasty are made in moulds of the same size, though pressed to different thicknesses. The bricks of Memphis in the XIXth or XXth dynasty (judging by the associated pottery) are the same as those of Thebes in about the XXVIth, or perhaps rather earlier times. The late Ptolemaic bricks of Deir el Medineh at Thebes, of Memphis, of Gizéh, and the Roman bricks of Dendera, are all of the same size, though made hundreds of miles apart. The baked Roman bricks in all the sites were intended to be alike, only differing accidentally. The diminishing series of sizes therefore is of value chronologically, irrespective of the part of Egypt in which the bricks are found.

As it is not easy to search the volumes of the “Denkmäler,” it is desirable to mention the cartouches stamped on the bricks, which Lepsius there published, though unhappily no measurements of the bricks are given.

Amunhotep I	Deir le Bahari	...	Vol. v	Pl. 6
Tahutmes I	(in Berlin)	...	„ v	7
„	„	...	„ v	25a
Hatasu	„	...	„ v	26
Tahutmes III	N. of Ramesseum (Berlin)	...	„ v	39
Tahutmes IV	Abd el Gurneh	...	„ v	62
Amenhotep III	„	...	„ v	78
Khuenaten	Thebes	...	„ vi	„
Ramessu II	Ramesseum	...	„ ii	„
Menkheperra	El Heibeh & Karnak	...	„ vii	251
Pinotem	San (in Berlin)	...	„ vii	255

In answer to a question by Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, Mr. PETRIE said that the bricks were made of Nile mud, mixed with straw, of which latter material there was more in the earlier than in the later examples.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Petrie.

The Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY sent a short paper on "Gosforth Cross," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne and which will appear in a more complete form in a future *Journal*. From his long study of Scandinavian mythology, Mr. Calverley has been able to interpret the subjects on the four sides of the cross, of which the minor episodes have never been brought forward before. His reading is that the Christian parallel of the "world-stories" is as follows:—On the west side the devil is overcome and bound: on the south side the world is overcome; on the east side the flesh is overcome; and on the north side Christ rides triumphant. The cross is a monolith fourteen feet six inches high; there is a cast of it at South Kensington.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Calverley.

Mr. E. PEACOCK communicated the following account of Cadney Church, Lincolnshire:—

"Cadney is a little village about four miles from Brigg on the eastern side of the river Ancholme. Its church consists of an Early English tower with Perpendicular additions at the top, a nave, south aisle, and chancel. The arcade which separates the aisle from the nave has two columns and two half columns of Late Norman work, not unlike those at Northorpe in the same county. The eastern window of this aisle consists of three lights and is of Early Decorated character, the two southern windows are, perhaps, of the same date but have flat heads. The north aisle was destroyed at the end of the last century. The tradition of the village is that it was similar in character to that which remains. The chancel and chancel arch are Early English. There are two good lancet windows on each side and a low side window on the south. There is a Perpendicular three-light window at the east. The piscina is Early English. The ten commandments are framed over the altar in what seems to be a portion of the chancel screen. The last bay of the south aisle is taken off by screens on the north and west, of very fine Perpendicular oak carving. This has evidently formed a chantry, though for what person or family I am at present unable to tell. A clue may, perhaps, be found in the badge of a weight which has been repeated twice on each bay of the carving, once at the top and once at the bottom. There are two doors into this chapel, both of which are very beautiful; the one opening to the west has carved in the angles over the door two cocks with large combs drinking out of shells. On the northern screen are some fragments of an inscription which has once run the whole length. It is so mutilated as to be beyond hope of recovery, unless it should chance to have been copied when more perfect. The following portion alone can be made out with certainty—

TIRANNO PASSE AC SANTI HVGNIS.¹

"In the panel work of the western screen is a squint, by looking through which a bracket may be seen, which, doubtless, has once supported an image. This squint is five feet from the ground; two feet below it is a carefully made square hole, which, I am persuaded, has been intended for a little child to look through to see the image. The bracket is of late and rude work, certainly not older than the screen. There is a tradition in the village that the western screen was brought from the monastery of

¹ It has been suggested that this may have been the opening words of a sequence or hymn.

Newstead-on-Ancholme which was very near. I think there cannot be any reason for doubting that it was made for the place which it now fills.

"The font is circular, two feet across by one foot one inch high. It is ornamented by columns and round-headed arches. There are probably twelve of them, but this is not quite certain as it stands against the western half column of the arcade and cannot, therefore, be examined all round. There is a fragment of a carved chest of uncertain date in the tower. The carving is very shallow. It has been surmised, why I know not, that it has formed part of a vestment chest. Adjoining it lies an alm's box much decayed, with three staples for locks.

"There is but one grave-slab in the church, all the rest are believed to have been removed when the north aisle was destroyed. The one remaining is in the middle aisle. It runs thus—

"Hic jacet corpus Elizabethe Pye
uxorem Roberti Pye qui sepulta
fuit vicissimo quinto die Febvarii
in tricissimo Septima etatis. An'o
Domini 1699."

"The porch is interesting as having deeply splayed cruciform windows which seem as if they had been made for shooting arrows from. I do not remember to have seen any others of the same kind in the porch of a village church.

"This church has, at present, escaped restoration. It is, however, in very great need of structural repairs. The parish registers are old and interesting. I had not time to examine them carefully but purpose doing so on a future occasion."

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Peacock for thus setting the example of giving intelligent notices of the few remaining unrestored churches in the kingdom; it may be borne in mind that notices of this character are not usually to be found in the ponderous county histories of the last and present century, valuable, though many of them are, for their manorial and genealogical accounts.

The Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES sent a paper on "The Vicars' Court at Lincoln," founded by Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1283-1300, which was read by Mr. Hartshorne, and will appear on a future occasion in the *Journal*. Mr. Venables showed that, notwithstanding modern alterations, the court forms a very curious and instructive architectural study, the house on the south side being one of the most perfect examples of an Edwardian dwelling in England.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Venables.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.—A diagram of the sizes of Egyptian bricks.

By the Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY.—A valuable set of full size drawings of Gosforth Cross.

By Mr. E. PEACOCK.—Sketches of details of work in Cadney church.

By the Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES.—Drawings and photographs in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—A collection of various Palæolithic

implements and *hâches* of different types, from Northfleet and Crayford, both imperfect and finished; together with the flint tools or knappers by which they were shaped.

Of the hammers some were pointed at one end, and some are flat headed, being "made" at the edges of the face. He shewed the mode of using the peculiar hammers found with the flakes at Crayford, and demonstrated by many specimens that the fine chipping frequently found at the butt ends of the flakes was not the result of use but a necessity of the manufacture. A number of flakes mostly flat and thin, and hollow on one side, varying in weight from one ounce to 8 lbs., were described as having been used somewhat after the manner of a brick-layer's trowel. They had the appearance of so-called hollow scrapers; but presented marks of percussion, and were not polished with use as in scrapers proper. The action of the hammers and knappers was analyzed and imitated synthetically with success; and they appeared taken altogether, to be capable of doing all the work required to make the perfect tools with which they were found. All the specimens had been obtained by himself in river beaches where they had been made and used, in association with elephants, rhinoceros, &c., remains, the carving of whose carcases was the probable cause of the spots being selected for the flint manufacture. For comparisons Neolithic knappers were shewn, and gun flints with knapping hammers of seventeenth or eighteenth century, found on the Mediæval camping ground of Dartford Heath.

By Captain E. HOARE.—Two Egyptian statuettes, idol figures, Anubis and Isis nursing Horus.

By Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN.—Photograph of a Roman altar found in July last at Longwood, near Huddersfield, adjoining the Roman station at Slack (Cambodunum). In its expanded form the inscription runs:—
DEO S(ANCTO) BRIGANT(VM) ET N(VMINI) AVG(VSTI) T(ITVS) AVR(ELIVS)
QVINTVS D(ECRETO) D(ECVRIONVM) P(OSVIT) ET S(VSCEPTVM) S(OLVIT).
"To the holy god of the Brigantes and the divinity of the Emperor, Titus Aurelius Quintus by decree of the decurions has placed (this) and performed his undertaking.

By the Rev. J. H. ASH.—A sacring bell of brass, said to be of the sixteenth century.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

ROMAN LANCASHIRE, OR A DESCRIPTION OF ROMAN REMAINS IN THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER. BY W. THOMPSON WATKIN. Liverpool : Printed for the Author, 1883.

The appearance of this book is welcome to all students of Romano-British antiquities, not alone for its own sake, but because it marks the recovery from serious and prolonged illness of one of the most accurate, patient, and persevering of archæologists. Mr. Watkin follows up the trail of a Roman find with the nose of a sleath-hound : picks it up here and there and carries it through a maze of indices, newspaper files and local archæological journals, which would baffle any one less keen. In this way Mr. Watkin has frequently succeeded in re-discovering and identifying the Roman finds of past centuries, but we fancy he has, as frequently, had the mortification to discover at the end of a long chase that the relics sought after have hopelessly disappeared. He says himself, (in his preface) of missing and unrecorded finds in Lancashire, "Their loss involves the removal of evidence which would probably have enabled us to identify the name of every station in the county."

A considerable portion of the book is taken up with an account of the Roman roads in Lancashire, and an admirable skeleton map of the county is given. The account involves a discussion of the *vexata questio* of the Tenth Iter, which (as the readers of this *Journal* well know) Mr. Watkin, so long ago as 1870, conducted to Whitley Castle. Mr. Watkin is bad to contradict, but we confess to a hankering idea that the Tenth Iter ended at a seaport on the Cumberland coast, probably Ravensglass, and that the *raison d'être* of the Iter was the Irish trade. An inscribed stone was recently found at Ravensglass by a labourer, who seized it as a prize and carried it off. The stone was heavy, the day was hot, and the labourer sat down to rest, and contemplated the stone ; recognising the letters to be the same as the English letters he forthwith cast the stone into the sea, as valueless. A search was instituted the next day, but with no result. It might have settled the point.

Mancunium (Manchester), Bremetonacum (Ribchester), and Lancaster each occupy a chapter, while the minor stations take up a fourth. A plan of Mancunium is given, and the reader will be surprised to find how much of Mancunium Mr. Watkin has been able to find under Manchester. A large number of engravings are given of Roman finds, and the book is well got up.

We would fain see similar volumes produced for other counties, but the undertakers should approach the subject, intending to work it out (to use the language of Mr. Watkin) "as if it were a geometrical problem, or an algebraical equation." This is what Mr. Watkin set himself to do in the case of Lancashire, and he has done it well.

Archaeological Intelligence.

A VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE CLERGY WITHIN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX, *circa* 1603.—Mr. B. Beedham proposes to print the above work, for subscribers only, from the original MS. preserved at Kimbolton Castle among the papers of the Duke of Manchester, by whose permission it will now, for the first time, be made available to the public.

This Manuscript, which no doubt came into the possession of the family of the present owner through the Riches, Earls of Warwick, is of much and general interest. It is just the document which would have delighted Macaulay, as furnishing contemporary materials for the purpose, if he had desired to draw a sketch of the English Clergy at the commencement of the Seventeenth Century. It is also a valuable addition to the History of the County of Essex.

The work will include an Introduction and, specially, Illustrative Notes, which, while supplying omissions in the very valuable *Repertorium* of Newcourt, will be a repository of original biographical and bibliographical information. The book will be printed in demy 4^{to}; price 15s. Application should be made to the Editor, Ashfield House, Kimbolton.

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Under highly successful auspices, a meeting has lately been held, for the establishment of this Society; and there can be no doubt that it will not be long in taking a high position among local antiquarian societies.

CHURCH PLATE.—In addition to the statement on this subject given in vol. xxxix, p. 483, it may be added that the Essex Archæological Society has issued circulars to all incumbents in the county asking for information. The deanery of Hedingham has been completed and will be published in the next number of the Society's Journal.

REMOVAL OF THE INSTITUTE.—The Council beg to thank the Members who have so kindly contributed towards the expenses of the removal of the Institute to new rooms. But, as the unavoidable costs have so considerably exceeded the amount thus contributed, the Council venture to think that those members who have not yet subscribed to the Removal Fund may be glad to have the opportunity of still doing so.

MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN SUSSEX.—The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Lewes, on August 7th, under the presidency of the Earl of Chichester, are in progress. The following are the names of the Presidents of Sections:—*Antiquities*, Major General A. H. Lane Fox Pitt Rivers; *History*, Mr. E. A. Freeman; *Architecture*, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1883.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF AUTUN.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Concluded.)

IV. The Cathedral at Autun contains many features that demand notice, but, as in the case of the Musée Lapidaire, the narrow limits of a memoir make selection necessary. I shall, therefore, describe only two details which seem most interesting, one outside and the other inside, viz., the sculptures of the grand portal, and the picture of the martyrdom of St. Symphorian by Ingres.

A vault of enormous size forms an open porch over the broad flight of steps, by which the principal façade is approached.¹ This consists of a tympanum and three concentric arches covered with bas-reliefs, and supported by columns richly carved. The uppermost arch rests on two capitals, of which the one on the spectator's left represents a wolf and stork; that on his right a lion and St. Jerome.² On the arch itself we see the twelve Zodiacal signs, and alternating with them figures emblematic of labours appropriate to each month.³

Abraham expelling Hagar and Ishmael, and the legend of the conversion of St. Eustache are the designs that adorn the capitals sustaining the central arch, on which foliage and mulberries are sculptured.

¹ It is said that this great porch was constructed to accommodate the concourse of lepers, who sought a cure through the intercession of St. Lazare.

² For St. Jerome, Prosper Mérimée substituted Androclus. Aulus Gellius, v, 14, relates a remarkable story concerning the latter, and ends with these words: *Omnes fere ubique obvios dicere: Hic est leo hospes hominis, hic est homo medicus leonis.*

³ These were favourite subjects with mediæval artists. They appear in the

very beautiful illuminations, which adorn the Calendar prefixed to Queen Mary's Psalter, British Museum Royal MSS., 2 B, vii: *e.g.*, falconry, the hay harvest, and the vintage are depicted as scenes belonging to Gemini, Cancer, and Libra respectively. It is English work of the fourteenth century.

In the South Kensington Museum there are twelve medallions of enamelled Terra Cotta, ascribed to Luca della Robbia, decorated with similar designs.

The capitals under the lowest arch represent the Elders of the Apocalypse praising God, and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple at Jerusalem.¹ There were formerly twelve patriarchs and twelve prophets on this arch, but they were detached in 1760, and, though fragments of them were found, they were too mutilated for restoration, and therefore only a blank space remains.

Three pilasters on which the tympanum rests have capitals similarly decorated. That on the left exhibits a man mounted on a monster, probably Balak, as the corresponding figure on the right is Balaam on his ass. The capital in the centre has for its device two men connected by a festoon, and upholding the tympanum by their united efforts.² Underneath, the shaft of the pilaster is appropriately adorned with a group relating to the patron Saint of the church. Lazarus, robed as a bishop in chasuble and stole, with a pastoral staff in his hand, occupies the middle place: as emblems of active and passive graces, Martha stands on one side and Mary on the other.³

The grand composition of the tympanum bears the name of the sculptor Gislebert engraved upon it. The

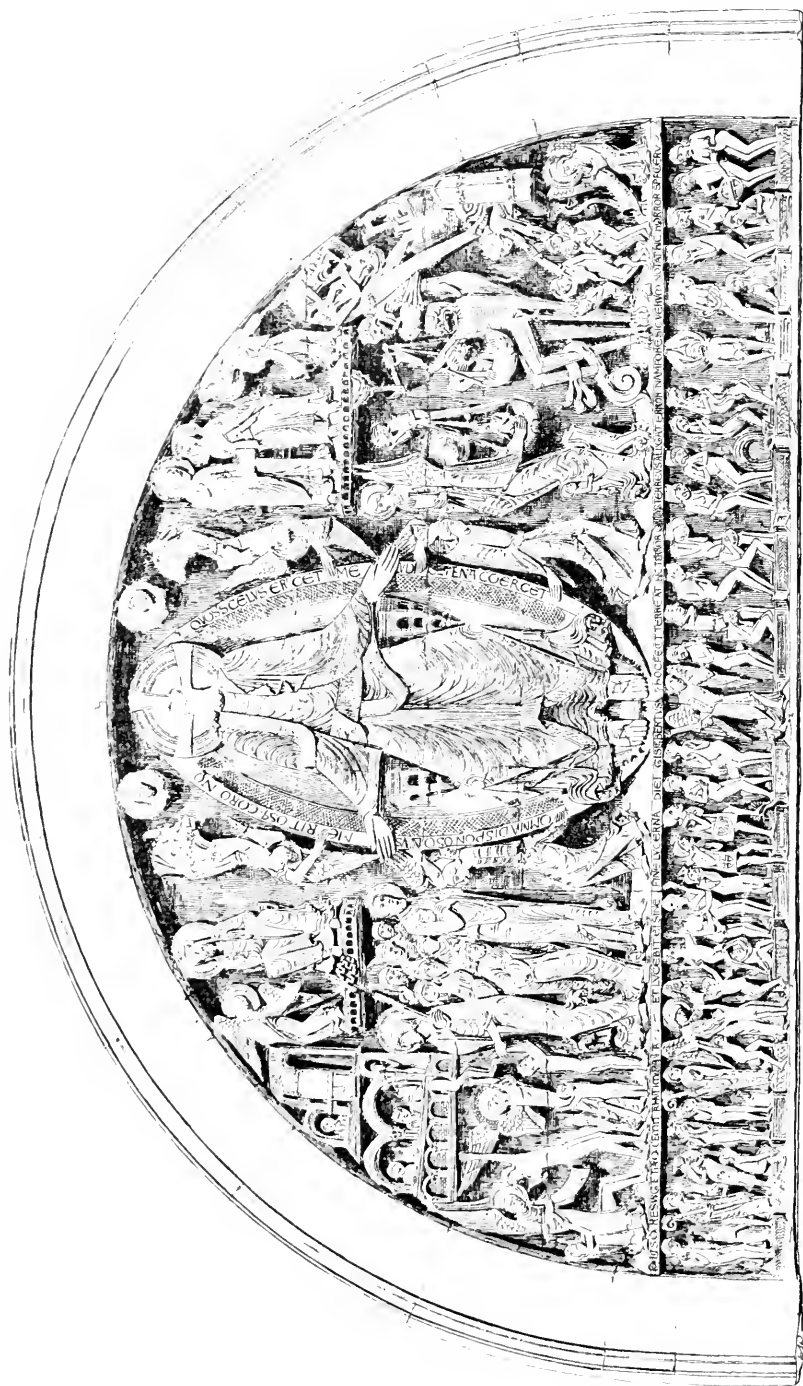
¹ The porch at Moissac may be advantageously compared with that at Autun; it exhibits our Lord surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists, and the four-and-twenty Elders holding musical instruments. The figures are executed in a superior style, but the composition fails in force and variety. A very fine photograph of it has been published by the Museum of Casts (moulages) at the Trocadéro, Paris; No. 27 of the series, "Commencement du xii^e Siècle, Eglise St. Pierre à Moissac, Tarn et Garonne, tympan de la porte sud du porche."

² It is quite possible that this group may have some deep significance. The Abbé Devoucoux, published anonymously a pamphlet entitled *Description de l'Eglise Cathédrale d'Autun dédiée à St. Lazare* . . . par un Chanoine de cette Eglise; he discusses at considerable length the use of symbolical numbers in architecture. *Seventeen*, he says, represents the union of two relative forces; 10 + 7 stand for the Law and the Gospel, 8 + 9 for angels and men. At Rouen the bays are seventeen feet wide; at Autun the piers are seven feet thick, and

the interstice between them is ten feet.

Some account of mystical numbers will be found in the *Sacristy*, vol. ii, pp. 182-188, art. On the Symbolism of Numbers in Holy Scripture (with a list of references at the end); but it does not include any special notice of architectural proportions.

³ The reliquary behind the high altar is said to contain some remains of Lazarus, who, according to tradition, was Bishop of Marseilles. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Saracens ravaged the coasts of Provence, and many families, to escape them, took refuge in Burgundy: in this way the transportation of the relics may be accounted for. The following words occur in the inscription on the tomb, corpus . . . quatruiduani mortui revelatum ab. epis. Hu. Eduensi, G. Niver., G. Cabil, P. Matiscon, R. Ebroicensi, R. Habrincensi . . . mcdxlvii. Three places in France pretended to possess the head of Lazarus; but Devoucoux, with the view of reconciling these discrepancies, is careful to explain that the lower jaw remained at Marseilles, that the occipital bone was at Avallon, and the frontal at Autun.



TYPANUM OF THE CATHEDRAL AUTUN. from a Photograph.

subject is the Last Judgment. Our Lord is seated on a throne in the centre of a semi-circular space, and surrounded by an elliptical ornament like the *Vesica Piscis*. He is represented of super-human size; his shoulders are covered by a mantle, which a girdle secures, his hands are extended downwards,¹ and his feet wear sandals. Mary is seated on the right; there are two figures on the left, which some suppose to be James and John; others think it more in accordance with the traditions of the Gallican Church to regard them as Moses and Elias. Many angels in long robes support the throne of Christ.

At His feet and immediately over the doors a wide horizontal band is placed: it is filled with men and women issuing from tombs, in whose decorations the Merovingian style may be recognised.² The piety of the righteous is shown by attributes and gestures; on the other hand the wicked crouch and hang down their heads, overcome by grief and terror. In the midst stands an angel, driving back with his sword the sinners who would pass over to the right.³

Above the lintel, and on the left of our Lord, a hand surrounded by clouds holds a balance. Here the Divine Judgment is evidently symbolized, as on the coins of the Constantine period the interposition of Providence is indicated by a hand disproportionately large.⁴ Michael

¹ The insertion of the sculptor's name and the downward position of the Saviour's arms are rare peculiarities. Our Lord usually raises his right hand in benediction and holds the book of the Gospel with his left, as in the mosaics of the inner porch (narthex) at Santa Sophia, Constantinople; Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. i, p. 264, fig. 177.

² Mons^r Bulliot called my attention to these ornaments, which consist of fern-leaves, chevrons, roses, pearls and imbrication: comp. Lacroix et Seré, *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, tome iv, *Table des Planches*, X *Armurerie*, 'Epée Mérovingienne d'apparat, folio iii; also Catalogue of the Museum at Amiens, p. 124, *Antiquités Mérovingiennes*: p. 126, *Cimetière Mérovingien de Nory (Oise)*, fouilles exécutées par la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, dans le cours de l'année 1863, Nos. 1267-1356. For the Carolingian style see Lacroix et Seré tome iii, *Tab. des Planches*, ii, *Cérémonial*, *Etiquette*, *Charlemagne*, fol. iv;

Vêtements impériaux dits de Charlemagne, fol. viii; *Epée dite de Charlemagne*, fol. x.

³ When I visited the Cathedral of Autun, M. Beronquet, the senior Canon, told me that during the fair he observed some country-women looking at these sculptures, and overheard one of them remarking "Il est évident que ce travail a été fait par des hommes, car ils ont mis toutes les femmes dans l'enfer."

⁴ In one of the *Assaria* (third Brass) found at Sutton, Suffolk, about 12 years ago, Constantine the Great is represented stretching out his arm to grasp a celestial hand that raises him to the skies: my Paper in the *Archæol. Journal* vol. xxviii, p. 36. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. viii, p. 92, describes a coin which bears a similar device, with the legend *DVCONSTANTINVS PAVGGG*, which he expands *Divus Venerabilis Constantinus Pater Trium Augustorum*: cf. Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Tome vi, 172, No. 568, who explains DV as = DIVVS.

puts a man in one scale, and Satan a monster of vice in the other: the devil tries to make the balance incline to his side, and one of his imps assists in increasing the weight of sins; but the archangel prevails, moving the beam with powerful arm. Near this group, in the corner of the tympanum, we see a furnace and a cauldron upon it, which a devil is filling with reprobates. Another demon issues from the fire, and his body is already half out; he is endeavouring to drag the condemned into it. Two of the resuscitated beings take refuge in the waving folds of the archangel's robe; thus the idea of shelter from destruction is introduced, and the horror of the scene pleasingly mitigated.

On Our Saviour's left a multitude of Saints in rich clothing look towards his throne, and seem to be praying for their brethren. The heavenly Jerusalem is represented, as in the Apocalyptic vision, by a magnificent palace; some of the elect have already arrived there, others with the aid of angels are entering. One of these stands out prominently; he protects a suppliant at his feet, his hands support another whose arms lean on the threshold, while his extended wings fill up the vacant space. Above these figures St. Peter appears as the chief personage, in size exceeding the rest;¹ he carries the keys of heaven, and stretches out his hand towards the saved ones who press around him.

Above the lintel Gislebert has engraved four leonine verses expressing the same ideas which his sculptures bring so vividly before us.

On the side of the saved—

“Quisque resurget ita quem non trahit impia vita,
Et lucebit ei sine fine lucerna diei.”

“Thus shall every one arise who is not led astray by impiety,
and for them the light of day shall shine without end.”

¹ The mediæval artists seem to have been influenced by the same principle as the Greek sculptors who made their deities of superhuman size: Mr. Cockerell's remarks on the Pediments of the Parthenon, in part vi of the Description of the Antient Marbles in the British Museum, quoted by Sir H. Ellis, Elgin

Marbles, vol. i, p. 235. “An increased magnitude is given to those figures which are engaged in the chief action; the dimensions of the others correspond with their relative importance, so as, without shocking the eye, to fix the attention more strikingly upon the principals.”

On the side of the lost—

“Terreat hic terror quos terreus alligat error ;¹
Nam fore sic verum notat hic horror specierum.”

“Let this terror frighten those whom earthly error binds, for these dreadful forms show what will really come to pass.”

On the oval surrounding Christ we read—

“Omnia dispono solus meritosque coronò,
Quos scelus exercet, me iudice, poena coercet.”

“I alone dispose of all things and crown the righteous, I judge the wicked and chastise them with punishment.”

Notwithstanding many defects of drawing, such as might be expected in a barbarous age, these bas-reliefs produce a deep impression on the beholder by their rude energy, naïveté, and poetic feeling.² They were brought to light by Mgr. Devoucoux, Bishop of Evreux, who was led to this discovery by an official report (*procès-verbal*) dated 1482. Strange to say, we owe the preservation of the tympanum to Voltaire, though he certainly did not intend it. When he visited Autun, he poured the utmost contempt on the design, and some *esprits forts* among the canons, taking the hint from this scoffer, forthwith covered the figures with whitewash. Thus they were rescued from the sacrilegious destruction that would otherwise have befallen them in the revolution of 1793.

It may be worth while to compare this portal with a similar one in the western façade of Notre Dame at Paris. There, as at Autun, we observe three rows of figures : 1, the dead rising at the trumpet's sound ; 2, the separation of the righteous from the wicked ; 3, Christ enthroned, with the Virgin and St. John worshipping him. But in the Autun example Our Lord is much more prominent, occupying the central part of the tympanum, from the horizontal band to the top of the arch, and the whole composition shows more inventive power. The signs of the Zodiac and the agricultural labours of the twelve months,

¹ The alliteration of the original may be reproduced thus :

Let this terror terrify those whom terrestrial error binds.

² Viollet le Duc, who praises the tym-

panum at Moissac as rivalling the works of Greek antiquity, is, I think, too severe in his criticism on the ruder, but more spirited, design at Autun.

which we have noticed above, also appear on the Portail de la Vierge at Notre Dame.¹ This subject is often represented on the ecclesiastical buildings of France, *e.g.*, on the west front of the Cathedral at Chartres, and on the principal entrance to St Marie at Oloron. The lines on the elliptical ornament round Our Lord at Autun bear some resemblance to the following, which hold the same position at Morlaas.

“Rex sum coelorum, merces condigna meorum,
Me quicunque colit, pro vita perdere nolit.

I am King of heaven, a worthy reward of my followers :
Whoever worships me, let him not lose me to save his life.”²

The picture of St. Symphorian's martyrdom by Ingres is the noblest ornament of the Cathedral of Autun, but some apology is needed for describing it before an Archæological Society, because this beautiful work of art is modern. But I hope to be excused on two grounds ; in the first place it has been left unnoticed by English writers, and secondly, it is connected with the history and antiquities of the city. Moreover, it embodies the sublime aspirations of Christianity, and at the same time follows the best traditions of the classical period.³

The circumstances depicted here occurred during the persecution of the Christians under Marcus Aurelius, not Aurelianus, as some say. Benignus, Andochius, and Thyrsus were disciples of Polycarp, who evangelized the Æduans. Having been hospitably received by Faustus,

¹ Galignani's Guide for Paris gives a detailed description of the sculptures that decorate the West front of Notre Dame, pp. 312-314.

At Reims we see in the grand façade representations not only of the 12 months, the seasons, and the elements, but also of the recreations appropriate to each quarter of the year. Autumn is seated in a vine-arbour ; Winter warms himself at the fire ; Spring is surrounded with flowers ; Summer is nude and preparing to take a bath : Notre Dame de Reims par M. L'Abbe V. Tourneur, 4^{me} edⁿ, 1880, pp. 27, 28, and 37.

² Mr. Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. i, p. 453, speaks of “the fluted columns or pilasters, their Corinthian capitals, and their whole arrangements . . . so eminently classical, etc.” The reader might hence conclude that there were no capitals of another kind in the Cathedral at Autun, but this is not

so. They exhibit a great variety of designs, scriptural and allegorical, *e.g.* in the former class, Fall of Adam and Eve, Sacrifice of Isaac, Temptation of Christ, Rachel weeping for her children ; in the latter, Combat of man with demons, Heresy, Antichrist, Pride, Humility, Hypocrisy. Sometimes the same subject is continued on two or three columns, as in the trilogy of a Greek drama.

³ The picture of St. Symphorian corresponds to that of St. Léger in the opposite transept. M. Ingres visited Autun to seek inspiration from the locality itself ; his masterpiece, as some regard it, arrived there June 20, 1834. The Porte St André in the back-ground indicates the scene of the martyrdom. Those who wish to do justice to M. Ingres' great work will see it about ten o'clock a.m., because the light is then most favourable.

a senator at Autun, and his wife Augusta, these missionaries instructed and baptized their son Symphorian. He soon proved the strength of his convictions by publicly opposing the worship of Cybele; whereupon the Governor Heraclius required him to sacrifice to this goddess, or to suffer capital punishment. Monsr. Ingres has shown good judgment in selecting for his subject that passage in the legend which relates that the martyr, as he went to execution, was exhorted to heroic constancy by his mother standing on the city-wall.¹

There are three points in this admirable composition to which I would call attention: omission of painful details, great variety, and striking, but natural contrasts. The painter has spared us the axe and the block; he has borne in mind that it is the province of art to please, instruct and elevate. Suffering is only suggested, while other ideas are brought forward with great distinctness, just as in the famous group of Niobe and the Niobids at Florence, affection triumphs over the agony of impending destruction, and our thoughts are withdrawn from slaughter to the spectacle of maternal and fraternal love.² In the next place all the emotions which the circumstances could produce in different classes are well defined. Most conspicuous are the calmness and devotion animating the martyr, whose white robe, as Théophile Gautier says, seems so pure that he might still wear it in heaven, before God and amidst the elect. The Proconsul points to the place of execution with an air of authority: a young patrician near him looks with defiance at Augusta. Some of the bystanders have vulgar curiosity or ferocious cruelty stamped on their faces; but the majority indicate the pity and sympathy with which the example of self-sacrifice has inspired them. Symphorian stands out as

¹ Inscriptions are introduced into the picture containing the names of Probus and Diocletian, but these are anachronisms.

The date of Symphorian is discussed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, edit. Antwerp, 1739, vol. xxxvi, *De Sancto Symphoriano Martyre Augustoduni in Gallia*, *Commentarius prævius*, s. ii, 21-24, p. 495, and note A, p. 497.

Reference to this series is greatly facilitated by using Aug. Potthast's *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters von 375-*

1500; *Vollständigeres Verzeichniss der Heiligen, ihrer Tage und Feste*, pp. 187-258. To each name is appended the day of the month, under which the biography will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

² K. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst* s. 126. Auf jeden Fall zeugt die Gruppe für eine Kunst, welche gern ergreifende und erschütternde Gegenstände darstellt, aber diese zugleich mit der Mässigung, und edlen Zurückhaltung behandelt, wie sie der Sinn der Hellenen in den besten Zeiten forderte. *Id.* *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, Part I, Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.

it were in high relief. The slender figure of this beardless youth is placed in juxta-position with the brawny Herculean forms of soldiers and lictors;¹ it rivets our attention, because it symbolizes the victory of faith, the transcendent superiority of the moral and spiritual nature over all that is earthly and carnal.

V. An account of Autun and its antiquities would be very incomplete if it did not embrace the Oppidum Bibracte, on Mont Beuvray, which is visible from many parts of the city, and only twenty-five kilomètres distant. The situation possessed great military advantages, especially in ancient warfare, because the town occupied the extremity of the mountainous district called Morvan, at the point where the basins of the Loire Seine, and Saône nearly intersect.² Hence it is obvious that the topography strikingly illustrates the passages in which Cæsar mentions Bibracte as a place of the greatest importance.³ But this view is further confirmed, if we

¹ Acta Sanctorum, ubi sup., p. 496 F, Artiores nexu liventium lacertorum macie cutis attenuata laxaverat.

² M. Bulliot informed me that there was an inscription at Rome containing the words *homo Morrinus*, and that it had been noticed in a recent Bulletin of the Société Archéologique, but I have been unable to verify the reference.

³ Cæsar, Bell. Gall. i, 23, Oppido Æduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo; vii, 55, maxime auctoritatis; *ib.* 63, totius Gallie concilium Bibracte indicitur. Cf. Strabo iv, iii, 2, Φρούριον Βίβρακτα, *i.e.* oppidum munitum. The Ædian Bibracte must not be confounded with Bibrax, a town of the Remi (Reims), Cæsar, B. G. ii, 6.

As the modern French name Beuvray comes from the Latin Bibracte, so in our own country Bray, a village about a mile and a half south of Maidenhead, is derived from the same word. This place is well known from the song called "The Vicar of Bray." Bibracte will be found in the map of Roman Britain east of Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester). One of the tribes who occupied this district was called Bibroci; their surrender to Cæsar is recorded B. G. v. 21; Lysons *Magna Britannia*, vol. i, pp. 200, 246, 249; Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 12, 135.

In the year 1679 the following inscription was found within the precincts of the Petit Séminaire at Autun:

DEAE. BIBRACTI
P. CAPRIL. PACATVS
IMM. VIR. AVGVSTA
V. S. L. M.

Montfaucon explains it thus: Deae Bibracti Publius Caprilus Pacatus sextumvir (sevir?) Augustalis votum solvit lubens merito. Hence he too hastily inferred that Bibracte was on the same site as Autun: *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome ii, Pt. II, s. viii. p. 433, Pl. CXCH. D'Anville also held this opinion; *éclaircissements géographiques*, pp. 329, 330, 331, quoted by M. Bulliot, *Mémoires de la Soc. Edienne, nouvelle série*, tome iii, p. 300. Some of the modern French antiquaries still adhere to the views expressed by the earlier authorities. M. Pouillevet, Treasurer of the Ædian Society, says that the Romans coming from Italy, a warmer country, would never have built a city in the position of Autun, looking to the north and exposed to cold winds; he thinks they must have found the Ædian capital Bibracte already existing there, and that they adopted it on account of its facilities for defence, as it is connected only by a narrow neck of land with a range of high hills towards the south.

The preponderance of argument, however, seems to be in favour of Mont Beuvray as the site of Bibracte, and the traces of Gallic roads converging thither strongly support this conclusion: *Histoire de Jules César par l'Empereur Napoléon III*, tome ii, p. 67, note, and Planche 4, Carte Générale de la campagne de l'an, 696: Moberly's note on Cæsar, B. G., i, 23.

NORD



Retrachements
DE
BIBRACTE
(Mont-Beuvray)

*Située sur les Communes de La Roche-Millay, Glux (Nièvre)
et St-Léger-sous-Beuvray (Saône & Loire)*

D'après le Plan dressé par M.M. BÉRIEUX & J. ROIDOT.

Chilli



examine the ramparts that can still be traced, for the circuit includes 135 hectares, an area greater than any other Gallic Oppidum, as far as we know; St. Odile in Alsace, Alesia and Gergovia, each containing only 100 hectares.¹ The walls of Bibracte follow the course of the ground, and sometimes descend far into the ravines on the sides of the mountain, with the object of securing supplies of water from sources and reservoirs. They have been excavated for several hundred mètres, and show a framework of wood, fastened by iron bolts, many of which are still in their places. Such remains are particularly interesting, because they correspond with Cæsar's detailed account of Gallic fortifications. He says that they consisted of long parallel beams two feet apart, and that the interval was filled up with earth on the inside (*introrsus*), but with masonry on the outside (*in fronte*); thus stone was useful to prevent the building from catching fire, and timber resisted the attacks of the battering-ram, while the eye was gratified by the appearance of two materials placed alternately.² Of the gates, the *Porte du Rebout* is the only one hitherto explored. The entrance was defended by two bastions, and one of them projected about forty mètres beyond the wall; both were surmounted by wooden towers—a fact proved by the burnt fragments that have been discovered. A large moat followed the line of the ramparts, and below it was an earthwork eight mètres wide. A narrow passage led into the town between two ditches cut in the rock; by this means the approach was made more difficult for assailants, and the water that would collect from the numerous sources flowed off more easily.³

¹ Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, lib. v, s. 141, p. 55, edit. K. O. Müller, *Oppidum*: ab opi dictum, quod munitur opis causa, ubi sit, et quod opus est ad vitam gerundam. Festus, *De Verborum Significatione*, lib. xiii, p. 184, edit. K. O. Müller, follows Varro very closely, and quotes a lost book of Cicero, *De Gloria*. MM. Bulliot and Roidot, *La Cité Gauloise*, chap. vi, p. 112, seem to accept this etymology; but a derivation is not true because it is ancient, and this attempt to explain *oppidum* fails, as it does not account for the double *p*. "The Greek *ἐπιπεδον* becomes in Latin *oppidum*, as

opposed to the *arx*, or citadel; and the adverb *ἐπιπῆδος* takes the form of *oppido*, an equivalent in meaning to *plane*;" Key, *On the Alphabet*, p. 144. The primary meaning, therefore, of *oppidum* would be a town on a plain, but it was of course applied afterwards to places situated otherwise.

² Cæsar, B. G., vii, 23, *alternis trabibus ac saxis*, apropos of the siege of *Avaricum* (Bourges).

³ The projecting bastion must have answered the same purpose as the barbican in the Middle Ages; Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, s.v.

Proceeding to the interior we observe that it contains three plateaux, separated by valleys. The highest of these, La Terrasse, is a long tongue of land parallel to the east side of the Oppidum; at a point called Le Porrey it attains its greatest altitude, 820 mètres above the level of the sea. Here the antiquary may pursue his researches inhaling new vigour with the mountain air, and looking round from time to time on a vast panorama that includes the Puy de Dôme in the foreground and Mont Blanc in the remote horizon. With such surroundings he can hardly refrain from pitying labourers in other fields of science, the astronomer weary with protracted vigils, or the chemist stifled by the pestilential fumes of a laboratory. The second plateau, Le Parc aux Chevaux, is ten or twelve mètres lower than La Terrasse, from which it is separated by the valley of La Goutte Dampierre;¹ it ends in a hill named Theureau de la Roche. The third plateau, La Champlain, is situated at the northern end of the Oppidum, and forms a triangular esplanade. Between it and La Terrasse lies a valley, La Come-Chaudron, which has been carefully excavated.

1. La Terrasse is the most interesting locality, because it contained the Temple, the Forum and the field where the fair was held. The Roman Temple, which is supposed to have been built when the Oppidum was abandoned, occupied the site of an earlier edifice, probably dedicated to Dea Bibracte, the goddess of the fountains on Mont Beuvray.² Towards the east there was only a wall breast high, leaving the view uninterrupted; the shops of traders attending the fair were erected on the north and west, and for some distance lined both sides of the principal road. On the south were stables and a slaughter-house, which the sacrifice of animals rendered necessary. The Temple, which was enclosed by a portico, consisted of two parts, 1. The pronaos or vestibule between seven and eight mètres long; 2. The cella, narrower and somewhat raised. After the introduction of Christianity the old pagan structure was converted into a chapel—a

¹ This name is also spelt d'Empierre. Dr Bogros, *A' travers le Morvand*, p. 179, note, gives the following explanation:—"goutte, gutte, *guttur*, *fauces*, passage étroit, défilé."

² M. Bulliot, *Mém. de la Soc. 'Eduenne*, tome iii, p. 302, notices the prevalence of this kind of cult among the Celtic races, and the attempts made by various saints to extinguish it.

change attributed to St. Martin of Tours, who holds a foremost place in the local legends.¹ Though historical evidence is wanting, some confirmation of the tradition may be derived from the fact that the latest Roman coins found in the ruins are contemporaneous with the Saint.

In the immediate neighbourhood from the earliest times an annual fair was held on the same day as at present, viz., the first Wednesday (*Mercredi*) of May, which points to the worship of Mercury and Maia. The remote origin, long continuance and crowded concourse of these meetings are attested by the discovery of objects both numerous and various—money of Gallic cities, flint implements, fragments of bronze axes, glass vessels, fibulæ, articles for the toilette, enamels, pottery of every period in the history of the country—Gaulish, Roman, Merovingian, Carolingian, Mediæval, Renaissance and Modern. The author of the “Guide to Mont Beuvray” truly remarks, that the result is much the same, as if the geologist could see in one spot a complete series of strata from granite downwards.²

Before Cæsar’s invasion the Æduans paid their vows here (*referebant vota*) to Dea Bibracte, and cast eggs, pieces of money, and other offerings, into the basin of her sacred spring.³ Christianity failed to eradicate superstitious practices of pagan origin, and some of them linger even to the present; nurses bathe their breasts in the water that they may afford good nourishment to babes; men place bunches of magic herbs on the cross of St. Martin to preserve their cattle from the evil eye, and throw over their left shoulder a twig of hazel-wood, hoping thus to avert some baleful spell.⁴

During the Middle Ages, besides attendance on Divine service in the Chapel, the people of the neighbourhood

¹ St. Martin, in A.D. 376, came here to convert the Æduans, but met with a hostile reception. According to the legend, he escaped from them mounted on his ass, which with one leap crossed the ravine of Malvaux; Guide au Mont Beuvray, p. 38. “Ce rocher porte encore l’empreinte du sabot de l’âne, qui, prévoyant sans doute le scepticisme des générations futures, prit la précaution de laisser sur le granit la preuve incontestable de ce bond miraculeux.” Bogros, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180.

² “Cette foire était connue sous le nom de *lîte* du Beuvray, ou littéralement, réunion des jours de sacrifices” (*lîto*, *lîtare*, sacrifier).

³ Cæsar, B. G., vi, 13, in loco consecrato.

⁴ Similarly the Bretons at Carnac baptize their cattle, and invoke the aid of St. Cornély (Cornelius) to protect them from epizootic maladies. Ad. Joanne, Guides Diamant, Bretagne, p. 344; Murray, Handbook for France, Brittany, Introductory Information, s. 5. Superstition.

congregated here for various purposes; the seigneurs assembled their vassals for an annual census, held courts of justice, and celebrated fêtes which usually ended in a tournament.

2. In the Parc aux Chevaux several houses have been discovered containing mosaics, which, of course, imply a certain amount of luxury, and many Gallic coins, but none of the Roman Empire, though we might at first have expected them. Hence we must look upon these buildings as proofs of Italian civilization that had spread into Gaul before it was subjugated. The largest residence in this quarter was on a plan similar to the Roman, viz., a central hall (atrium) communicating by passages (fauces) with apartments on its four sides; moreover there were several courts and *dépendances* adjoining. But the most remarkable feature in the arrangements was the position of the principal entrance which faced due north. The pavement consisted of mosaics, of pieces of schist, square and triangular, and of bricks placed so as to imitate fern-leaves. These details and the careful manner in which the chimneys were built have led some persons to conjecture that this mansion was the palace of the Vergobret or chief magistrate, but we have not at present sufficient evidence, either historical or monumental, to support this opinion. The situation of the house was well chosen and sheltered from the wind, as it stood in a hollow formed by the slopes which the principal road (du Rebout) traverses.¹

At the southern end of this quarter and near the fountain of St. Pierre ruins were discovered of a stable, which had eighty compartments made with rows of charred stakes, placed at a distance of one mètre apart; from the narrowness of the space one would infer that the stalls were intended, not for horses, but for oxen.

3. In Le Champlain, the Pierre de Wivre, a block of stone cut by human hands, and the Fontaine de Larmes, a hollow usually filled with rain water, are both connected

¹ Rollin et Feuarent, Catalogue, Médailles de la Gaule, p. 27, s.v. Chefs de Lixovii, No. 307, CISIAMBOS CATTOS VERGOBRETO: Eugène Hueber, L'Art Gaulois, Part I, Pl. 12, Eduens ou Suessions, fig. 1. Médaille de bronze de

Divitiacius, Vergobert (*sic*) des Eduens ou de Divitiacius, Roi des Suessions—Légende ΔΕΟΤΙΓΙΑΓΟC; Part II, Catalogue Critique des légendes des monnaies gauloises, p. 145, s.v. CISIAMBOS, where references are given to De Saulcy, Lelewel, etc.

with superstitious usages. Wivre is said to mean some fantastic kind of snake, so that there is probably here a vestige of serpent-worship.¹ The Fontaine de Larnes seems to take its name from a belief that stones over which oaths were administered oozed with water, if a man perjured himself. This part of the Oppidum by its isolation was well suited for assemblies of the Gallic Senate in the open air, and a semi-circular space is observable here that may have been used as a station, where the horses and chariots of the chiefs remained during the concilium.²

It should be remarked that the west side of Le Champlain was uninhabited, which would, of course, favour the secrecy of deliberations; on the other hand, there are traces of dwellings on the east side near the road of the Croix du Rebout and the valley La Come-Chaudron. They were occupied by artisans in bronze, which is proved by the crucibles and scorixæ that have been found here. Fifty or sixty amphoræ were also discovered in sepulchral compartments; there can be little doubt that they were employed as cinerary urns or coffins, and the divisions may have been made to correspond with the different guilds of workpeople.³

As there are three plateaux, there are also three valleys within the ramparts—La Goutte Dampierre, L' 'Ecluse, and La Come-Chaudron; through each of them a stream flows, fed by the numerous springs on the mountain. La Come-Chaudron, which alone, as far as I know, has been explored hitherto, was the residence of workers in metal exclusively. At the entrance was a foundry, where they

¹ Bogros, *op. cit.*, pp. 178, 190 and note 1. "La *Guivre*, *Wivre*, (*Vouarre* en morv.) était le dragon fantastique, aux yeux d'escarboucles, chargé de la garde des trésors et des palais enchantés dans les romans des trouvères." Compare the dragon-standard of the Dacians on the Trajan Column at Rome; Fabretti, *Tavv.* xii, xiii, xx, xxix, xl, &c., Froehner, pp. 64, 90, 120, and woodcuts.

² The Guide au Mont Beuvray, p. 33, note 1, quotes from the *Senchus-Mor*, a collection of Irish laws, some of which are said to belong to the 2nd Century B.C.: "Celui qui coupe la bride d'un chef pendant le conseil doit payer la valeur des

dommages d'honneur aux sept plus nobles personnages de la réunion." I have endeavoured in vain to verify this citation.

The Oppidum was also used as a place of refuge: Cæsar, *B. G.*, v. 21. Oppidum autum Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causa convenire consueverunt.

³ Dr W. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 2nd edition, p. 90, s.v. Amphora: cf. Propertius, iv (v), 5, 75.

Sit tumulus lenæ curto vetus amphora collo, ap. Forcellin, s.v.

extracted iron directly by the Catalan method ;¹ further on, forges excavated in the ground and provided with blowing-machines that had nozzles of refractory earth, a smithy forty-seven mètres long, and sheds constructed of beaten earth and timber presented signs of a great variety of processes. On the slopes of the valley, in recesses where the light only penetrated by the door, the Gallic artizans laboured and produced the objects that have survived them so long.² The most curious branch of their industry was enamelling, and this was first discovered in the excavations of 1869 ; the workshops, with the exception of some deteriorated articles in them, like houses at Pompeii, looked as if they had been closed only the day before. Utensils were lying in disorder, the furnaces were still full of coal, some specimens of the art were finished, some at an advanced stage of fabrication, others only commenced ; fragments of raw enamel, earthenware crucibles, sandstone for polishing, waste pieces, vitreous shells with impressions of patterns from the bronze, and medals, bearing witness to the period, were scattered all around.³

The process of enamelling was the simplest possible, and consequently required but few tools. It consisted in engraving lines upon the surface to be decorated, covering it with a coating of paste, and removing the excess by means of sandstone and polishers. A good idea of the results may be formed by examining the coloured plates

¹ Bloxam, Chemistry, Inorganic and Organic, 4th edition 1880, p. 323, s. 221 : Direct extraction of wrought iron from the ore. "It is probable that the iron of antiquity was extracted in this way, for it is doubtful whether cast iron was known to the ancients Some works of this description are still in operation in the Pyrenees, where the Catalan process is employed. The crucible is lined at the sides with thick iron plates, and at the bottom with a refractory stone. . . . the fall of water from a cistern down a long wooden pipe, sucks in through lateral apertures a supply of air, etc." fig. 253, Catalan forge for smelting iron ores. Ure, Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, etc., Art. Iron, p. 682, s.f.

² Dr. Bogros, p. 178, note 2, thinks that these work-people were directed by Bituriges or Petrocorii. "Le Berry et le

Périgord étaient les principaux foyers métallurgiques des Gaules": Strabo iv. 2, 2. Caesar, Bell. Gall., vii, 22, notices the imitative skill of the Gauls ; est summa genus sollertie atque ad omnia imitanda atque efficienda, que ab quoque tradantur, aptissimum.

³ Mém. de la Soc. 'Eduenne, Nouv. Sér., tome iv, pp. 439-480. L'art de l'émaillerie chez les 'Eduen savant l'ère chrétienne, d'après les découvertes faites au mont Beuvray, par MM. J.-G. Bulliot et Henry de Fontenay ; Plan des fouilles du Beuvray en 1869 ; quartier CC dit de la Come-Chaudron. The ateliers are here distinctly marked. The Congrès Scientifique de France, 1876, contains a report of a visit to the Museum in the Hôtel de Ville at Autun, tome i, pp. 154-167, and a notice of the bijoux émaillés found in Burgundy, p. 161.

appended to the "Memoirs of the *Æduan Society*," vol. iv. Bosses, heads of nails, and buttons made to imitate flowers were ornamented in this way, and then attached to weapons or harness. It seems probable that Diodorus alludes to the art of enamelling, for he says that the Celts carried shields variegated in a peculiar fashion, *χρῶνται θυρεοῖς . . . πεποικιλμένοις ἰδιότροπως*.¹ This interpretation is confirmed by a passage in Pliny's "Natural History," where he mentions a similar process, viz., plating by means of fusion; according to him the Gauls coated bronze with white lead, and made a surface that could scarcely be distinguished from silver.²

The designs traced on the metal are of the most primitive kind—parallel lines, chevrons, and fern-leaves—similar to those on the shield of a Gallic warrior at Avignon, which the antiquarian traveller would do well to inspect. The very coarseness of execution in these enamels is for the inquirer their greatest charm; he sees here the art in its infancy, he stands by its cradle.³ Not only is the work monochrome, but it is also purely Celtic; we have, therefore, in the interior of France specimens ruder than those discovered in the Victoria Cave near Settle, Yorkshire, and described by Professor Boyd Dawkins; for the latter show a union of Roman design with native ornamentation.⁴

¹ Diodor. Sic., lib. v, c. 30. It is related that Divitiacus leaned on a shield ornamented with different colours, when he addressed the Roman Senate, and invoked their assistance against the Sequani, Cæsar, B. G. i., 31, vi, 12; Cicero, de Divinatione, i, 41, whence we learn that this *Æduan* chief was a Druid and the guest of Cicero; Eumenius, Gratiarum Actio Constantino Augusto Flaviensium nomine, c. iii, scuto innixus peroravit; Notice Historique prefixed to the Traduction des Discours d'Eumène par Landriot et Rochet, c. ii, p. 12 and note.

² Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv, c. 17, s. 48, §§. 162-3, edit. Sillig., says that plated articles were called *incoctilia*. Deinde et argentum incoquere simili modo cœpere equorum maxime ornamentis jumento-rumque ac jugorum Alesia oppido; reliqua gloria Biturigum fuit. Cœpere deinde et esseda sua colisatque ac petorita exornare simili modo, &c. This description corresponds with the charac-

ter of the objects found at Mont Beuvray.

³ We have here neither *champlevé* nor *cloisonné* work, but the first efforts of that art whose perfection we admire in the beautiful paintings produced by the school of Limoges.

⁴ Cave Hunting, coloured plate frontispiece, and pp. 98-100; Early Man in Britain, p. 435. Mr. Boyd Dawkins, like all other writers on this subject, quotes the *locus classicus* in Philostratus, Icon., lib. i, c. xxviii, p. 403, Ed. Kayser, ταῦτα φασὶ τὰ χρώματα τοὺς ἐν Ὀκεανῷ βαρβάρους ἔγχρῃν τῷ χαλκῷ διαπύρω· τὰ δὲ συνίστασθαι καὶ λιθοῦσθαι καὶ σώζειν ἃ ἐγράφη. He also refers to M. de Laborde and the Abbé Cochet, but does not seem to be aware of the important discoveries made by M. Bulliot.

Kemble, Hore Ferales, edited by Dr. R. G. Latham and Mr. A. W. Franks, p. 194, Pls. XIX, XX: Enamelled Horse-Trappings. Wilson, Prehistoric Annals of

Lastly, there are several elevated plateaux outside the Oppidum on the slopes of the mountain ; it seems probable that they were occupied as outposts by Gallic tribes encamping separately. In the same way the Gauls, besieged by Gergovia, protected the approaches that led up to it, as Cæsar informs us, *superiorem partem collis usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris compleverant*.¹

Autun is unfavourably situated, and therefore, with superior attractions, it has been less visited than it deserves. If the traveller is going to Bordeaux, he must make a long détour to see Autun ; if Lyons is his destination, it does not lie on either of the routes, through the Bourbonnais or through Burgundy. But it can be reached in considerably less than four-and-twenty hours from London by way of Nevers (Noviodunum), where, however, the Musée Lapidaire in the Porte du Croux offers many inducements to halt.²

The excursion to Mont Beuvray, which will only take a day, should on no account be omitted. There I had the pleasure to make Monsr. Bulliot's acquaintance, in the trenches which he himself had excavated ; and now I beg leave to express a hope that some of my countrymen may be induced to deviate from the beaten path in the same direction, that they may enjoy similar good fortune, and that they also may see the earth yield up to this learned and patient explorer treasures that have lain for ages buried in her bosom.

Scotland, vol. ii, p. 157, Pl. XI, figs. 136-139 : Bronze Horse-Furniture found at Middleby, Annandale.

For the art of enamelling in the Middle Ages see Theophilus, *Diversarum Artium Schedula*, edit. R. Hendrie, Book III, c. liv, *De electro* ; c. lv, *De poliendo electro*, and note, p. 434.

The objects found at Mont Beuvray have been, for the most part, deposited in the Musée d'Antiquités Nationales at St. Germain-en-Laye ; M. Bulliot has casts from the originals in his house at Autun.

¹ Bell. Gall., vii, 46 ; cf. ib. 36, Vercingetorix, castris prope oppidum in

monte positus, mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatum copias collocaverat ; atque omnibus ejus jugi collibus occupatis, qua despicí poterat, horribilem speciem præbebat.

² The Porte du Croux is a fine machicolated tower of the 14th Century, in good preservation ; it contains many interesting inscriptions of the Gallo-Roman epoch, a mosaic with designs in nine square compartments, also various objects belonging to the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and later periods : Catalogue du Musée Lapidaire de la Porte du Croux, 74 pp., Nevers, 1873 ; Guide Joanne, Auvergne etc., p. 19.

APPENDIX.

I add some brief notes and references concerning Monuments at Autun, which have not been described in the preceding Memoir.

Temple of Janus.—This is the most conspicuous of the Gallo-Roman buildings, though less interesting than the gates of Arroux and St. André. If the visitor comes from Château-Chinon, it is visible long before arriving at Autun; and it faces him when he leaves the latter place by railway. Two sides of a massive square edifice are all that now remains. Montfaucon connects the numbers of the doors and windows with the seasons and months, but this seems very doubtful; *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome ii, Part i, p. 60, Plate x, Fig. 2.

I am inclined to think that a double mistake has been made here; (1) that the building is not a temple, though some antiquaries profess to identify the *cella*, *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 1846, p. 382; and (2) that it is incorrectly assigned to Janus. Mr. Hamerton, in the *Portfolio* for July, 1882, truly remarks that this tower bears no resemblance to our ordinary conception of a Roman temple with its pediments and columns. Viollet-le-Duc says that, as the gates of Autun could not stand a regular siege, outworks of earth and wood were thrown out in front of them, forming two sides of a triangle, which had the town-ramparts for its base; the so-called Temple of Janus, a fort of solid masonry, being the apex, and answering the purpose of a barbican. There was no door on the *rez de chaussée*, and the only entrance was by an opening on the first floor, as was the case in Irish Round Towers: Petrie, *Round Towers and Ancient Architecture of Ireland*; doorways of Round Towers treated of, pp. 401-413, with Plates.

Till the seventeenth century, this monument was called in official documents *Tour de la Genetoie*, a word derived from *genesta* (broom), like the English compound Plantagenet; but it occurred to some etymologists to translate *Genetoye*, *Genetoie*, *Genetêt*, by *Jani tectum*; hence a false attribution arose, which has been handed down from one generation to another: *Congr. Scient.* 1876, tome i, pp. 54, sq.

The fullest and latest account of this building is given by M. Bulliot, in the *Mém. de la Soc. Eduenne*, *Nouv. Sér.*, tome ix, pp. 419-461, with three plates, *Plan du quartier de la Genetoie*, p. 419; *Temple dit de Janus*, plan, p. 437; *Temple dit de Janus, élévation, face méridionale*, p. 440.

Theatre.—The remains are to be seen at the end of the *Promenade des Marbres*, and are popularly called *Caves Joyaux*. They indicate that the theatre was one of the largest known to us; it is said to have accommodated more than 30,000 spectators. Thus it rivalled those of Greece and Sicily in extent; and like them, being hollowed out of the side of a hill, it commanded a magnificent prospect. The outline and general arrangement of the seats can still be distinctly traced; and the

fragments of shafts, cornices, and corbels show the architectural splendour with which the stage was decorated. At each end of the hemicyclium there is a series of niches facing the *scena*; M. de Caumont remarked that there were similar apses at Saintes, Charente Inférieure. For recent excavations at Saintes see Bulletin de la Société des Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, Oct. 1882, pp. 393-7, with plan of the amphitheatre. In the seventeenth century the stones of the theatre at Autun were used as building materials for the Petit Séminaire, which was commenced October 1669. Close to the theatre is a small house; many Gallic busts and inscriptions are fixed on its four walls (*incrustés*).

Walls.—The description by Ammianus Marcellinus is still applicable; xv, 11, 11, p. 60, edit. Eyssenhardt, *Moenium Augustuduni magnitudo vetusta*; xvi, 2, 1, p. 64, *muros spatiosi quidem ambitus sed carie vetustatis invalidos*. They formed an irregular quadrilateral, defended by about sixty towers; the circuit was 5,922 mètres, and the height is supposed to have been 13 mètres.

Aqueducts.—The principal one brought water to Autun from Montjeu (Mons Jovis), where there are two large ponds (*étangs*). Remains of it are visible at several points between these two places. It was 4,150 mètres long, and nearly high enough for a man to stand upright. Great engineering skill was shown in its construction, as M. Desplaces de Martigny explains; Congrès Scientif., 1876, I., 65, 66. Comp. Congrès Archéol., 1846, pp. 365, 367, with two engravings.

Pierre de Couhard.—Mr. Freeman in the British Quarterly speaks of this monument as "nameless," but it derives its appellation from the neighbouring village, which is on the south side of Autun and within an easy walk of it. The Pierre de Couhard is an irregular pyramid, 26 mètres high. It has been repeatedly pierced without success; nothing has been found that would throw light on the purpose for which it was erected. However, taking into account its position at the summit of the Champ des Urnes, a Gallo-Roman *polyandre*, and its resemblance to the pyramid of Caius Cestius, near the Porta di San Paolo, Rome, we may fairly infer that this structure was sepulchral. Some have supposed that it is the tomb of the Druid chief, Divitiacus; others say Cavarus (*Kávapos*), a Gallic king, who is mentioned by Polybius iv, 46, 52; viii, 24; and ap. Athenæum vi, p. 252, d.; but these are conjectures and nothing more. From this elevated spot the spectator looks down on a varied scene—wooded hills and valleys, a city with its mediæval cathedral, walls and towers, and the mountains of the Morvan in the far-off horizon.

Mosaic of Bellerophon killing the Chimaera.—This tessellated pavement, a very fine specimen of the art, was at one time deposited in the Musée Jovet at Autun. Mr. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, v. 225, says that it was publicly exhibited in London. I believe it is now in the Musée at St. Germain, but not shown to visitors, for want of an apartment large enough to display it.

Roman Roads.—The great importance of Autun in ancient times is proved by the fact that thirteen or fourteen ways converged thither. An essay on this subject will be found in the Congrès Archéol., 1846, pp. 428-442, entitled *Notice sur les Voies romaines qui traversent la Ville d'Autun ou viennent y aboutir*; par. M. Laureau de Thory. I understand that the *Ædunan Society* is preparing a treatise on these roads,

accompanied by a map. Autun is thus marked in the Index to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, edit. Mannert, Aug. d-m i. e. ii. a. Aug. dunum; Aug. D-m. ii. a. Aug. dunum. The numerals refer to the segments in the Table.

Æduan Coins.—As Augustodunum was the capital of the Ædui, the coins of this people are naturally connected with the antiquities of the city. Dumnorix and Litavicus who are frequently mentioned by Caesar appear in this series; Docirix and Togirix occur on the medals, but not in the works of this author; Rollin et Feuardent, Catal. 'Eduens, pp. 9, 10, Chefs 'Eduens, p. 10. No. 130 has a remarkable reverse: Guerrier à g. tenant de la main dr. une enseigne et un sanglier; de la g. la tête coupée d'un vaincu: Caes. B. G. v. 58, Indutiomarus interficitur, caputque ejus refertur in castra: Cf. Fabretti, La Colonna Trajana, Tav. xi, two heads of conquered enemies in the hands of Roman soldiers. In the abundance of their coins the Ædui rank next to the Arverni; for this as well as other reasons, they have been fully discussed by Eugène Hucher, in his elaborate work, *L'Art Gaulois*, Part I, pp. 27-30; Plates II, III, VII, XII, LVIII, LXVI, LXXXIV; Part II, Catal. Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises. De Saulcy, *Lettres à M. A. de Longpérier*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1858, pp. 131-141, Monnaies 'Eduennes anépigraphes, 'Eduennes épigraphiques, &c.

The earlier writers on the Antiquities of Autun should be consulted, because in their times many monuments existed, which have now deteriorated or totally disappeared; e.g., *Histoire de l'Antique cité d'Autun*, par Edme Thomas (réimpression.)

The most important Series for this subject is the "Publications de la Société 'Eduenne" from 1837 down to the present year. A complete list will be found on the cover of the last volume that has appeared. These instructive works ought to be mentioned with due honour, especially as Mr. Roach Smith and MM. Millin and Prosper Mérimée, amongst their own countrymen, have so freely reproached the Autunois for neglecting their monuments. Mr. Freeman, *British Quarterly*, July, 1881, p. 1, says he was confined to such help as could be obtained from two of these publications, whose names he prefixes to his article. I had no difficulty in procuring others from a London bookseller except when they were out of print; these are marked on the above-mentioned list as *épuisés*.

M. de Caumont presided over the meeting of the Congrès Archéologique at Autun in 1846, and this distinguished name raises the reader's expectations; but he will be disappointed, because in many cases the reports contain suggestions for, rather than the results of, inquiries.

In my account of the Cathedral at Autun, I have noticed symbolical numbers in architecture, and the views of Monsgr. Devoucoux. Monsignore Barbier de Montault remarks in a letter to me, "L'opinion de Mgr. Devoucoux a été très contestée, et n'a pas fait école." He has favoured me with the following list of references which the student of Christian Antiquities may find useful.

Les Tables des *Annales Archéologiques*, de la *Revue de l'art chrétien*, du *Bulletin monumental*, au mot *Nombres* ou à *Chiffres*.

Histoire et théorie du symbolisme religieux, par le chanoine Aubert, 4 vol. in 8vo.

Catalogue de la librairie archéologique de Didron, à Paris.

Spicilegium Solesmense.

L'Abbé Migne's *Patrologia*.

From some expressions in the guide-books of Joanne and Murray it might be inferred that the annual cattle-fair held at Autun makes the place intolerable for strangers during the whole of September. I can say from experience that there is no inconvenient crowd after the first few days of the month. At the Hôtel St. Louis, sometimes called de la Poste, the traveller will meet with good accommodation and great civility.

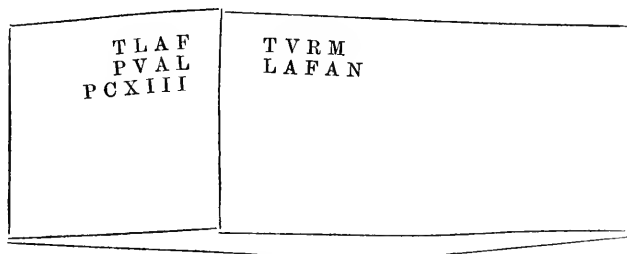
My Paper is the result of a week's stay at Autun in the year 1881. Besides my own personal observations, I have made free use of the following authorities :—Marriott's Testimony of the Catacombs ; Congrès Archéologique, 1846 ; Congrès Scientifique, 1876 ; Devoucoux, Description de l'Eglise Cathédrale d'Autun ; Notice sur le Tableau du Martyre de Saint Simphorien par M. Ingres ; Guide Historique et Archéologique au Mont Beuvray ; Memoirs by MM. de Fontenay and Bulliot in the Publications de la Société 'Eduenne. To the latter gentleman I am much indebted for assistance most kindly given in conversation and by correspondence. Lastly, I desire to thank my friend, Dr. Richard Caulfield, who has favoured me with useful suggestions and access to his valuable library.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN BRITAIN IN 1882.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

The past year has not yielded us by any means so large a number of inscriptions as its immediate predecessors, though a few of the epigraphs are of considerable value.

During excavations at the station of *Cilurnum*, on the Roman Wall, Mr. Clayton found a peculiarly inscribed stone, which may be thus represented—



The inscription on the front apparently reads as TVRM(A) or TVRM(AE) LAFAN(II). That on the side as T(VRMAE) LAF(ANII) P(VBLIVS) VAL(ERIVS) P(EDES) CXIII. The stone is evidently not one of the class generally termed centurial. These invariably record an amount of wall built, ranging in dimensions between twenty and thirty feet. Such is the case not only on the Wall, but at Manchester, Ribchester, and Tomen-y-Mur, the only other stations where centurial stones have been found. Here we have 113 feet named, and the stone is of the same class as No. 139 of the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (Dr. Hübner's No. 596.) I take it that the stone marked the boundary of an allotment of private property, and further proves that the station of *Cilurnum* was originally built as an

independent fortress with a *territorium* around it, occupied, as Mr. Coote in his "*Romans of Britain*" expresses it, by "military tenants," and not as part of the line of defence formed by the Wall, into which it was afterwards brought.

This seems confirmed by Mr. Clayton's discovery of another stone inscribed (rudely)

LAPIS
IVLIVS

The occurrence of the *nomen*, simply, in this inscription is further evidence on the point.

A third stone found by Mr. Clayton is one of the ordinary centurial class and is inscribed—

▷ VICTORI
NI

i.e., *Centuria Victorini*. It came from near Cawfields Mile Castle on the Wall.

A fourth stone of the ordinary "walling stone" class is inscribed simply

MILES.

From Chesterholm (*Vindolana*) four stones have been removed to Mr. Clayton's museum at Chesters. The first is a portion of a tombstone, and what remains of the inscription is—

D
AVREL
A. VIXIT
NOS. XX. FILI
AVR < IVC.

and probably reads *Dis manibus Aurdia vixit annos xx, filia Aurelii Iucundi*, although the word *filia* is not in its normal position.

The second is also a portion of a tombstone, but a mere fragment. The letters remaining are—

* I I *
ORVM
TATEA.

The third is another and adjoining portion of the tablet to which Dr. Hübner's No. 1346 (found in 1870) belongs. The two fragments read—

SEPT
ACL.
O. PIO.
AE
RANTE
SET
.OC

It is part of a large tablet dedicated to Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and is the first found on the Wall in which the name of Severus occurs.

Of the fourth, I gave (as far as I was then able) one portion in my list of inscriptions found in 1877 (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 64), but the copy I then had was very defective. Dr. Bruce has, however, lately favoured me with a photograph of this, and copies of several readings of the other (left hand) portion, which is very weather-worn and obscure. The two parts, which however are not the whole of the stone, I would read thus, marking with asterisks the doubtful letters—

DAVIDIREGVLOVIXIT
SXXXIIIIPLMTEATQVE
IVGIIPIEVIXANISXXXII
MER*EORVMVIXITD
IM**CI*FILIOEORVM
I*XITMIIAVIDIVANIPL*
**MIAHICE
TIM*

It is plain that we have here a large family tombstone. The commencement of the inscription is lost, and so are probably the beginning and end of each line. In the first existing line, after B, only AVD is visible instead of AVID, but I think the I has been ligulate as a continuation of the upright stroke of the D, and is lost with the missing portions of the stone. If not the word is a puzzle. I would then read * *Avidi(o) Regulo vixit annis xxxiiii pl(us) m(inus)*, but the remainder of the line is uncertain. The third line seems to read (*con*)-*jugi pie vix(it) an(n)is xxxii*, but the name of the wife must have preceded this. The fourth line seems to commence with part of the word *mer(enti)* followed by *eorum vixit*, but is very perplexing. In the fifth and sixth we have perhaps something concatenate, *i.e.*, the name of a child in the dative followed by *filio eorum vixit m(ensibus) ii*, then the name of a second, *Av(i)di(o) vixit Anno i. pl(us) m(inus)*. In the seventh line possibly *Hic e(st)* is intended, but beyond this nothing further can be attempted.

In the neighbourhood of Cawfields Mile Castle there have also been recently found two Roman milestones. One of them bore the inscription (divested of ligatures)—

IMP. CAES. M. AVREL.
SEVER. ALEXANDRO
PI. FEL. AVG. P. M. TR. P
COS. P. P. CVR. CL. XENEPHON
TE. LEG. AVG. PR. PR.
A. PETR. M. P. XVIII.

which expanded reads *Imperatore Cæsare Marco Aurelio Severo Alexandro Pio Felice Augusto Pontifice Maximo Tribunitia Potestate Consule Patre Patriæ Curante Claudio Xenephonte Legato Pro-Prætor. A. Petrianis milia passuum xviii.* As I have already communicated to the Institute this milestone possesses a double value. In the first place it informs us that it was set up at eighteen Roman miles from *Petriana*, which approximately agrees with the distance of the place where it was found from Hexham, and this town I had identified with *Petriana* in 1881 on the evidence of inscriptions. In the second place we gather the information that Claudius Xenephon, the date of whose tenure of power in Britain had been previously unknown, was Imperial Legate here in the reign of Alexander Severus. Owing to the letters A. P. at the commencement of the last line being nearly obliterated and not legible, Dr. Bruce at first doubted the correctness of the reading A. PETR, but there seems to be little (if any) doubt on the point. The stone is round and rough and much marked with the pick.

The other milestone is also round and very much worn. Dr. Bruce says the only letters he could identify were—

AI
NVS
RIAN
AVG.

This may be of Hadrian's reign as Dr. Bruce thinks, in which case the reading would be *Imp(erator) Cæs(ar) (Traja)nus Had(rian)us Aug(ustus)*, &c., but the milestones of Hadrian were generally very large and the letters well executed. It seems, therefore, probable that this may be of a later date, as it is rudely lettered. Its height is four feet two inches.

Another very puzzling stone was also found near Cawfields. It has possibly been part of a larger one, subsequently used as a building stone. The letters are much weathered, indistinct, and some doubtful. As far as can be made out they seem to be—

CDVRTRO.
HNDINISI.

Possibly part of some such name as SECVNDINI may be in the last line.

Another fragmentary inscription is on the edge of a thick slab, now seventeen inches in length, and on which, Dr. Bruce says, "may have stood a statue of Mars." It seems possible that it is the same, as that which I have named in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 261, recorded in Gibson's "Camden." The letters remaining, which are now on the very edge, are—

MAR —

The whole of the above-named stones are now preserved by Mr. Clayton in his Museum at Chesters.

At Lincoln there was found, in Hungate, a portion of a tombstone inscribed—

.... V L
EC. ALAE. II.
ASTOR. VIXIT
ANNIS. LXX.

It commemorates a *decurio* (whose name is lost) of the second *ala* of the Astures, a regiment which was quartered for a long period at *Cilurnum* on the Roman Wall. The spelling of the word as *Astorum* instead of *Asturum* is peculiar. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, says that he thought he detected the same spelling of the word in an inscription found at Benwell in Northumberland, and argued from it that an *ala* of the *Asti*, a people of Liguria, were named, but there is no doubt that in each case the Astures were meant.

In July, I had sent to me by the Yorkshire Archæological Association, two photographs of an altar about three feet in height, found at Longwood near Slack, the ancient *Cambodunum*. It bears an inscription which contains several ligatures, but which reads as

D E O
S. BRIGANT
ET. N. AVG
T. AVR. QVINTVS
D. D. P. ET S.S.

Amongst several peculiarities about this altar, one seems to be that the stone cutter has originally commenced the second line with B, thus omitting s for Sancto. On find-

ing out his mistake he has cut the s upon the b, and has added the latter letter (reversed) to the left side of the upright stroke of the r which had previously been produced in an upward direction to form the i. The consequence is that these three letters are in one ligulate form. There is room after the r at the end of this line for other letters of which faint traces appear to remain, and which I think have been vm. I would therefore read the whole inscription as *Deo S(ancto) Brigantum et N(umini) Aug(usti), T(itus) Aur(elius) Quintus D(ecreto) D(ecurionum) P(osuit) et S(usceptum) S(olvit)*. The translation is "To the holy god of the Brigantes, and to the divinity of the Emperor, Titus Aurelius Quintus, by decree of the decurions has placed (this) and has performed (his) undertaking." The only other feasible expansion of the second line would be, I think, *S(ancto) Briganti*, "To the holy god Brigans." However this may be, we previously knew only of a female deity, *Brigantia*, presiding over the tribe of the Brigantes. We now know that she had a partner in the form of a male god, in their worship. The altar is now in the possession of the Yorkshire Archaeological Association. The peculiarities I have before named, make the second line of the inscription look in some lights as if it were BERIGANT.

Early in the year Mr. D. Geddes of Blackburn found in the bed of the Ribble, about four hundred yards above Ribchester, the lower portion of what has been a large inscribed stone. The fragment in its present state is



thirty-two inches wide and one foot high. The only letters visible are—

..... N A
 CVRAMIC
 SDIICF IVS

It has probably been part of a tombstone, but beyond the word CVRAM or CVRA M in the second existing line, and what seems to have been FILIVS at the end of the third, nothing can be gathered from it. Possibly the upper portion of the stone may be found at some future time.

During this year also, the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, has described to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries the former existence of a Roman bridge over the river Wear at Hylton near Sunderland, amongst some of the stones of which, dredged up from the river's bed in 1865, was one bearing in its centre, a circular plate of white metal. This plate was torn out of the slab by means of a crowbar and has since perished. It bore an inscription which was only partially legible to the discoverer, a Mr. Lister, who however made a drawing of the portion which he could read. This is said to have been—round the circumference

IM D AVG.

And in the centre :

S C

From this Dr. Hooppell conjectures that the Emperor Domitian has been named in the inscription around the plate. It is manifestly impossible either to confirm or refute this conjecture. But as to the letters s c, which Dr. Hooppell expands *S(enatus) C(onsulto)*, I would suggest *S(trator) C(onsularis)* as their meaning. The Senate (as regards the provinces at least) never interfered in the making of roads, bridges, &c., that would be the business of the *Præses* or *Legatus*.

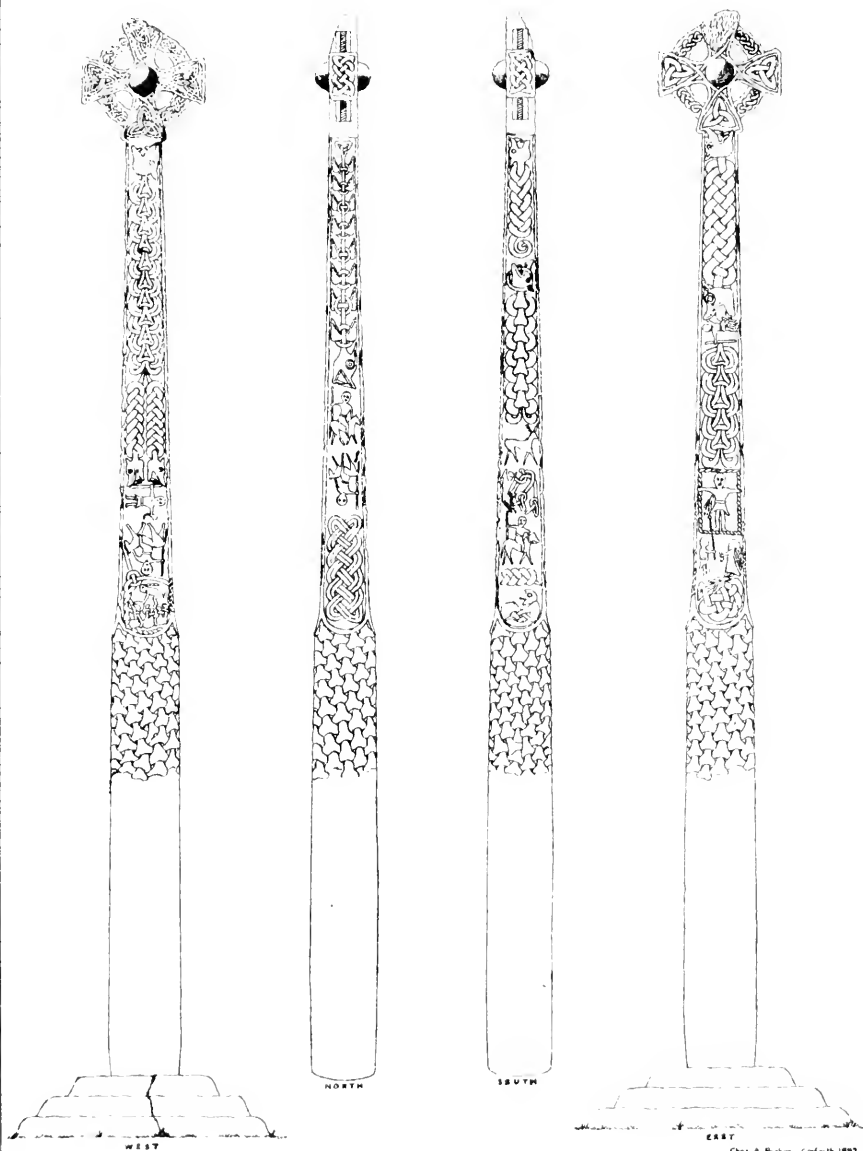
Since the above was written, Mr. Hodges (of Hexham) and Mr. Robinson have reported to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries that they had examined the site at Hylton, and come to the conclusion that instead of a bridge a stone causeway had crossed the river. This would well agree with the work of the *Strator*. On the continent a *Strator* connected with the Appian way is mentioned in an inscription, and the name of another occurs in an inscription in Germany.

I also desire in this paper to put upon record the present location of two stones which I have previously described. In vol. xxxvii, p. 147, of the *Journal*, I de-

scribed a milestone of the reign of Numerian found at Kenchester. This has lately been removed from Dormington to the Hereford Museum. In the same vol. p. 137, I described a stone found at Goldcliff, in Monmouthshire, which has lately been removed to the museum at Caerleon.

In my list of inscriptions for 1881, (*Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 362) I have given the inscription on a tile found at Lincoln (C VIB EXO) and suggested that the last word might be expanded *exo(rnavit)*. Mr. Roach Smith however writes to me that he prefers *ex o(fficina)*, in this case the words would be *C(aii) Vib(ii)*.

GOSFORTH CROSS.



Scale of Feet.

INS 12 8 5 3 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Chas. A. Parker. Gosforth 1895.

THE SCULPTURED CROSS¹ AT GOSFORTH WEST CUMBERLAND.

By the REV. W. S. CALVERLEY.²

It is necessary that we should get a correct idea of the cross *as a whole* before beginning to study its *details*. It is a red sandstone Christian monument, and is a monolith. It is not a heathen pillar surmounted by a cross. The lower part of the shaft is cylindrical and measures forty inches round the bottom. The upper part of the shaft is squared off and measures at the top, on the east and west faces six inches, on the north and south faces, five inches. The head is twenty inches across. The cross is fourteen and-a-half feet high, and stands in a rectangular socket of *three* steps, plain, and a foot high. Rather more than the lower half of the rounded surface of the shaft is uncarved, the upper part is ornamented with a design found on the Dearham cross; curvilinear mouldings divide this round part of the shaft from the four plane surfaces above, which contain the sculptures: above all are the four arms of the cross joined by a circle ornamented with plait work and having a boss in the centre projecting more than two inches.

Some years ago I came to the conclusion that the design carved in relief on the east face of the cross at Dearham³ represented the World Ash Yggdrasil. Shortly

¹ Drawings, Measurements, and some details by C. A. PARKER, M.D., Gosforth, Engravings by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN of Copenhagen.

² A preliminary paper on the cross was read by the author before the Archaeological Institute, at their meeting at Carlisle, Aug. 3rd, 1882. Drawings were exhibited by Dr. Parker. Full-size drawings and a second paper were also laid before the

Institute at their meeting, Dec. 2nd, 1882. See *Journal*, v. XL, p. 110. See also "The Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society" for 1883, pp. 373-404.

³ *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, part I, vol. v, p. 153.

afterwards, my attention was drawn by the Rev. Canon Knowles to a cross socket at Brigham,¹ almost unknown. A study of this socket convinced me that the true meaning of sculptures of this class was to be sought amongst the songs and beliefs of the Anglian or Scandinavian peoples, who must have settled here at a very early period. I am now able to prove the truth and value of these convictions.

Any one who looks at the huge monster on the top of the Brigham cross socket, coiled round the hollow (in which, at one time was the cross), and biting its tail with its teeth, must at once identify the Midgardsworm.

Now the socket of the Gosforth cross has no carving, but simply *three* steps. Nevertheless, from the centre rises the Mundane tree, the World Ash Yggdrasil, the tree of the universe, of time and of life; its closely intertwined branches shooting out from the smooth bole or trunk may be seen :—

I know an ash standing
Yggdrasil hight,
a lofty tree, laved
with limpid water :

thence come the dews
into the dales that fall ;
ever stands it green
over Urd's fountain.²

The stag Eikthynir browses upon its leaf-buds ; its roots below (not seen on this cross) are gnawed by the Hel-dragon Nid-hogg. Still the ash cannot wither until the last battle shall be fought. Its highest point, Läräd (peace-giver) overshadows Walhalla. There are the twelve halls of the twelve gods, and the plain Idavollr where the champions combat ; in the centre, on the summit, is Odin's throne. So may be seen the cross head with its threefold divisions in the four arms around the central boss, and connected by the circular band—to the followers of Odin typical of the twelve halls of the gods in Walhalla—to the Christian, the sacred symbols of the Trinity, the Triquetra. The great snake does not here lie coiled round the tree ; the monster has to take part in the events sculptured above, for the scenes portrayed are

¹ *Idem*, part 1, vol. vi, p. 211, &c.

In " *Memoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord* " for 1884, at pp. 1-5, and pp. 24-25, Professor Stephens of Copenhagen copies the drawings referred to in these notes, and agrees

with the author in his identifications ; the professor having visited, in company with the author, the cross and the socket named.

² Thorpe's translation of the Edda of Sæmund.



Loki Panel.

from the *Vala's prophecy in the Voluspa*, and deal with that last battle, Ragnarök, the twilight of the gods when Jormungander and all Hel's kith and kin are arrayed against the Æsir.

In considering the episodes we have now chiefly to deal with the four plane surfaces on the sides of the cross, and we will begin with the *west* face thereof.

West Face.—From the Ægisdrekka we learn that after Loki had disgusted the gods with his many treacheries and upbraidings, he, in the likeness of a salmon, cast himself into the waterfalls of Frânângr, where the Æsir (the gods) caught him, and bound him with the entrails of his son, Nari, according to the words which Skadi, the wife of Niord, at Ægir's feast, had spoken to the taunting traitor :—

“Thou art merry, Loki !	For thee, on a rock's point,
Not long wilt thou	with the entrails of thy ice-cold son,
frisk with an unbound tail ;	the gods will bind.”

And the words of Thor, who replied to his scoffing :—

“Silence, thou impure being !	Hrûngnir's bane
My mighty hammer Miöllnir,	shall cast thee down to Hel,
shall stop thy prating.	<i>beneath the gratings of the dead,”</i>

but his other son, Narfi, was changed into a wolf.

“*Skadi* took a venomous serpent and fastened it up over Loki's face. The venom trickled down from it. Sigûn, Loki's wife, sat by, and held a basin under the venom ; and when the basin was full carried the poison out. Meanwhile the venom dropped on Loki, who shrank from it so violently that the whole earth trembled. This causes what are now called earthquakes.” See *Loki panel*.

This scene is thus described in the *Voluspa*, strophe 38 :

Bound she saw lying,	not right glad.
under Hverahund,	Then the Vala knew
a monstrous form,	the fatal bonds were twisting,
to Loki like.	most rigid,
There sits Sigûn,	bonds from entrails made.
for her consort's sake,	

Thus the false one lies bound in Hel's dark home *beneath the gratings of the dead* until Ragnarök.

In the very faithful engraving of the panel at the *bottom* of the plane on the *west* face of the cross, here shewn, every particular is clear. The gyves round hands and feet, the bond round the neck, the head of the adder

to the left, its body twisted and made fast by a ring above. Sigûn with her woman's hair and her long gown, kneeling with poison-cup in hand, but the cup is removed to empty the venom, and the horrid slime eats into the monster's flesh; he writhes in agony; every bond is stretched to its utmost strain; the gyves are bent awry; the last great struggle soon will set the giant free.

Let us now look at the *upper* part of this *western* face of the cross:—The first figure beneath the Triquetra, (which is on *this* side formed by a *double* band) has its wolfish head upwards, open-mouthed, a single large tooth in either jaw, eye and ear conspicuous; its body consists of eleven vertebræ with *double* pairs of ribs:— [See general plate, (*Lithograph*).]

Loki begat the wolf

with Angrboda (Hll. 38).

and his (Fenris's) children grew into horrible monsters, being fed by the old giantess on the marrow, bones, and blood, of murderers and evil-doers, in the last age when the bonds of laws were broken, and the destruction of the world drew near:—

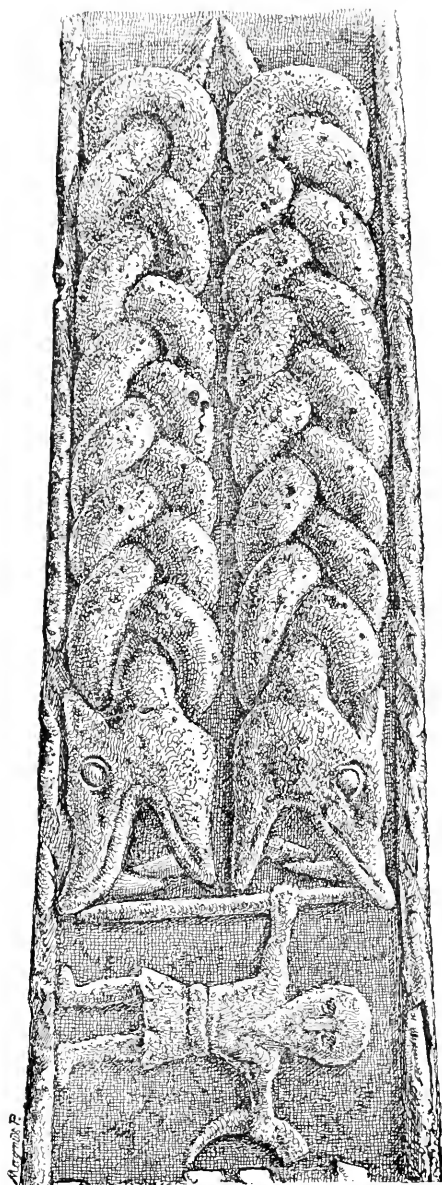
East sat the crone,
in Jârnvidir, (ironwood)
and there reared up
Fenris's progeny:
of all shall be
one specially

the moon's devourer,
in a trolls semblance.
He is sated with the last breath
of dying men;
the *god's seat* he
with red gore defiles.

Here then we see the monster attacking the seat of the gods, ready to gulp down sun or moon,—in the eyes of Christians gaping with wide jaws to swallow the Triquetra.

Beneath are two other of the horrid monster kin, parallel to each other, having knotted worm-like bodies and tails, lower jaw to lower jaw, with open mouths, fierce staring eyes, powerful tusk-like teeth, (one in either jaw) heads downwards, eager to attack the belted, bearded man clad in a tunic, who stands athwart the cross, and calmly with his staff, as tho' with the staff of omnipotence, in his right hand, keeps the Hel worms back. In his left hand the man holds a horn.

The accompanying engraving of this episode must be studied with the engraving of the Loki episode preceding. Thus will be seen—between the man with the staff who holds the horn in his left hand, and the bound fiend,—a



Heimdall Episode.

man mounted on horseback, belted and armed with a javelin or dart—man and horse upside down. A few strophes from the Vala's prophecy makes all plain : *above*, towards the top of the cross stem, on this and on the south side, the great wolves (Skiöll and Hati) rush up to attack the sun and moon; *beneath*, on this west side, Loki struggles in his final effort to be free: *in the midst*, Heimdall, the warder of Asgard, restrains the monsters eager for the fray when all bonds shall be loosed, he has blown a mighty blast on the Gjallarhorn to awaken the Ases and Einheriar, and to warn them to prepare for the last battle. Odin has armed himself and mounted his horse Sleipnir, and now rides away down to Mimir's well to consult the fates.

Further forward I can see,
much can I say
of Ragnarök
and the gods' conflict :
an axe age, a sword age,
shields shall be cloven,
a wind age, a wolf age,
ere the world sinks.

Mim's sons dance,
but the central tree takes fire,
at the resounding
Gjallar horn.
Loud blows Heimdall,
his horn is raised :
Odin speaks
with Mim's head.

Having clearly before us the idea of the impending Ragnarök, let us pass from the west face of this "column of the universe," with its Odin and Heimdall, its Loki and the wolf's progeny, to the *south*¹ face.

South Face.—A reference to the lithograph will at once show the belted horseman, armed with javelin point downwards in his right hand, and holding the loose bridle in his left, in an attitude of living motion. Below this horseman is the coiled body of an adder which separates the home of the living from Nâströnd the strand or shore of corpses :—

"She saw a hall standing,
far from the sun,
in Nâströnd ;

entwined is that hall
with serpents' backs."

Underneath the adder's body is a human figure, with limbs interlaced and one great eye.

Odin has sought of coming things the knowledge which

¹ The cross is perfect save that a small piece has been chipped off the top towards the south. On the *ends* of the arms are

interlaced patterns; round the circle, plait work.

lies hid in Mimir's well, the ocean, the womb of the future, whose sons are the restless billows the offspring of the past and the present, where the god left his eye in pledge once when he craved a draught of its water, as says the Vala, replying, when Odin enquires concerning the fate of Baldr :—

"Of what would'st thou ask me?	Where thou thine eye did'st sink
Why temptest thou me?	in the pure well of Mim."
Odin ! I know all,	

Such a ride as is sculptured here is well described in the Lay of Vegtam, which tells us that after the mighty gods, in conference, had consulted "why Baldr had oppressive dreams," and after that "all species swore oaths to spare him," still fearing some coming great calamity :—

"Up rose Odin	at the sire of magic song,
lord of men,	long it howled.
and on Sleipnir he	Forth rode Odin—
the saddle laid ;	the ground rattled—
rode thence down	till to Hel's lofty
to Nifflhel.	house he came.
<i>A dog he met,</i>	Then rode Ygg
from Hel coming.	to the eastern gate,
It was blood-stained	where he knew there was
on its breast,	<i>a Vala's grace.</i>
on its slaughter-craving throat,	* * * * *
and nether jaw.	To the prophetess he began
It bayed	A magic song to chant, &c.,
and widely gaped	until, compelled, she rose."

What questions Odin asked, and what were her answers, will be shewn further on ; the last words of the prophetess are :—

"Home ride thou Odin !	until Loki free
and exult.	<i>from his bonds escapes,</i>
Thus shall never more	and Ragnarök
man again visit me	all destroying comes."

Now above the armed horseman (Odin) is the figure of a dog or wolf and the coils of a serpent or knotted bonds—see the engraving—beneath the hart and above the head of the horseman—this engraving does not shew the long bushy wolfish tail of the beast, which is plainly to be seen on the stone itself, now that it has been cleaned ; the coils or knots have, in the engraving, much the appearance of adders or serpents, the heads spitting venom on

him who rides below, and they are faithful reproductions of the photograph, though a close inspection of the stone leaves one in doubt whether they were intended to represent anything else than loosened bonds of the wolf.¹ (See *lithograph*). Be this as it may :—The chief of the Æsir has made that *last* visit to the home “beneath the gratings of the dead.” He has passed the howling dog; he has looked into the *well of the future*, and—behold—it is Ragnarök :—

“Trembles Yggdrasil’s
Ash yet standing ;
groans that aged tree,
and the jotūn (Loki) is loosed,

Loud bays Garm (Hef’s dog)
before the Gnupa-cave,
his bonds he rends asunder,
and the wolf runs.”

This episode, from the *Voluspa*, is quite clear : the strophe (48) follows that in which Heimdall blows the horn, and “Odin speaks with Mim’s head,” “the wolf runs” vigorously enough.

As on the *western* face the central figure was Heimdall “the gods’ watchman” at whose right hand (above) we saw the evil powers restrained, but at whose left (below) were those powers in the very act of breaking loose, whilst the ever-watchful, the fellow-worker with gods and men sounded the alarm, and the all-powerful Father himself prepared for the conflict, so on this *southern* face the central object is the hart—the divine hart—the fountain of living waters :—

“Eikthymir the hart is called,
that stands o’er Odin’s Hall,
and bites from Lærad’s branches ;
from his horns fall
drops into Hvergelmir,
whence all waters rise.”

Next to the hart, above, lies a monster, here engraved most truthfully, much like the uppermost figure on the *west* face, consisting of eight vertebræ and eight pairs of ribs, but these are single ; and the beast is gagged and does not shew his teeth ; nevertheless the life in his full round



¹ At the last great battle the wolf breaks loose, the waves of the sea overflow the land, and the great snake joins in the

struggle alongside the wolf : the wolf howls, and the snake hisses and spits out poison which fills the air.

eye and in his jaws, indeed in the whole design, forcibly reminds us that the wolf is only bound and gagged, not killed, even as Frey pictured him to Loki, whom she threatened with a like fate at *Ægir's* feast:—

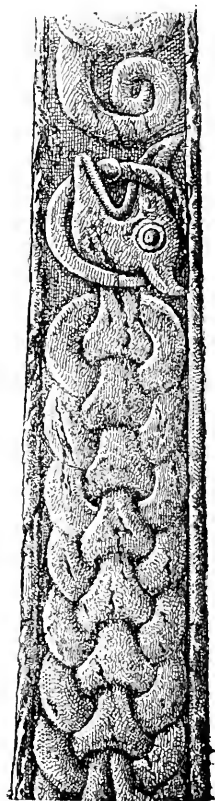
“ I the wolf see lying
at the river's mouth

until the powers are swept away.
So shalt thou be bound.”

When the gods had bound the wolf, with a sword they gagged him, the hilt in the lower, the point in the upper jaw; here the iron passes through the lower jaw, round the cheek bone, and behind the ear; then round the front of the snout, and again into the lower jaw.

Above—with toothed mouth wide open, gaping upwards—is a serpent form knotted upon itself, the curled tail¹ of which is shewn in the engraving; another form of the old serpent no longer “frisking with unbound tail,” but still struggling in his bonds and menacing the holy powers above.

On the lower part of the plane, beneath the hart, who walks calm and unhurt, we have seen the wolf escaping from his bonds, and possibly the serpent writhing with a giant's strength, eager for the fray; whilst Odin, armed rides up from the sacred well or the Vala's grave, to lead his brave Ases in this last and most terrible encounter. The battle rages—read we the story and its parallels on the *eastern* plane of this wonderful cross—a churchyard picture Bible at once to the Pagan and to the Christian.



A glance at the outline of this *east* face will shew that the artist is faithful to the plan of his design—a central

¹ Such a curled tail is also seen on the cross socket at Brigham.

figure calm and majestic, though below the powers of Hel rage terribly, and above those powers are conquered or brought into subjection.

But who is *this* central figure on the *east side* of the cross? who with stretched out arms grasps the rope-like border of the oblong panel, whose side is pierced with the spear. It may be that same Odin whom we have already twice seen; for does not Odin's Rune-song say:—

<p>“I know that I hung, on a wind rocked tree, nine whole nights, <i>with a spear wounded,</i> and to Odin offered,</p>	<p>myself to myself; on that tree, of which no one knows from what root it springs;”</p>
---	--

or it may be Baldr the beautiful, the peace-giver, the bright son of the Father, who by the treachery of Loki was slain, pierced by a dart sent forth by blind Hödr, and made of the mistletoe, which had been overlooked when Frigg, his mother, took vows of all things else that they would not harm her son.

And so the beardless man to the left, holding the spear, may be blind Hödr, who, with the fatal mistletoe shaft, has unwittingly (for it was false Loki who, unseen, guided the blind god's aim) done the deadly deed; and the woman to the right may well be Nanna the wife of Baldr:—“Nanna sorrowing in earth's deep sanctuaries” as the gods saw her when Baldr was no more, and Nanna had fallen from her high place, fallen down beneath the tree, and peace had departed from Valhall—or it may be Frigg, who should grieve a second time over the death of Odin, her beloved.

Whether here, in the panel, we see Odin, or Baldr, or Heimdall, or all the THREE IN ONE, and so each impersonation or incarnation of the god confronting his fate in the general struggle “with the dark followers of the goddess” (Hel), or Thor himself, the father of Victories, the scene as a whole is the same; it is “The twilight of the gods.” Baldr has been slain: the battle begins. “Odin goes to meet the wolf.” At the foot of the plane (see *lithograph*) “The mundane snake is coiled in jötun rage,” he is the bane of Thor, who, in the final hurly, shall bruise his head and kill him, though he himself shall die nine

paces off, poisoned by the monster's venom-breath and slime :—

“Midgard’s Veor (Thor) in his rage	Fiörgyn’s son, ¹
Will slay the worm.	bowed by the serpent,
Nine feet will go	who feared no foe.”

In this last hurly, Heimdall and Loki fight hand to hand, and each the other slays ; and so above the panel lies the headless creature, the incarnation of all evil, slain. Before the battle, when the ship fares from the east, bringing Muspell's people o'er the sea and Loki steers :--

“The monster’s kin goes all with the wolf.”

Against Odin (who rides foremost in the fight, with quivering spear in hand), comes on the wolf rushing with gaping maw ; his upper jaw touches heaven, and his lower sweeps the earth, as is shewn in the figure at the top of this *east* plane, of which, one great open mouth, upwards, appears to attack the holy place and the Triquetra ; the other, downwards, in vain opposes and is opposed by the belted, bearded man, with staff. Here Odin is not seen, nor his horse, for the wolf swallows him at one gulp, as Loki fore-threatened at the *Ægisdrekkja* :—

“Why dost thou chafe so, Thor? fight,
Thou wilt not dare do so, and he *the all-powerful Father*
when with the wolf thou hast to swallows whole.”

But no sooner *has* the wolf swallowed Odin, than Vidar, the silent god, another son of Odin, or another incarnation of Odin, the avenger, confronts him, and placing his heavy iron shoe on the nether jaw of the beast, with one hand he seizes the upper jaw, rends his maw asunder and slays him, as in the Voluspa: --

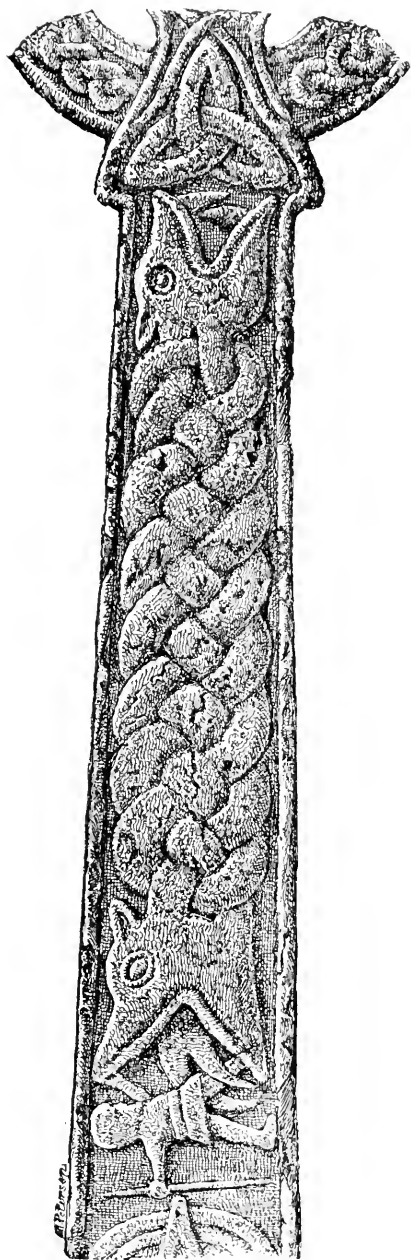
“Then comes the great with the deadly beast
victor-sire’s son, * * * * *
Vidar, to fight Then avenges he his father.

And again in the lay of Vafthrudnir :—

“The wolf will
the father of men devour;
him Vidar will avenge;
He his cold jaws
will cleave,
in conflict with the wolf.”

How vigorously this episode is here sculptured, the engraving will shew. The attack of the wolf upon the holy

¹ Mother Earth; mother of Veor-Thor "who feared no foe," and of Frigg, Odin's wife.



Vidar Episode.



Baldr-Odin or Crucifixion Panel.

forces, and his punishment are shewn by doubling his form; his fiendish nature by giving his body the form of a serpent (each double worm being plaited with the other making a fourfold plait); the upper head, with full round living eye, and powerful teeth and jaws great in strength, attacking the Triquetra; the lower head, in the very action of defeat and death, being wrenched open by the mighty Vidar—his left arm forcing upwards, and his right foot crushing downwards, as he throws all his weight and god-like energy into the mortal fight by firmly pressing backwards on his staff which his hand grasps well up—until the monster's fangs drop powerless and his eye dims.

Prof. J. F. Hodgetts writes in an article in the *Anti-quary*, December, 1882, entitled "Paganism in Modern Christianity":—"It would seem as if in all mythology there were a sort of prophetic perception of what had to be completed in a holier, higher form in the mighty works which Christianity has taught us to contemplate. Let us not be accused of irreverence when we fancy that there are such traces of prophetic truth in these wild poetic teachings? But when Odin, in a wondrous weird song, tells his worshippers that he hung from a cursed tree three times three days, and saw the bitter evil of man! When the God-principle (under another name) descends into Jotunheim to combat the Giants, we are rather awe-struck at the evident harmony in some parts of what we know to be true, and what we have long ago rejected as false."

Let any one look upon the Baldr-Odin or Crucifixion scene engraved from our miraculously preserved cross:—Is what the cross says true to the Eddaic stories! and is it not wonderfully true also to the very circumstance and event of the great Christian sacrifice:—"But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water," St. John, xix, 34; and as the arms of Jesus are stretched out wide do we not see that double stream, that sacred fountain for all men opened!

If the pagan Northern colonists of this coast saw the *blind* god piercing unwittingly with fatal spear their hero's side, no less clearly did the native British Christian see that he whose spear opened the fountain in the side of

their Christ was a *Roman soldier*¹ with shaven face who knew not what he did.

If the Angel saw Nanna weeping for her beloved, or the mother of Baldr holding forth the mistletoe branch on which she collected the tear drops of all who lamented her dear son, and fain would have him return from the halls of Hel to gladden the hearts of men, the Briton might see Mary Magdalene with her wealth of hair standing by her dead lord sorrowing, holding in her hand the Alabastron² filled with precious ointment for his burial, waiting till the body shall be taken down from the cross and the last sad honours done to Him she so much loved. St. Mark xv, 47 ; St. Luke xxiii, 56 ; St. Matthew, xxvii, 61.

If *one* saw beneath this death scene the great serpent coiled which Thor should slay and be by its venom slain, the *other* saw that the seed of the woman should *bruise the serpent's head*, tho' that serpent should bruise his heel ; if the jaws of the great wolf swallowed Odin, the sepulchre was opened for Jesus and he entered the jaws of Hel ; if Vidar wrenched asunder the maw of the monster and overcame him, God the Son, after the " harrowinge of Helle," after he had visited the spirits in prison, rose again victorious over death and the grave, heralding a new era, a new kingdom of brightness and beauty, purity and love.

" There shall the righteous and for evermore
people dwell happiness enjoy."

So says the Voluspa, and so teaches the Christian.

North Face.—And now we come to the last, the *north* side of the cross. There is again a central figure, in

¹ The face of the soldier is the only one on the cross which is shaven after the fashion of the Romans, between B.C. 300, and the time of Hadrian. Heimdall, all the horsemen, the Christ, Vidar, each one has a pointed beard, distinctly seen. "The censors compelled Marcus Livius, who had been banished, on his restoration to the city, to be shaved before he came to the senate." (Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities.)

² The Alabastron was a vessel used for containing perfumes or ointments ; it was usually made of the Onyx Alabaster, which was considered to be better adapted than any other stone for the preservation of perfumes. (Pin. xiii, 3.) Hence the name. "These vessels were of a tapering shape, and very often had a long narrow

neck, which was sealed ; so that when Mary, the sister of Lazarus, is said by St. Mark (xiv, 3) to break the alabaster-box of ointment for the purpose of anointing our Saviour, it appears probable that she only broke the extremity of the neck which was thus closed." (Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities.) The figure of Mary Magdalene holding this tapering Alabastron in her left hand is very faithfully engraved. I took a rubbing of the whole cross, after the South Kensington moulds had been taken, and when the stone was most free from lichens, and from this rubbing and the photographs Prof. Petersen has been able to give us absolutely correct representations of this and the Heimdall, Vidar, and gagged wolf episodes.

this case a horseman armed with a spear as we saw the horseman on the *south* side; *beneath* him is a like armed horseman upside down as we saw on the *west* side; above him is an uncommon figure taking up fully half the sculptured space; its head is downwards having mighty teeth and fiery eye; its tail above is the sign of the Blessed Trinity; its body has eight pairs of wings attached to it by eight rings, the rings passing alternately over the wing bone and under the vertebræ, and under the wing bone and over the vertebræ, the lowest ring passing under the wing.

Surtur has come from the south,—

“On the wings of the tempest riding Surtur spreads his fiery spell”

and he and his warriors have cast their flames over all the earth, the dynasty of Odin is overthrown; but there is to arise from the conflagration a new heaven and a new earth purified by fire—hither Baldr shall return from Hel:—So the eight winged orbs, the perfect number in one creature, rushing down over all things, restrained or held in order by the “three in one,” and so the Baldr-Christ returning from Hel and riding up the rainbow in majesty after Æstra had opened the gate at the glorious resurrection.

Thus we may either see in the central figure Surtur riding at the head of the fiery flying sons of Muspell whilst the horseman beneath tells of the fall of Odin and the power taken from Gungnir, the death spear in Odin’s hand, or (which is better, for the lower horseman is in active motion, not overthrown, and is exactly like the upper one in every detail and even attitude) we may see in the lower horseman, on this plane, another representation of that Odin who, on the west side, rode down to Hel’s dark home, and who as Baldr, and Odin, and Thor, each, and all in one, was fated to go thither at the last battle; and in the central figure (the upper horseman) we may see the same personification of the Deity riding back in majesty to rule and dwell in peace in

“Gimill-gold-bedecked than the sun brighter.”

The same figure being doubled and two positions shewn

on the same plane, as is often the case in ancient art, Pagan and Christian. Below the horsemen is the eternal endless knot the last home from which none return until Christ or Baldr leads the way.

As on the Ruthwell Cross the song of Cæd-mon was written in Runes, so on the Gosforth Cross is "The Vala's Prophecy," and much of the god-lore afterwards gathered together in Sæmund's Edda carved in stone, sculptured in relief,—parallels are drawn and contrasts shewn between the heathen and the Christian faith:—Ragnarök, "the twilight of the Gods" is graven in stone—a miracle of art—and the new heaven and new earth are shewn to be those in which Christ takes the place of Odin, and Thor, and Heimdall, and Vidar, and Baldr, and even of the great Surtur himself.

Much more might be written. Many deep truths lie hid in this "sermon stone."

These episodes have never before been recognised, and I rejoice that I have thus been made an humble pioneer in a cause worthy of the efforts of the more learned. How successfully *pure heathendom* is used on this monument as a means of teaching the Gospel, may be clearly seen by comparing it, beginning at the west, the Loki side, with the prayer of the priest and people in the Baptismal service when the child is grafted into Christ's body—"that he may have power and strength to have victory and to triumph, against *the devil, the world, and the flesh*" :—

On the west face we have a *central Heimdall-Christ*,¹ the incarnation of the Deity, holding at bay the dread offspring of Satan, whilst Loki² himself lies bound beneath,

¹ Heimdall was he who brought day to the world, whose path from Asgard to the outer worlds is by the rainbow or the milky way, he is the watchman who can hear the faintest sound afar off, even the grass growing on the mountain tops; who summons the gods by the blast of his horn, kept under the sacred tree; in the hour of danger he himself assists the mild ones in their struggle with the giants. Thus the sculptured planes have the central figure, as it were, in the midst of the rainbow, whose one end joins Valhalla, the other Hel's domain.

² There are known to the world only two other representations in stone of Loki

bound. One is at Kirkby Stephen Church Westmoreland (see part I, vol. iv, *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society, opposite page 187). The other at Vinding Church, Veile Amt, Jutland, Denmark, which will be published in Professor Stephens's lecture on Northern Mythology early this year. I saw the Kirkby Stephen stone on the visit of the Cumberland Society to that place, and from it I was led to the discovery of the bound traitor on the Gosforth Cross. Since this discovery, the Vinding Loki has been found and communicated to Professor Stephens, who has kindly sent me a woodcut, which shews the binding

and Odin the father, approaches the future. The *devil* overcome.

On the south side we have a *central divine Hart* triumphantly walking through the world unhurt by the slime and venom of the great worm of the middle earth, or by the howling dog;—the Christ, the fountain of living waters, the incarnation of the deity who below rides armed to battle with and to “overcome the *world*.”

On the east side we have a *central Thor*,¹ *Odin*, or *Baldr-Christ* who fights the last great battle and overcomes the *flesh* which is crucified and pierced with a spear; who, though the jaws of Hel gape wide and swallow him, in another personification—Vidar the Silent²—he who opened not his mouth before his foes—rends asunder those very gates, victorious over death and the grave, and as we see on the north side³ rides on, the everlasting conqueror through His glorious resurrection.

—by the wrists and ankles, and round the neck by a twisted cable—of the giant; but in this case, apparently to a horizontal bar which he clutches with his hands. In *Asgard and the Gods*, published by Sonnenschein and Allen, 1880, opposite page 293, the modern artist has pictured Sigun with her poison cup, in an attitude much resembling the Gosforth panel; this I had not seen when I first detected the figure kneeling by Loki's side. I thought the figure might be that of him who fastened the gyves to the rock, and that he held the bolt with his left hand whilst with the other he hammered it home. After the stone had been cleaned, it was plainly seen that the left hand held a hollow bowl, and that the figure was that of a woman with abundant hair. From photographs sent to Professor Stephens, he recognized this beautiful story of woman's love and faithfulness before I had again been able to visit the cross. He also, at the same time, recognized Heimdal with his horn.

¹ As an example of the way in which the early Christian teachers made use of the traditions and beliefs concerning the Pagan deities, and like St. Paul continually announced “whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you,” and especially as shewing an illustration of how thoroughly St. Michael and his host who fought against the dragon and his host, took the place of Thor, my attention has been drawn by the Rev. T. Lees to the fact that the church of Kirkby-Thore, in Westmoreland, is dedicated to

St. Michael. What an interesting chapter in the history of the district is opened up by the simple mention of the place name and the church dedication, Kirkby-Thore, St. Michael's Church.

² Writing concerning the Vidar episode above the crucifixion, I learned from Professor Stephens that he “had already forestalled me,” each having independently come to the same conclusion by different modes.

³ My first formed opinion (expressed at the Egremont meeting of the Cumberland Society in 1881,) concerning the horsemen was that the upper one represented the triumphant Christ, or the Christian Faith. The lower one, the heathen faith, or death, overcome. Odin with his spear of death, man and horse upside down, may well be taken to bed death on the pale horse carrying his dart, here overthrown and conquered—cast down to his final perdition by the entrance into the world, the life, the death and the resurrection of Christ. Still, I think that the horseman is always the same—twice doubly shewn even as Odin's horse Sleipnir had eight legs—*once* seen (west side) going down to the place where Utgard Loki lay bound, and (the same figure turned round on south side) coming back from the tomb of prophecy to the world's battle. *Again* seen (North side, lower horseman) coming up from Hel, and (upper horseman) riding in majesty, the conqueror: for Heimdal, and Baldr, and Odin, are the same god-principle in three persons.

NOTES.

In examining the fac-similes of the Irish MSS., Part I, published by command of Her Majesty, 1874, I was struck by the similarity of one figure in illustration xi to the head of the winged creature on the north side of this cross. The illuminated page is from the Book of Kells, St. Matthew xxvii, 38, "Tunc crucifixerant X R I cum eo duos latrones," and the figure is to the left of the page; it is a monster, head downwards with full eye, dilated nostril and fierce teeth, one in either jaw, trying to swallow the Holy Shamrock, whose stem below buds out into palm fronds which curve upwards and inwards around the sacred symbol's stem, like flames of fire. Around the neck of the creature, and behind his up-pricked ears, is a sort of ornamental collar at the throat having the Triquetra, in shape like those upon our cross, not the shamrock.

Again, in illustration viii, on the illuminated Z of Zachariae sacerdotiis apparuit Angelus, &c., from St. John's Gospel, I noticed the dog with the red lolling tongue, in action so like to the dog on the south side of our cross, having under his feet lacertine interlacing. Other similarities in design made a strong impression on my mind. I then wrote again to Dr. Stephens with the result that he cordially accepted my suggestions and declared in a letter to me that the style of the work, and the character of the symbols, shewed the deep influence of Keltic art on the Northumbrian through the great Irish-Scotic missions.

At the Carlisle meeting of the Archaeological Institute in 1882, the Professor, after having seen the cross gave his opinion that the date of this cross could not be later than that of the equally grand Ruthwell Cross (7th century), on which Christ is "*Baldor*;" and of the Kirkby Stephen stone; and he said that these two representations (the only ones then known) of the Devil as Loki must be exceedingly early, as they were *survivals* in the same way that the word *Baldor-Christ* on the Ruthwell Cross was a survival. That the oldest purely Christian art represented the evil one by a serpent or dragon, or (as at Bewcastle and Ruthwell) by a couple of swine—not by a *bound* man-fiend or *human* chief devil—but that Cædmon (7th century) and other old English poets, following Scandinavian traditions, represented the man-foe as bound; and that out of the fifty drawings in the unique Cædmon Codex, five shewed the devil as bound, but variously treated according to the fancy of the artist.

I desire to thank most heartily for their kind help in many ways, the Rev. Dr. Simpson; the Rev. T. Lees, and Mr. R. S. Ferguson, whose libraries have been open to me.

¹ Mr. Lees also drew my attention to a representation of blind Longinus, at Naworth Castle, in a similar attitude to that of the soldier in the crucifixion compartment of this cross, as illustrations of

the manner in which both the earliest Christians and those of the middle ages (when the miracle plays were performed) adapted the traditions of the people to their purposes.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES, M.A.

The cathedral church of Lincoln occupies a very high—some might be disposed to say the highest—place in the first class of English cathedrals, both as regards dimensions and architectural beauty. According to Sir Edmund Beckett's very useful tables, appended to his *Book on Building*, Lincoln stands second in area of our old English cathedrals, being only exceeded by York. The area of the one in square feet is 62,300, and of the other 57,200. Winchester comes third with an area of 53,480 square feet, followed by Ely and Westminster, both with an area of 46,000 square feet. In length, Lincoln is only a few feet shorter than York: 481 feet as against 486 feet. Both these churches are absolutely the longest of English cathedrals in extent of roof in which the altitude is maintained at nearly the same level from end to end. The greater length of Winchester (530 feet) and St. Albans (520 feet) is due to long low Lady Chapels; while the same superiority is given at Canterbury (514 feet) by Becket's Crown, and at Westminster (505 feet) by Henry the Seventh's Chapel; both distinct though annexed buildings; and at Ely (517 feet) by the Galilee porch at the west end.

It is absurd to think of comparing cathedrals as examples of architecture. Each one has its own peculiar beauties, as each, one need not be afraid of saying, has its own defects. No one, however, will demur to the verdict that in point of purity of architectural style, gracefulness of design, richness of ornament, and, above all, in majestic symmetry of outline,

“Lincoln on its sovereign hill”

is equalled by very few and surpassed by none of her

sister cathedrals. The crown of towers which breaks the huge mass and rises skyward is absolutely unrivalled in England, and perhaps anywhere else in Christendom.

The purpose of this paper is, as its title expresses, to trace the "*Architectural History*" of the fabric. The many events of which it has been the scene belonging to ecclesiastical or secular history are, therefore, beside my present aim, except so far as they bear upon the building itself. To do justice to these would require a much larger space than can be given to them in the pages of a *Journal*.

The cathedral of Lincoln, like those of Norwich and Chichester, was built on an entirely new site, on the transference of the see from Dorchester by Remigius, the first Norman bishop, shortly after the Conquest. No part of the existing building therefore can have any claim to Saxon date. It is true that an earlier church, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, stood on a portion of the ground purchased by Remigius for the erection of his cathedral.¹ But parish churches at that period were small and humble structures, and we cannot doubt that this church was entirely demolished to make way for Remigius's more vast and stately fabric.

The Architectural History of the existing cathedral may be conveniently summarized under the following five periods:—

PERIOD I. FROM THE FOUNDATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. *Norman.*

The whole cathedral was erected from the foundations by Remigius, and was awaiting consecration at the time of its founder's death, 1092 A.D. This was a cruciform church, probably covering the ground occupied by the existing nave and transepts, but with a much shorter eastern limb, terminating in a semicircular apse. Of this church the only portions remaining are the central division

¹ "In loco autem in quo ecclesia beate Marie Magdalene in ballio Lincolnensi sita erat, dictus Remigius crexit suam ecclesiam cathedralem." *Joh. de Schalby*, p. 194.

² "Et in certo loco ipsius ecclesie cathedralis, parochiani dicte ecclesie beate

Marie Magdalene divina obsequia audierunt, ac in fonte cathedralis ecclesie eorum parvuli baptizati fuerunt, et in ipsius cimiterio corpora parochianorum in obitu sepulture tradita extiterunt."—*Ibid.*

of the west front, with its three deeply arched recesses (the central one of which has been raised and altered in Early English times); the first bay of the nave, on either side, including the outside walls, now enclosed in later Early English chapels; and the foundations of the northern and southern walls of the eastern limb with the startings of the two curves of the apse, beneath the stalls of the present choir.

Remigius's church having had its roof burnt off and its ceilings destroyed, and the interior disfigured, "deturpata," by an accidental fire, c. 1141, the whole was covered with a stone vault, by Bishop Alexander, "the Magnificent." Of this vault, not a fragment anywhere remains, but its lines may be traced at the west end of the Nave, and against the western Towers. Although there is no documentary evidence on the point, we may safely ascribe to the same prelate the erection of the lower stories of the two western Towers, with the highly enriched gables projecting from them, of which those to the north and south remain. Those to the west were removed on the completion of the façade in the Early English style, in the middle of the 13th century, the ridge-moulds of these gables however remaining behind the later screen wall. The magnificent late Norman doorways at the west end, giving entrance to the nave and side aisles respectively, are commonly attributed to Bishop Alexander. There is however no documentary evidence of the fact, and the late Sir G. G. Scott questioned their having been quite so early. Bishop Alexander died in 1148.

PERIOD II. THE WORKS OF BISHOP HUGH OF AVALON. 1192-1200. *Early English.*

The whole of the original eastern limb, and we may probably add the Norman central tower and transepts, were pulled down by Bishop Hugh the Burgundian, with the intention of re-erecting them in the newly developed style, known to us as Early English or First Pointed. The first stone was laid according to the *Irish Annals of Multifernan*,¹ in 1192, six years after Hugh

¹ Printed by the Irish Archaeological Society, 1842, in Vol. II of their *Tracts*. The entry, as given by the late Prebendary

Dimock, is "A.D. 1192 Jacitur fundamentum Ecclesie Lincolniæ."

became Bishop of Lincoln. His work consisted of the existing ritual choir of four bays, the eastern or choir transept (a feature borrowed from Cluny), with its apsidal chapels, the whole terminating in a huge polygonal apse. The plan of the great transepts had also been fixed upon, the foundations probably laid and the work begun. But on the death of Bishop Hugh it had been carried no further than the starting of the second of the three chapels, into which the eastern aisle of the transept is divided. At this point, as will be noticed further on, a sudden change in the design marks the sudden suspension of the ruling mind. Whether a new central tower formed part of St. Hugh's work or not is uncertain. The "*nova turris*" which fell in Grosseteste's time, was almost certainly erected either in St. Hugh's episcopate, or that of one of his immediate successors.

PERIOD III. FROM THE DEATH OF ST. HUGH TO THE END OF THE *Early English* PERIOD.

During the whole of the first fifty years of this century documentary evidence is very scanty. We may, however, gather from the few notices we have, confirmed by the unerring test of architectural details, that during this period the transepts with their two "orbicular windows" were completed; (it is hardly necessary to remark that the southern of these windows was subsequently rebuilt in the Decorated style), the Norman nave and aisles taken down, (with the exception, already mentioned, of the westernmost bay), and rebuilt in the Early English style as we see them now; that the two side chapels, to the north and south, which give additional breadth to the west end, were built, and the western façade with its arcaded screen wall and enriched central gable and flanking turrets cast in its present stately form. The polygonal Chapter house, the Galilee porch projecting from the west side of the south transept, and the Vestry, also belong to this period. The only certain date, however, during this half century is that of the fall of the central tower and consequently, approximately, the erection of its successor the existing "Broad" or more properly "Rood Tower," or at least its lower Early English portion. This

event is fixed by the *Peterborough Chronicle* in 1237, two years after Grosseteste entered on his episcopate. The reticulated pattern, which covers the walls of this tower within and without, appears also in the western gable and identifies it as Grosseteste's work.

To the latter half of this century belongs the demolition of the eastern apse and the erection of the eastern limb forming the five bays known as the Angel choir. The object of this prolongation was to furnish a new and more dignified home for the shrine of St. Hugh, and larger accommodation for the votaries who were drawn to it by the fame of the miraculous cures effected there. The Royal license for taking down the eastern city wall, which running from north to south stood in the way of this extension, was granted in 1255, and in 1280 the building was sufficiently complete for the translation of the Saint's body to its newly erected receptacle.

PERIOD IV. THE *Decorated* PERIOD.

There is not much Decorated work at Lincoln. The most important examples are the Cloisters, and the upper part of the Broad Tower. The vestibule and three existing walks of the cloister, afford an excellent example of Geometrical Decorated, of which a letter of Bishop Sutton's, Aug. 23, 1296, speaking of this work as then in progress, gives us the exact date.

The upper story of the central tower is only a very few years later. In 1307 Bishop Dalderby issued letters of indulgence for raising to a greater height, the "*campanile in ipsius ecclesiæ medio, a multis temporibus retroactis constructum.*" We learn from the Chapter Acts that the work was ordered to be begun on the 14th of March in that year, and, as in 1311 cords were provided for two bells which had been lately hung in that tower, we may conclude that by that date it was completed. To the Decorated style also belong the stone screen dividing the choir from the transept now supporting the organ, the Easter Sepulchre and the monumental structure of which it forms part, the original reredos with its side screens, the panelled work which formed the back of the shrine of "Little St. Hugh" in the south aisle of the

choir, and the richly diapered screen wall dividing the chorister's vestry from the south choir aisle.

The later Decorated is very scantily represented in Lincoln Cathedral. To it belongs the circular window with flamboyant tracery of the south transept, with the arch of open quatrefoils in which it is set, and the gable above. The Chapter muniments are silent as to the period of the erection of these works; but they have not improbably been ascribed to the "cultus" of Bishop John of Dalderby, popularly though not officially canonised, who was buried in this transept—fragments of his tomb still remaining against the west wall—the offerings at his shrine paying the charges of the alterations. The series of Burghersh and Cantilupe canopied tombs at the east end of the presbytery, are also admirable examples of the Monumental Architecture of the same period.

PERIOD V. PERPENDICULAR, EARLY AND LATE.

Few of our cathedrals exhibit so little Perpendicular work as Lincoln. With the exception of those in the west front, the practise of substituting larger windows in the Perpendicular style, and filling earlier openings with Perpendicular tracery, which is so prevalent elsewhere, has no place at Lincoln. It is needless to remark how greatly this cathedral is the gainer in purity and dignity by the absence of these later alterations. The only extensive works belonging to this period are those carried out by the Treasurer of the church, John of Welbourn, chiefly at the west end, and in connection with the western towers. John of Welbourn was treasurer from about 1350 to 1380, so that we are able to date his works within thirty years. The Chapter Records ascribe to him the panelling and vaulting of the interior of the western towers, the vaulting of the lantern of the central tower, the row of niches containing regal statues above the great west Norman doorway, and the stalls of the Choir. No other works are named in the list of his benefactions; but the upper stories of the western towers, if not his work, cannot be placed more than a few years later. The western windows are usually set down to Bishop William Alnwick, on the faith of an entry in

Leland's *Collectanea*. But Leland's statements are not always absolutely correct. He may have been sometimes misinformed, or misunderstood his information; certainly the passage referred to, which is given below,¹ contains more than one mistake, and I believe that that relating to Bishop Alnwick is erroneous. The character of the tracery is fifty or sixty years anterior to Alnwick, and it is only requisite to compare these windows with that in the west front at Norwich, erected by his executors soon after Alnwick's death, and with those in the gateway tower and windows of the chapel built by him (as given in Buck's view) at the old episcopal palace at Lincoln, which are of the purest Perpendicular, to prove that they cannot belong to the same period. It will, moreover, be noticed that Leland speaks of but one window—"fenestram"—while all three are by the same hand; and that he ascribes to Alnwick the erection of the great west door, which is late Norman.

The only other examples of Perpendicular work are to be found in the chantry chapels added during their lifetime, outside the walls of the choir aisles, on the north by Bishop Fleming (d. 1431); and on the south by Bishop Russell (d. 1493); and Bishop Longland (d. 1547). The design of the three is very similar, and of the last two almost identical. The details of the niches at the west end of the interior of Bishop Longland's chapel are of Renaissance character. To these may be added the wooden screens separating the chapels from the transepts, which are not however remarkable either for design or for execution. What remains of the old library is also a Perpendicular work. It was erected over the east walk of the cloisters (occupying the same position as at Wells and Salisbury,) in 1442. It was partially

¹ "Gulielmus conqueror transtulit sedem episcopatus de Dorchester in Lincoln. civitatem, et dedit situm ecclesiæ Cathedr. quam fundavit ibidem; cui ad deprecationem Renigii episcopi concessit manerium quod vocatur Lestona.

"Renigius episcopus Line., fundavit ecclesiam Cath. instituitque 21 Præbendarios temp. W. C.

"Rob. Bloet episcopus addidit 21 Præbendarios temp. W. R.

"Proventus annui 540 Li.

"Alexander episcopus reparavit post

incendium et fornice adornavit, increvit que numerum Præbendariorum terrisque dotavit temp. H. I.

"Hugo episcopus Line. de novo fundavit templum Cath. ab ipsa terra et obiit 1200 1 Jo.

"Jo. Sinwell [Gynwell] episcopus fundavit capellam S^{tæ} Marie Magdalene ibique sepultus 1361.

"Wilhelmus Alnuewik episcopus fecit magnam occidentalem fenestram et portam temp. H. 6."—Leland. *Collectanea*, vol. i, p. 95.

destroyed by fire in 1609, together with a portion of its contents. Of what remained, all but the central portion, which was left to form a vestibule to Dean Honywood's new library designed by Sir Christopher Wren, was taken down by Chapter order in 1789. The oak-framed roof of this fragment is excellent in design and execution, and makes us regret the loss of the rest.

There is no record of the erection of the spires which originally crowned the three towers. They were of timber covered with lead, lofty and slender. That on the central tower was blown down by a storm, January 31st, 1547. Those on the western towers were allowed to fall into disrepair, and were finally taken down in 1807.

To recapitulate.—The Norman church built by Remigius in the latter half of the eleventh century has entirely disappeared, with the exception of a fragment at the west end, and the foundations of the apsidal eastern limb. It has been replaced by a church, substantially in one style—the Early English or First Pointed—commenced just before the close of the twelfth, and carried on during the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. The whole of this fabric was raised freshly from new foundations; the exceptions being so slight, as not to affect the general integrity of the design. There has been therefore none of that adaptation of earlier work, which in other large churches, while it increases the interest of their architectural history detracts from the harmony of their design. This re-building commenced according to the usual rule in our large churches with the east, or altar end, under Bishop Hugh of Avalon, and was carried on westward for above fifty years under successive prelates, receiving its completion at the west end from the hand of Grosseteste. It then began again, where it had originally started, at the east end, by the prolongation of the eastern limb, of which we have similar examples at Canterbury, Rochester, Ely, Worcester, and Lichfield.

The foundations of the existing church having been laid by St. Hugh in 1192, and the new work being ready for the translation of the body of the Saint in 1280, it will be seen that in Lincoln Cathedral we have an almost unaltered example of the whole course of the architecture of

the thirteenth century from its rise to its perfected development, before it finally passed into Decorated, presenting, in the words of Sir G. G. Scott,¹ "one of the finest series of works that this or any other country can boast." Nowhere is the history of window tracery better illustrated, from the simple lancet through plate tracery to the fully developed bar tracery of the vast and lovely windows of the Angel choir. No important addition was made to the fabric after the close of the thirteenth century. The elevation of the towers, "those lordly towers which preside in serene majesty over the whole surrounding country,"² to which the majestic beauty of the outline of the cathedral viewed from without is so greatly due, does not in any way affect the interior. The other additions and alterations are limited to windows and other subsidiary portions, valuable as illustrating progressive architectural style, but not greatly modifying the design. As a whole therefore Lincoln Cathedral may be said to belong to one style, and to be the best and most instructive example of it. Having been carried on by various builders during more than half a century, it presents varieties of treatment, which maintain the general unity of style, and add greatly to its beauty and interest, which are wanting in the monotonous uniformity of Salisbury. Some words of Sir G. G. Scott, on this subject are well worth quoting. "It is the custom to speak of Salisbury as the great typical example of the Early English style, and its unity and completeness may warrant the claim; but both for the grandeur of the whole, and the artistic beauty of every part, and also as a complete exponent of English architecture throughout the whole duration of its greatest period, Lincoln far surpasses it. Its leading features form a perfect illustration, and that on the grandest scale, of the entire history of our architecture from the last years of the twelfth to the early part of the fourteenth century."³

Having thus taken a rapid survey of the architectural history of the fabric, I now purpose to go through it in chronological succession, confronting the written records with those presented by the building itself.

¹ Lectures on Mediaeval Architecture, i, 306.

² Sir G. G. Scott, *u.s.*, i, 194.

³ *Lectures*, i, 194.

We begin with the church of Remigius. The transference of the see from Dorchester and the erection of the new cathedral is thus described by Henry of Huntingdon. "The king" (William the Conqueror) "had given Remigius who had been a monk at Fescamp the bishopric of Dorchester which is situated on the Thames. This bishopric being larger than all others in England, stretching from the Thames to the Humber, the bishop thought it troublesome to have his episcopal see at the extreme limit of his diocese. He was also displeased with the smallness of the town, the most illustrious city of Lincoln appearing far more worthy to be the see of a bishop. He therefore bought certain lands on the highest part of the city, near the castle standing aloft with its strong towers, and built a church, strong as the place was strong, and fair as the place was fair, dedicated to the Virgin of virgins, which should both be a joy to the servants of God, and as befitted the time unconquerable by enemies."¹ The date of transference of the see is variously stated by different writers. As, however, Remigius signed himself "*Episcopus Dorcestrensis*" at the council of Windsor in 1072, and "*Episcopus Lincolnensis*" at the council of London 1075, it must have been effected between these two years. The first steps were probably taken soon after the former council when the claim of the Archbishop of York to have jurisdiction over Lindsey was finally negatived. Giraldus Cambrensis connects the two events, stating that one reason for the transference was to make good Remigius's right to Lindsey, as part of his diocese and of the province of Canterbury.² Little as it is that remains of this first cathedral of Lincoln, it is enough to enable us to recover the general plan and character

¹The following is Henry of Huntingdon's account of the foundation, "*Remigio igitur, qui Monachus fuerat apud Fescamp, dederat Rex Episcopatum Dorcestræ, que sita est super Tamesin. Cum autem episcopatus ille major omnibus Angliæ, a Tamesi usque ad Humbram duraret, molestum visum est Episcopo quod in ipso termino Episcopatus sedes esset Episcopalis. Displicebat etiam ei, quod urbs illa modica erat, cum in eodem Episcopatu civitas clarissima Lincolnia dignior sede Episcopali videretur. Mercatis igitur prædiis in ipso vertice urbis juxta*

castellum turribus fortissimis eminens, in loco forti fortem, pulchro pulchram, Virgini virginum construxit Ecclesiam : quæ et grata esset Deo servientibus, et ut pro tempore oportebat invincibilis hostibus." (Hen. Hunt., Ed. Savile, p. 212.)

²"*Utque firmiori quod gestum fuerat stabilitate constaret, cathedrali ecclesiam suam in summo apud Lincolniam montis vertice trans Widdemam, in honore beatæ Virginis fundari, egregieque in brevi consummari procuravit.*" (Girald. Camb., *Vit. S. Remig.* cap. iv, vol. vii, p. 19).

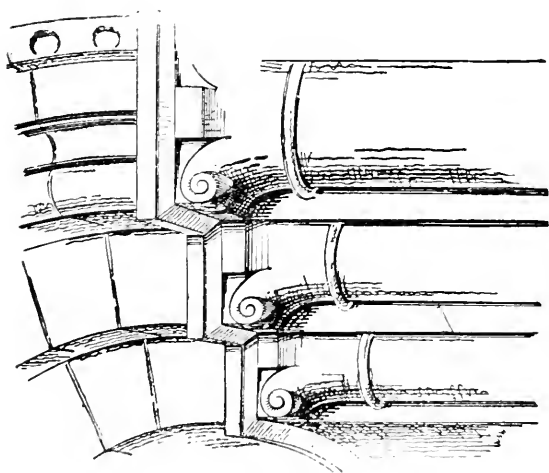
of the building. The west front remains in its entirety, with subsequent changes and additions of which we can easily disencumber it. We have also, though very imperfect, one bay of the nave on either side at the west end. At the other extremity of the building we have the foundations of the springing of the eastern apse, and portions of the flanking walls of the Norman choir. These points give us the dimensions of the building. We have a church of about 300 feet in interior length—full 150 feet or 160 feet short of the length of the present church, by 28 feet in breadth—*i.e.*, 10 feet less than at present—and 60 feet in height to the level of the ceiling, which we cannot doubt was, (as we know that of Lanfranc's church at Canterbury to have been, and as that of the transepts of Peterborough now is), a flat one of painted boards. The height of the present nave is 82 feet, and of the choir 74 feet. All the dimensions of the church therefore were smaller than now. The only direction in which there has not been any extension is to the west, and in this Lincoln only follows the invariable rule. However considerably the dimensions of our cathedrals have been increased in other parts, the west front always stands where the first Norman builders placed it. The reason is evident. The Norman naves were always very long, and proved quite sufficient for the processions which were their chief object. If more space was required it was towards the east to supply additional altar-room and opportunity for the growing cultus of the Blessed Virgin, and popular local saints. In the transformation of our churches from an earlier to a later style which was so constantly going on in the middle ages, we commonly find the new building, as at Lincoln, somewhat, though not very much, broader than that which it was intended to replace. The external walls—the first portion built—could thus be erected entirely outside those of the existing building, without disturbing it in any way. As a rule the Mediæval builders were careful not to interrupt the religious rites for which the church existed more than was absolutely essential, keeping up the old building till the new one was nearly or quite ready to take its place.¹

¹ See as an example of this Bishop Lucy's chapels at Winchester. Willis, *Winchester Cathedral*, pp. 41, 78. The aisles of York minster afford another

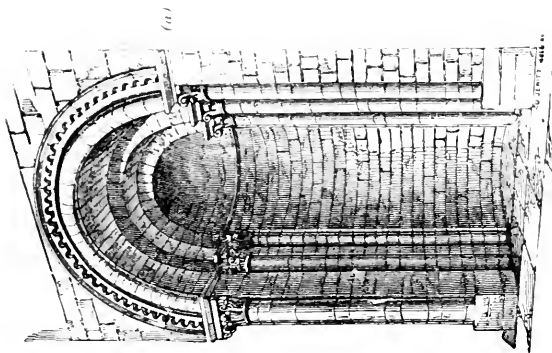
instance. In all such cases I believe the aisle walls prove to have been the first part built. It was so at Lincoln.

Turning from the dimensions to the character of Remigius's church, as exhibited in the western façade, we find it an example of the "*novum compositionis genus*" of the Normans which so speedily and effectually ousted the old English style of building, in its sternest simplicity. Majestic and awful rather than beautiful, it is characterized by gigantic massiveness of construction, and a severe abnegation of ornament. The lines are hard and precise; the sharp edges of the arches unrelieved by any moulding, or even chamfer; the capitals mere blocks, swelling at the angles into rude reminiscences of the Corinthian volute, with a square projection, representing the rosette; the bases, a simple quirk, with a quarter round. The masonry is wide-jointed, and the stones are small and generally square. Nothing relieves the austere plainness of the design but cylindrical shafts at the angles supporting the arched recesses. The only place where the architect has relaxed his severity is in the singular niche-like recesses, semicircular in plan, which finish the façade on either side, and are repeated on the flanks. Here the arches are moulded and the external order is ornamented with a rude scollop, while the capitals are carved with plain spreading foliage, (some of which, however, is a later insertion), and the volutes are less elegant.

If in its architectural details there is little to distinguish the work of Remigius from Norman of the ordinary type, the design of the western façade shews very decided originality. It consists of a huge screen wall standing in front of the towers, which, as in Norman churches of large size generally, were certainly from the first intended to terminate the aisles, though perhaps not raised higher than the roof by Remigius himself. In this screen are excavated, as it were, three deep cavernous, arched recesses, corresponding in height respectively to the elevation of the aisles and nave. The two lateral recesses retain their semicircular arches, receding in four orders, of varying depth but of equal severity. Between the second and third order there is a deep groove, recalling the portecllis-opening in a castle-gateway, and not at all out of harmony with its stern surroundings. The surface of the wall, plain even to baldness, is unbroken



Capitals of Recess at *(a)*.



Semicircular Recess.

by buttress or projection of any kind, and is scantily relieved by window openings; one to the north lights the treasury, while a slit or two light the newel staircase to the south.¹ The screen wall is also continued along the flanks of the towers on the north and south sides, forming a kind of shallow western transept. To the south there is a deep arched recess corresponding to those in the west front, in what was originally the outside wall but is now enclosed within the south-western chapel, and is further obscured by a newel staircase (*a*) having been built up within its cavity. The small apsidal recess (*b*) is also repeated, both here and in the corresponding situation at the northern angle (*c*). The loftier recess is not found on the north side. Where it should have been (at *T* in the ground plan) there is a low arch of Norman masonry, with two tiers of voussoirs, springing at once from the ground without any piers. Many speculations have been hazarded as to the object of this arch. But it is clearly what we should call an "arch of construction," thrown across a place where a good foundation could not easily be obtained. On opening the ground at this spot a Roman base moulding was discovered with three steps and other fragments of a Roman building, which the Norman workmen, found it easier to bridge over than to remove. The gables by which these arched recesses were originally surmounted, and which remain on the flanks of the towers, were subsequent to Remigius's time, and must be passed over for the present.

Entering the church we find the westernmost bay on either side (*BB*), a very distinct and instructive fragment of Remigius's church (see *A*, Plate II). The clerestory (*a*) remains unaltered, and we have two sturdy shafts attached to the wall on either side (*bb*), originally bearing the rafters of the flat painted ceilings, but now fitted with later capitals and made to do duty as vaulting shafts for Grosseteste's groining. The clerestory ranges in elevation with the triforium of the Early English church. Each bay contains a single rather wide Norman window (*a*),

¹ This staircase, one of the finest examples of its kind and date existing, does not reach the ground, being stopped in its descent by the apsidal recesses west and south, at the angle of the west front.

From this point, a turn northwards communicated with the wall passage along the west front and so to the sill of the south-west window, from which a wooden staircase or ladder would finish the descent.

the inner arch having its edge relieved by a continuous roll moulding, the lower part of which is converted by the interposition of a fluted cushion-capital (1) into a shaft. The jamb of the window is pierced by a wall passage, which doubtless continued from end to end of the church at the same height. The wall above these Norman windows is enriched with the reticulated diaper (*c*), characteristic of Grosseteste's work, indicating the increased height given to the church in his time. Subsequent alterations of various dates have removed or hidden the lower members of the bay. The pointed arch (*e*) (which together with the other arches supporting the tower, was built up with solid masonry by one Mr. James, early in the last century), forms part of Treasurer Welbourn's alterations in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Above, in both bays, the round arch of the Norman triforium can still be traced (*d*). All indications of the arcade below have been obliterated, and it would be idle to speculate on its design. Remigius's front is most curiously honey-combed with a labyrinth of passages and staircases, and contains several small chambers constructed in the thickness of the wall, rudely groined and lighted by small windows in the jambs of the great arched recesses. These small cells are accessible by steps from the sills of the west windows, originally being on a level with the Norman wall-passage. They are just large enough to contain a stool and a desk, and may have served as studies for the ecclesiastics of the church. A much larger chamber, which was probably a place of safe deposit for the treasures of the minster, absurdly called a prison, occurs in the upper part of the north wing of the north or St. Mary's tower. This room which was originally approached by a level passage across the west front at the level of the Norman triforium is now only accessible by ladders. It was originally lighted by four windows, one to the west, which is still open, one to the east, blocked by Bishop Alexander's work, and two to the north, now enclosed in the Early English chapel, one being concealed by the springers of the vaulting. Two apertures in the ceiling of the passage beneath it (which now forms a way of access to the north western Early English chapel (1)), a doorway having been pierced through the wall filling up the arch of construction already des-

cribed,) afforded communication with the room above, through which the treasures of the church might be drawn up to a place of comparative safety.

Passing now to the other end of Remigius's church, we find the remains of the eastern limb (E) scanty but significant. A fragment of a pilaster buttress to the north-east shows that the wall of the apse was external, as originally at Peterborough and at St. Stephen's, Caen, and was not surrounded by an aisle or procession path, as at Norwich and Gloucester. In its extreme shortness Remigius's eastern limb also resembled that of St. Stephen's, the church from which Lanfranc was translated to Canterbury, and which it is most probable he followed in designing his metropolitical cathedral. As at Caen it was but of two bays in projection from the crossing. A continuous wall running westward from the apse shows that the sides of the presbytery were solid, not as at Caen, pierced with arches. The place of one of the great transverse arches dividing the presbytery from the choir is given by two rough blocks of masonry (*dd*) attached to the wall, about sixteen feet from the springing of the apse, which supported the shafts which carried it.

There are no data for determining the dimensions of the Norman transepts; but from the analogy of other churches of the same character, *e.g.*, Peterborough, Ely, and Westminster (as built by the Confessor), we can hardly be wrong in concluding that they were the same as at present. Remigius's church would certainly have a central lantern rising over the crossing. This was probably removed in St. Hugh's great reconstruction of the cathedral, or immediately subsequent to it. At any rate, the tower which fell in 1235 was called "*nova turris*." Bishop Geoffrey Plantagenet's gift of "two large sonorous bells,"¹ throws no light on the character of the central tower, nor is it stated whether they were hung in that or in one of the north-western towers. It is a familiar fact that Remigius did not live to witness the consecration of the vast edifice he had raised. He died on Ascension Day,

¹ "Galfridus regis Henrici Secundi filius
duas campanas grandes atque sonoras

dictæ ecclesie devota largitione donavit."
—*Joh. de Schabby*, Gir. Cambr., vii, p. 198.

May 6th, 1092, three days before that fixed for the dedication, Sunday, May 9th.¹

The record of the burial of Remigius gives us another note of place in the Norman church. Giraldus tells us that he was buried in front of the altar of the Holy Cross.² The altar with this dedication as a rule stood near the east end of the nave, against the "pulpitum," i.e., western of the two screens which (as at Norwich, Durham, and Westminster) separated the nave from the choir, beneath the crucifix, or rood, which stood upon it (e). This was its position at Canterbury, Gloucester and St. Alban's. Remigius's ritual choir would be under the tower, extending one or two bays into the nave. After the fire in Bishop Alexander's time, when, as Giraldus tells us, the burning beams fell from the roof and broke the slab of Remigius's tomb across, the canons removed the body of their founder from its original resting place in the centre of the nave to a more retired place on the north side of the altar, where it would be less likely to be trodden by passing feet.³ In our own days, a slab, supposed by some to be that of Remigius, certainly fractured across into two pieces, which had long laid uncared for in the cloisters, was brought back into the cathedral, by the pious care of the late Chancellor Massingberd, and replaced in what cannot be far from the original place of Remigius's burial, under the easternmost arch of the north aisle.

Remigius's successor, Robert Bloet, added nothing to the fabric of the church. The Bishop that followed, Alexander the Magnificent, was a great builder, both

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis writes thus of Remigius's most inopportune death : "Quarto namque die ante indictum dedicationis diem, quia semper extrema gaudii luctus occupat, in merorem versa letitia, rebus humanis exemptus est. Erant autem Dominicæ dies Ascensionis et dies Sancti Johannis ante Portam Latinam concurrentes, quando vir sanctus tanquam una cum Domino caelos ascendit, et exultantibus angelis empiræi palatii portas æternales feliciter intravit."—Gir. Camb., *Vit. S. Remigii*, cap. v, vol. vii, p. 21.

² "Sepultus est a fratribus in eadem ecclesia, in prospectu altaris Sanctæ Crucis, pridie nonas Maii."—Gir. Camb., *u.s.* p. 22.

³ "Processu vero temporis, cathedralem beatæ Virginis ecclesiam casuali contigit igne consumi. Et ipso incendio, cum fortius ingrueret, tecti materia in aream corruente, petra corpori superposita, per medium confracta, partes in geminas est separata. Cujus eventus occasione, a canonicis loci ejusdem inito consilio, quatenus ad locum secretiorem communicare a transitu remotiorem, corpus transferretur, sapienter est decretum."—*Ibid.* p. 25.

"Translatum est ergo cum reverentia magna, sicut tantum decuit thesaurum, corpus usque ad altare Sanctæ Crucis, ibique ab aquilonari latere debiti honoris exhibitione reconditum."—*Ibid.* p. 26.

military and ecclesiastical. Nor did he neglect his own church of Lincoln; and although the greater part of his recorded work has disappeared, the portions reasonably attributed to him at the west end are sufficiently important to give him a distinguished place among its episcopal architects. Of the stone vaulting with which he roofed the church after the conflagration which had destroyed its roofs and ceilings—which may probably be fixed in 1141 (its precise date is immaterial to our purpose)—scarcely any indication remains; but we may safely assign to “the subtle artifice” with which he so “reformed” the church that “it looked more beautiful than in its first newness,”¹ the lower stories of the western towers, with the elaborately ornamented gables attached to them; the intersecting arcades immediately above the lateral recesses in the west front, and the three magnificent western doorways. The weather mouldings in the wall behind the Early English screen prove that gables, similar in form to those still to be seen on the flanks of the towers, once existed over the lateral recesses in the west front. Nor can we doubt that the central recess was similarly surmounted, at a higher level, forming the gable of the nave roof. These indications enable us to make a very probable restoration of the west front as begun by Remigius and completed by Alexander. It was furnished with three gables, like the façade of the cathedral of Ferrara, behind which rose the low Norman towers still existing, richly ornamented with three tiers of arcades, those of one tower slightly varying from those of the other, and terminated with low spires of timber covered with lead, similar to those which once covered the western towers of Durham, or those still nearer, which have recently been replaced with happy effect, at Southwell. The angular turrets would also be terminated in a similar manner, giving a picturesque combination of spires, of which we have an excellent example in the tower of the church of Long Sutton. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the lateral recesses together with the gables that surmount them do

¹ “Ecclesiam tamen Lincolnensem casuali igni consumptam egregie reparando lapideis fideliter voltis primus involvit.”—Ger. Camb., *u.s.*, p. 33.

“Ecclesiam vero suam quæ combus-

tione deturpata fuerat, subtili artificio sic reformavit, ut pulchrior quam in ipsa novitate sui compareret, nec ullius ædificii structure intra fines Angliæ cederet.”—(*Hcn. Hunt.*, p. 225, Ed. Savile.)

not stand symmetrically with the towers behind them, the apex of the gables not falling in the centre of their breadth, but nearer the centre of the whole façade. It has been often remarked that in this façade, almost savage in its plainness, we have the first expression of the idea which has found such exquisite development in the west front of Peterborough. The screen wall with its triple recesses, and the towers rising behind—only one of those intended at Peterborough having been completed—supply points of resemblance not, as far as I can remember, to be found elsewhere.¹

Of the three magnificent portals the centre one is the earliest, exhibiting in its five richly ornamented arches and the grotesquely carved shafts which support them Norman in its latest phase, but without any indication of the Transitional feeling, which is so distinctly perceptible in those to the north and south. The late Mr. Edmund Sharpe, who regarded these doorways as "amongst the most interesting and valuable remains of the whole structure," considered that on the north side to be of slightly earlier character than that on the south side; "the limits of time," however, "within which all three doorways were designed and built, probably not exceeding ten years."² Sir G. G. Scott also speaks of these side portals in terms of the highest admiration, as, "truly exquisite specimens of the latest and most refined period of Romanesque, just before its transition into the Pointed style."³ He also refers to the charming Corinthianesque foliage of the capitals of the northern doorway and the ornamentation of the abacus, as beautifully exhibiting the Byzantine feeling which characterizes the work of the Transitional period, generally in France, and some examples in our own country.⁴

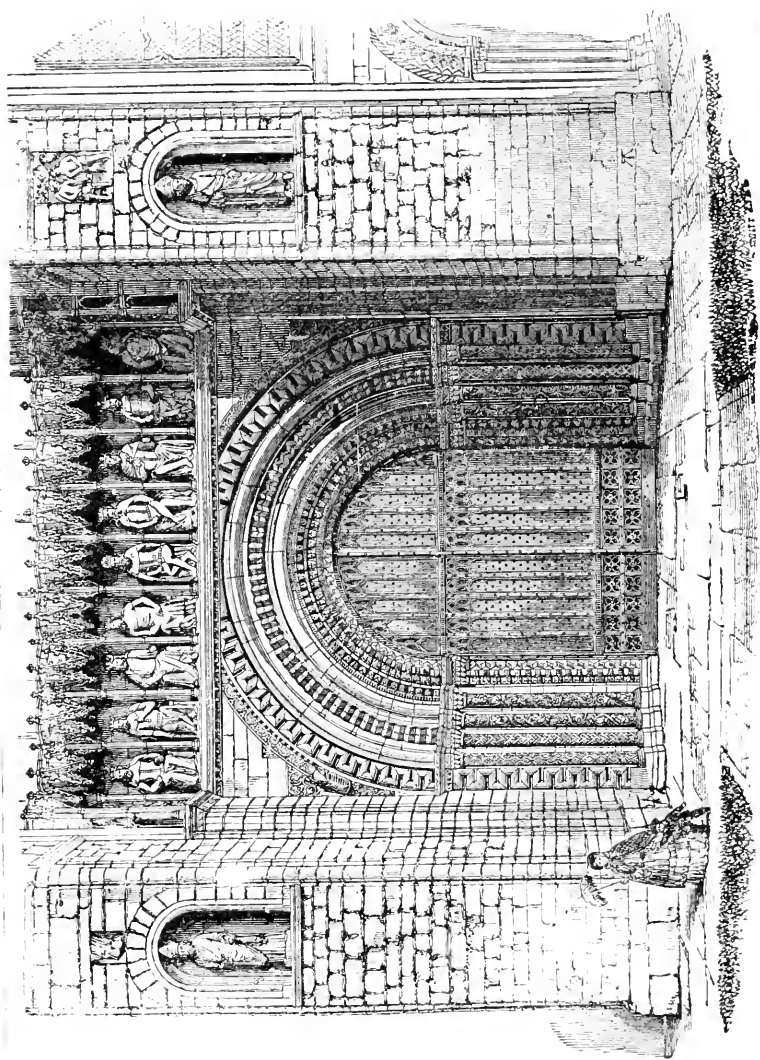
¹ It is noticeable that this design of a three gabled front, first conceived in the Norman cathedral, has been reproduced in other parts of the building by successive architects. We see it in the western face of the chapter house towards the cloisters, where the staircase turrets are most unusually capped with gabled roofs. It appears again in the triple pediment of the Dean's Porch, in the north transept, and is exhibited, on the grandest scale,

but with some expense of reality, in the eastern façade. Essex, an architect far beyond his age, with a fine feeling for harmony, adopted the same form in his reredos, copied from Bishop de Luda's monument at Ely.

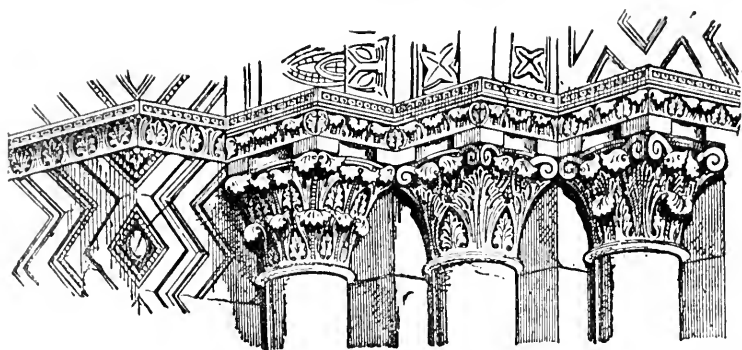
² Sharpe's *Lincoln Excursions*, 1871, p. 18.

³ *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 303.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.



Great West Door—Lincoln Cathedral.



The cathedral as erected by Remigius, and vaulted and "reformed" by Alexander, remained, as far as we have any information on the point, unaltered till almost the close of the twelfth century. In 1185, an earthquake, which convulsed nearly the whole of England, inflicted serious injury to the building. Hoveden tells us that the fabric was rent from the top to the bottom.¹ The following year, Hugh of Avalon, the prior of the Carthusian monastery at Witham, in Somersethire, became bishop of Lincoln. Whether from the cathedral being so much shattered by the earthquake as to render its re-building a matter of necessity, or simply from a desire to replace the plain Norman church of his predecessors with a building in the more graceful style which had recently developed out of the Transition both in England and Normandy, bishop Hugh had scarcely taken his Episcopal seat when he began to plan the re-construction of his cathedral.² Such a work as he designed was not to be set about in a hurry. Materials had to be collected and

¹ "Interim terre motus magnus auditus est fere per totam Angliam, qualis ab initio mundi in terra illa non erat auditus. Petre enim scissæ sunt; domus lapideæ ceciderunt; ecclesia Lincolniensis Metropolitana scissa est à summo deorsum. Contigit autem terre motus iste in crastino Diei Dominice in ramis Palmarum; videlicet decimo septimo Kalendas Maii." (*Roger Hoveden* Ed. Savile, p. 359.)

² "Item ecclesie sue capicium Paris lapidibus marmoreisque columnis miro artificio renovavit et totum a fundamento opere sumptuosissimo novum erexit."

Girald. Camb., vol. vii, p. 40.

"Et fabricam matricis ecclesie sue a

fundamento construxit novam." *Joh. de Schalby*, p. 200.

"Item Lincolniensem beate Virginis ecclesiam, a viro sancto, loci ejusdem antistite primo, beato scilicet Remigio, juxta morem temporis illius egregie constructam, quatenus modernæ novitatis artificio magis exquisito, longeque subtilius et ingeniosius expolito, fabricam conformem efficeret, ex Paris lapidibus, marmoreisque columnellis, alternatim et congrue dispositis, et tanquam picturis variis, albo nigroque, naturali tamen colorum varietate distinctis, incomparabiliter, sicut nunc cerni potest, erigere curavit eximiam." *Gir. Camb., Vit., S. Remig.*, vol. vii, p. 97.

fashioned, and money to purchase them to be raised. Six years elapsed before the foundation was laid. This took place, as I have already said, in 1192. The eight years between this and his death in 1200, were only sufficient to see an instalment of the task he had set himself of rearing, "a new church from the foundations."

The work began, as it always did begin in these reedifications of our great churches, at the east end, and was carried uniformly westwards. At the time of St. Hugh's decease the works completed included the apse (now destroyed), the eastern or choir transept (M, N), and the existing ritual choir (F). The foundations of the great or western transept had been laid, and rather more than one bay of the wall of its eastern aisle on either side had been raised. The name of the architect employed by St. Hugh is by a most unusual good fortune preserved to us. He was one Geoffrey of Noyers,¹ who, notwithstanding his foreign looking name, instead of being "a mad Frenchman,"—as the late Professor Willis termed him, in reference to the singularities and eccentricities which characterise his work—may, as the late Prebendary Dimock has said² have been "an Englishman bred and born, though of course originally of foreign descent."³ The notion of the design of St. Hugh's work being French imported by him from his old country, though broached by so well qualified authority as Professor Willis, has been long since proved to be entirely baseless. The first French authority, M. Viollet le Duc, from whose verdict on questions of the architecture of his own country there is no appeal, has pronounced most unhesitatingly after most careful examination, that all the work of the choir of Lincoln is thoroughly English work, without any trace of French character to be seen any where about it."⁴ "St. Hugh's style," writes Mr. Freeman, "may have been actually devised by French or Burgundian brains, but it

¹ In the *Magna Vita* (lib. v. c. 16; Ed. Dimock, p. 336) we find St. Hugh on his death bed giving directions for the completion of his favourite altar of St. John the Baptist—"postmodum. . . . Gaufrido de Noiers nobilis fabricæ constructori quæ cepit a fundamentis in renovanda Lincolnensi Ecclesia erigere. . . . talia est locutus."

² *Magn. Vit.* p. 412, b, note.

³ The name Noiers, changed into its modern and still usual form, Nowers, occurs repeatedly in Domesday, the Close rolls, Pipe rolls, and elsewhere, in the counties of Bucks, Northampton, and Norfolk. A family of the name was early possessor of Swanton Nowers in Norfolk, and in the bishopric of Norwich.—*Ibid.*

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1861, p. 551.

was devised beneath the air of England and bore fruit nowhere save in English soil. . . Hugh and Geoffrey and their followers boldly cast off all Romanesque trammel, and carried Gothic architecture at once to the ideal perfection of its earlier form." The opinion of the late Sir G. G. Scott is equally decisive against the idea of the foreign origin of the design, "the internal evidence afforded by the building itself, gives it so far as I can judge little or no support. . . . The general distribution of the parts seem to me English rather than French, and though the work displays some idiosyncrasies, I do not see in them anything to indicate a French origin unless it be in the capitals of the main pillars ; indeed it is a work in which distinctively English characteristics appear in a somewhat advanced stage of development. . . . In fact the wonder of the work is in its being so much in *advance* of its age, and that advance is not in a French but an English direction."¹ Regarding the choir and eastern transept of Lincoln, as we are fully justified in doing, as an English work, great and peculiar interest attaches to it as the earliest dated example of pure Gothic Architecture, without any lingering trace of Transitional feeling ; the first perfect development of what is known as the Early English style. Other examples of this style might, it is true, were their dates known, prove to have been earlier in execution. But their exact age is unrecorded, and Lincoln stands the foremost of all whose dates we know. Its fully developed style makes the work at first sight, as Sir G. G. Scott has said, seem almost "an anachronism," and has caused some, especially M. Viollet le Duc, to imagine that it must be "antedated." But there is no building in England of which the precise age is more certainly known, and of the date of which the evidence is more indisputable. No one has ever doubted the early date of Bishop de Lucy's eastern chapels at Winchester. The commencement of these is placed by Professor Willis on documentary evidence in 1202, only ten years after the foundation of the Lincoln choir, while their character is even more advanced than that which is found at Lincoln. One leading characteristic of advance at Lincoln is the

¹ Sir G. G. Scott, *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 196.

circular abacus of the columns, which is found throughout.¹ It has been sometimes said that the circular abacus first appears at Lincoln. This, however, is an error. It is found in the crypt under the Trinity chapel at Canterbury, which we know to have been the work of William the Englishman between 1179 and 1184, the square abacus being retained in the upper, and therefore somewhat later work, for the sake of corresponding with the work of William of Sens. We must look to Canterbury also for the earliest example of the eastern or choir transepts, of the same height as the main building, a feature apparently borrowed from Clugny, which adds so much external picturesqueness of outline, and internal space and beauty to Lincoln. This arrangement which found such favour in England that it is seen in seven of our larger churches—York (where it is of small proportions, and is absorbed in the later widened aisles,) Beverley, Rochester, Canterbury, Salisbury, Worcester and Lincoln—followed the great innovation, also first made at Canterbury, which removed the ritual choir out of the nave and from under the lantern, into the elongated eastern limb. That there was a ritual reason for the erection of a second transept, taking the place of the great transept to the east of the choir stalls (as we see it now at Westminster abbey and Norwich), there can be no reasonable doubt. A fuller acquaintance with the details of mediæval ritual would probably enable us to say what that reason was.

Some investigations published in a paper in this *Journal* already referred to² led to the belief that it had been intended to terminate this upper cross arm with towers. On this however more recent examination has thrown considerable doubt. The transverse wall which cuts off the end bay of the north transept, carrying on the design of the triforium and clerestory, seems rather to mark the original length of the transept, it having been extended one bay. The corresponding wall in the south transept has been entirely removed, and the rude internal surface, such as we see it on the other side, faced

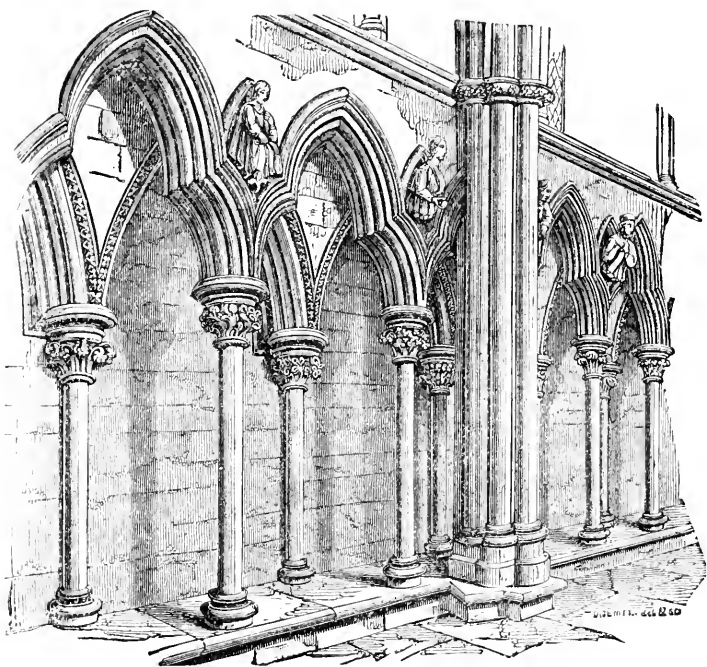
¹ I am aware that the square abacus is found in two or three places in the Early English work at Lincoln. But it is only in minor details, such as the piscinas of the apsidal chapels of the eastern transept.

and that in the north-west, or Morning chapel, so as not seriously to assert the above statement.

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 236.

with a triforium arcade and clerestory of different design and more elaborate execution than in the rest of the transept, dating from the latter half of the thirteenth century. The bare spaces in the lower part of the walls shew where, to carry out the change, the architect cut away the groining which supported a gallery at the triforium level, corresponding to that in the opposite transept. Of this arrangement we have a well known Norman example at Winchester, and the remains of one at Ely. It existed also at Canterbury.

One peculiarity of St. Hugh's work, adding much to its richness of effect, is the double wall arcade beneath the windows of the aisles, with vaulting shafts standing again in front of the arcade. Mr. J. H. Parker,



whose opinion on any architectural point deserves the utmost respect, having published his view that these two arcades were not contemporaneous, but that the outer one was a later addition, the whole subject received a full investigation from the late Sir G. G. Scott, Mr. J. L.

Pearson, and others in company with Mr. Parker, the result of which distinctly negating Mr. Parker's idea, were printed with illustrations in the paper in this *Journal* already referred to, and need not be here repeated.

St. Hugh's choir consists of four bays, of which the westernmost is rather the narrowest. Each bay contains a broad pier arch with mouldings of a peculiarly beautiful and studied profile, supported on clustered columns with capitals of stiff curling foliage. As originally built, these piers exhibited an octagonal central pillar surrounded by detached shafts of Purbeck marble. These shafts are eight in number in the two western piers on each side. But in the easternmost they are only four, the sides of the central pillar being hollowed out to receive them. (*a b* Plate II B). These are thus described by the author of the *Metrical Life of St. Hugh*—

Inde columnellæ quæ sic cinxere columnas
Ut videantur ibi quandam celebrare choream.¹

The fall of the central tower in 1237 jarred and weakened the whole arcade so much that it was found advisable in most cases to substitute ugly cylinders of stone, without capitals, for the graceful marble shafts. The new pier (*c d*) is much stronger and more serviceable than the old, (*a b*) but far less beautiful. Only two of the piers exhibit their original form, viz., the third from the west, on each side, which as being the furthest away from the place of the catastrophe, suffered the least weakening.

On the face of these piers towards the choir as just described, a bold vaulting shaft ran up from the ground to the spring of the groin, as it still does on the west wall of the small transept. But on the introduction of the choir stalls with their lofty canopies in the latter part of the fourteenth century, the lower part of these shafts was found to be in the way and was removed, a panelled corbel being inserted as a springer just above the capital of the pier (*See C 1, b* Plate II). The bases of these shafts still remain beneath the floor of the stalls.

¹ As some controversy has arisen whether these Purbeck marble columns were originally polished or only smoothed, it is enough to say that the metrical writer spends several lines in describing

their reflecting properties. I quote two lines—

Exterior facies nascente politior ungue,
Clara repercussis opponit visibus astra.

It should be noticed that these vaulting shafts are alternately cylindrical and hexagonally fluted, the latter being a form very rare if not unique, but of constant occurrence in every part of the Early English work in this Cathedral. The ten columns surrounding the central shaft in the chapter house are also of this form.

In the triforium range each bay contains two arches, each of which is sub-divided into two sub-arches. The tympanum is everywhere solid with a quatrefoil or trefoil pierced in it, affording an example of plate tracery of the rudest and most inartistic kind. The piercings on the south side are so coarse in execution and unsymmetrical in position that it seems impossible but that they have been tampered with at some later period, perhaps after the fall of the central tower. After that disaster the two arches of the westernmost bay of the triforium were reconstructed, an exceedingly ugly cluster of cylinders without capital or even a moulding to break their baldness, and many sizes too bulky for the arches they support, being unhappily substituted for the graceful clustered shafts of the original design. By way of compensation, the quatrefoil piercing is more elegant and symmetrical. A similar alteration may be seen in the adjacent bays of the triforium of the great transept, where tall octagonal blocks support the sub-arches. The piercing of the tympanum is of the same later character. While speaking of these re-constructed bays it deserves notice that the four arches belonging to them—two in the choir, and two in the transept—have hood-moulds which are wanting elsewhere. It was probably found that the mouldings of the arches did not quite fit the re-built wall above them, and the hood-moulds were introduced to mask the junction. Another piece of adaptation will be observed in the first arch of the choir, in the south side. It would seem that only the western two-thirds of the arch was re-built, and that through some want of accuracy in setting out the work, the two sets of mouldings did not exactly fit on the eastern side, the awkward join being concealed by rings of stone. This device is found also in the corresponding arch to the north, towards the aisle. To revert to the triforium. The two eastern bays of the choir triforium are of simpler design than the others. The sub-arches spring from a single central shaft instead

of from a cluster of three shafts, and the sub-arch itself is simple, while in the other bays it exhibits two arches, the interior order being of a different curvature from the exterior order. The simpler form is found all round the northern transept, but in only one bay—the north-western—of the southern transept. The other three bays show the more elaborate design of the choir. The piercings of the tympana in the transepts and choir are varied with trefoils, quatrefoils and simple circles or bulls' eyes. In some cases the piercing does not go through the wall, but forms a sunk panel. Perhaps the most interesting feature in the whole of St. Hugh's work, from the point of view of architectural history, is the triforium on the east side of the north transept, immediately above the arch (*f.*) into the north aisle of the angel choir (*See D Plate II*). Here we have the same arrangement as in the rest of the triforium, of two sub-arches beneath a larger enclosing arch, but the tympanum is left solid.¹

But the heaviness of the unperforated tympanum was felt to have an unpleasing effect, and the experiment was made of piercing the tympanum of the next bay with a trefoil. The novel attempt proved satisfactory. Plate tracery had been invented, and thenceforward was adopted universally, the unperforated head being never reverted to. From this curious collocation of the pierced and unpierced tympanum side by side, we may not unreasonably conclude that this angle of the northern transept is the earliest part of the new work now existing; that the rest of that transept followed, and was succeeded by the two easternmost bays of the choir, and the adjacent bay of the south transept. At this point the design would seem to have changed, and the remainder of the choir and of the south transept to have been the last portions completed.

The first portion erected was doubtless the east end, the "capitulum ecclesia" or "chevet" which, as we have seen, Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, "St. Hugh built from the foundation and renovated with wonderful skill, decorating it with Parian stones and marble columns." This, how-

¹ The nave triforium at the Cathedral of Sens, of which a view is given in Sir G. G. Scott's *Lectures* (vol. i, p. 94, Fig.

30) shows the same arrangement, of two sub-arches under a tall circumscribing arch, and an unpierced tympanum.

ever, was entirely removed to make way for the erection of the new and extended eastern limb, or angel choir. (V, W). Its architectural features therefore are lost to us. The ground plan, however, has been preserved in a rough sketch made by the late John Carter, the antiquary and draughtsman, who fortunately paid a visit to Lincoln in 1791, at the time that the new paving of the choir and presbytery laid its foundations bare. Carter's drawing still remains among the Gough papers in the Bodleian. The late Mr. Ross of Lincoln made a copy of it, which he communicated to Mr. Ayliffe Poole, by whom it was published in his paper on "the Architectural History of Lincoln Minster."¹ From this invaluable sketch we learn that St. Hugh's church terminated in a three-sided hexagonal apse, round which the aisle was carried as a procession path. If Mr. Carter's rough, unscaled drawing can be credited with anything like accuracy, the apse was a very short one, including with its circumscribing aisle no more than two bays of the angel choir, the extreme eastern wall occupying the place of the present reredos. The main wall bearing the triforium and clerestory was one bay forwarder, the altar standing in front of the central arch. The whole design is marked with singularity. Foundations, semicircular in plan, attached to the sloping wall of the apse on the south side indicate a chapel corresponding to those opening from the choir transept. Though Mr. Carter's drawing does not show any foundations on the opposite side of the apse we cannot doubt that there was a similar chapel to the north. The plan would thus in some degree correspond to that of the east end of Westminster Abbey. There would seem to have been stair-turrets, circular in plan, attached to the angles of the apse, north and south. If, as was probably the case, these rose into lofty pinnacles with conical caps, they would add great dignity to the east end, recalling the somewhat similar pair flanking the apse at Peterborough. It were much to be wished that these curious foundations might be again opened, and the plan of the "chevet" accurately determined.

A projecting fragment of walling starting obliquely in

¹ Reports and Papers of the "Associated Architectural Societies" during the year 1857. p. 21.

a north-east direction at the junction of the choir-transept and the south aisle of the angel choir (*g*), singularly combined with the Early English of St. Hugh's work on one side and with the Early Decorated responds of the later design on the other, has been deemed by Mr. Ayliffe Poole to be a relic of the wall of St. Hugh's apse. This, however, is very problematical. Its correctness can only be determined by an examination of the foundations.

I have already referred to the two apsidal chapels, semi-circular in plan, opening from the east side of each arm of the choir transept (O, O, P, Q), Similar chapels, but of smaller dimensions, it will be remembered, are found in the same position in Canterbury Cathedral. Though we cannot doubt that they formed part of De Noyer's plan, and their construction was probably begun before Sir Hugh's death, a careful examination of their details points to a later period for their completion. Professor Willis regarded them as contemporaneous with the great transept, in the wall arcade of which we find mouldings of the same character, as well as a horizontal string-course forming a continuation of the abacus of the capitals, which does not appear in St. Hugh's work. No part of the building will better repay careful examination than these simple but exquisitely beautiful chapels, with their semi-domical vaults, vaulting shafts, shafted lancet windows, piscinas and aumbreys. It will not escape notice that the capitals of the small shafts attached to the piscinas have the square abacus; the earlier form surviving in subsidiary details. The northernmost chapel of the north choir-transept, that of St. John the Baptist (O), has been subject to a double alteration from and back again to its original apsidal form. St. John the Baptist was St. Hugh's patron, and it was at the altar in this chapel that he loved best to officiate. The re-erection of the Baptist's altar in a more stately fashion was the subject of his last interview with the architect, De Noyers, only a few days before his death, and by the side of it, close under the wall—"secus murum aliquem"—he desired that his body might be buried; choosing this place instead of a more conspicuous position in the middle of the chapel, "lest his tomb should inconveniently occupy the pavement, as was so often seen elsewhere, and cause those entering the

chapel to stumble or fall.”¹ This chapel, we are told was chosen for the place of the Saint’s interment, not only on account of his affection for it, but because the north side of the church was the most convenient for the confluence of the devotees who, it was foreseen, would be attracted by his reputation for sanctity.² The small apsidal chapel soon proved too straitened for the crowds of worshippers, and its curved wall being thrown down it was extended 24 ft. 6 in. eastward in a rectangular form. The enlarged chapel in turn proving inadequate to receive the increasing multitudes of worshippers at his shrine, the angel choir was erected to receive his remains, to which they were translated on St. Faith’s Day, Oct. 6, 1280. The object for which the chapel had been enlarged having passed away it became neglected, and was allowed to fall into dilapidation, until rather more than a century ago, at a time when it was the fashion for the guardians of our cathedrals to pull down rather than to restore the decayed portions of their fabrics, the “ingenious Mr. Essex,” then the consulting architect of the Dean and Chapter, was instructed to remove it and restore the apse. However much we may regret the loss of the enlarged Early English chapel we must give Essex credit for having executed his task with very unusual skill. By his clever use of old work the apse was so admirably restored that persons of consummate architectural knowledge have been hard to convince that in its present form it is a work of the eighteenth and not of the thirteenth century. When the ground was lowered about ten years since the foundations of the lengthened chapel were laid open, and with the assistance of Hollar’s plates it would not be at all difficult to restore it.³

At the angle between the north and south aisle of the

¹ “Ante aram patroni in ei præcursoris Domini ubi congruentius videbitur spatium, secus murum aliquem ponetis me, ne pavimentum loci tumba, ut plerisque in ecclesiis cernimus, importune occupet, et incedentibus offendiculum præstet aut ruinam.”—*Magn. Vit.*, lib. v, c. 16, p. 340.

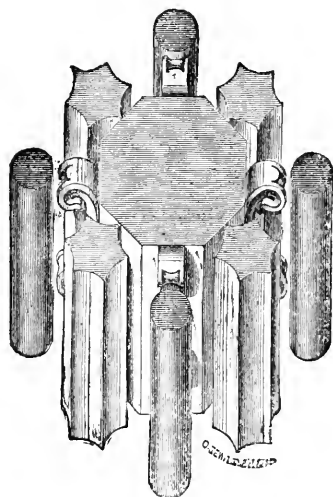
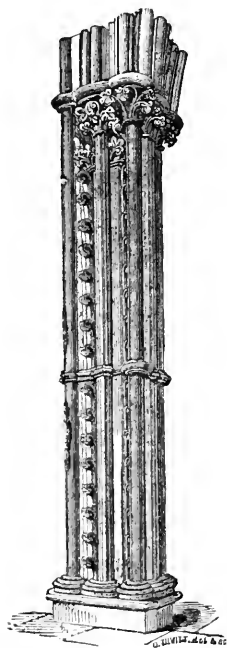
Giraldus describing one of the miracles at the same tomb, speaks of “Altare sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quod tumbam viri sancti collateralem a sinistris et proximam habet.—*Gir. Camb. Vit. S.*

Hug., vol. vii, p. 123.

² “Sepultus est, sicut ipse notis præceperat, secus parietem non procul ab altari sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et sicut visum est propter accessum confluentis populi magis congruere, a boreali ipsius aedis regione.”—*Magn. Vit.* lib. v. c., 20, p. 377.

³ Chapter Order Book, Sept. 10, 1771. “Ordered that St. Mary’s Chapel be taken down next spring, and the breach made up by a building similar to the other small chapels.” The true dedication of the chapel had been forgotten and it had

choir and eastern transept on the western side (m^1 , m^2) is a pier of remarkable, if not unique character. It consists of a central octagonal pier, on four of the sides of which a series of curling crockets ascends vertically. Round this pier stand eight detached, banded shafts of Purbeck marble, four cylindrical and four hexagonal with shallow flutings and horned fillets. These last are placed a little more backward than the cylindrical shafts. All the capitals have bold, free foliage. The accompanying woodcut will explain the arrangement of these piers



better than any description. The pier at the junction

got to be confused with "the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen," by which name it always goes in Essex's reports. The erection of a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen has been attributed to Bishop John Gynwill 1347-1362. Leland, *Collectan*, vol. i, p. 98, writes, "Jo. Sinwell (Ginwill) episcopus fundavit capellam Ste Mariæ Magdalene ibique sepultus est." Godwin *De Prasulibus*, makes the same mistake. It is enough to say that there is

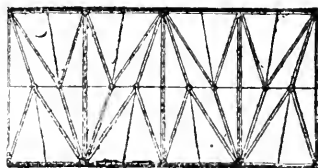
no chapel under any dedication at Lincoln, corresponding to the date of Bishop Gynwell's episcopate, and that the only dedication to St. Mary Magdalen of which we have any knowledge, is that of the parish church, removed from the interior of the cathedral by Bishop Oliver Sutton. Bishop Gynwell himself was buried in the middle of the nave towards the west-end.

of the south aisle and east transept (m^2) stands free, that on the other side (m^1) is partly built into the walls by which what is now called, though without any sufficient authority, "The Dean's chapel" (S) was separated from the Church not long after its erection. The doorway from the north-east transept is Early English, very little later than St. Hugh's time. The door itself exhibits some good examples of iron work. This compartment (S) was divided by a floor into two rooms; the upper of these, reached by the adjacent newel staircase, is traditionally said to have been the dispensary of the minster. The walls on two sides have triangular headed cupboards for drugs and other medicinal requirements—the *apothecæ* of the chapter apothecary. The purpose of the lower apartment is not known. To light it square-headed windows were rudely cut in the double wall arcade on the west side. The shutters of these windows still remain with their original hinges; they are of much interest as undoubted examples of the wood and iron work of the thirteenth century. The strainer-beams originally tying all the arches together which have been generally removed elsewhere, remain built up in the walls blocking the east and south arches of this compartment. The double strainer-beams across the eastern transept, of which the upper one on each side affords a bridge from one triforium to the other, were bedizened with present feeble Gothic tracery towards the close of the last century. Their constructional value in resisting the thrust is very problematical.

The fillets which surround the vaulting shafts in the east transept and choir aisles are in several places ornamented with a singular carving of trefoil leaves. I cannot point to another example of this kind of ornamentation.

Before passing from St. Hugh's choir to other parts of the church it will be desirable to say a few words about the vaulting. That of the eastern transepts, the earliest part built, is sexpartite, the two lateral vaulting cells corresponding to the pair of lancets in the clerestory. The same arrangement both of the vault and of the clerestory is found in the western bay of the choir. This was reconstructed, after being crushed by the fall of the tower in

1237, but probably without any alteration of plan. The vaulting over the other four bays as shown on the ground plan is of a most eccentric character, and the effect is so far from pleasing that we may well rejoice that it is, I believe, quite unique.

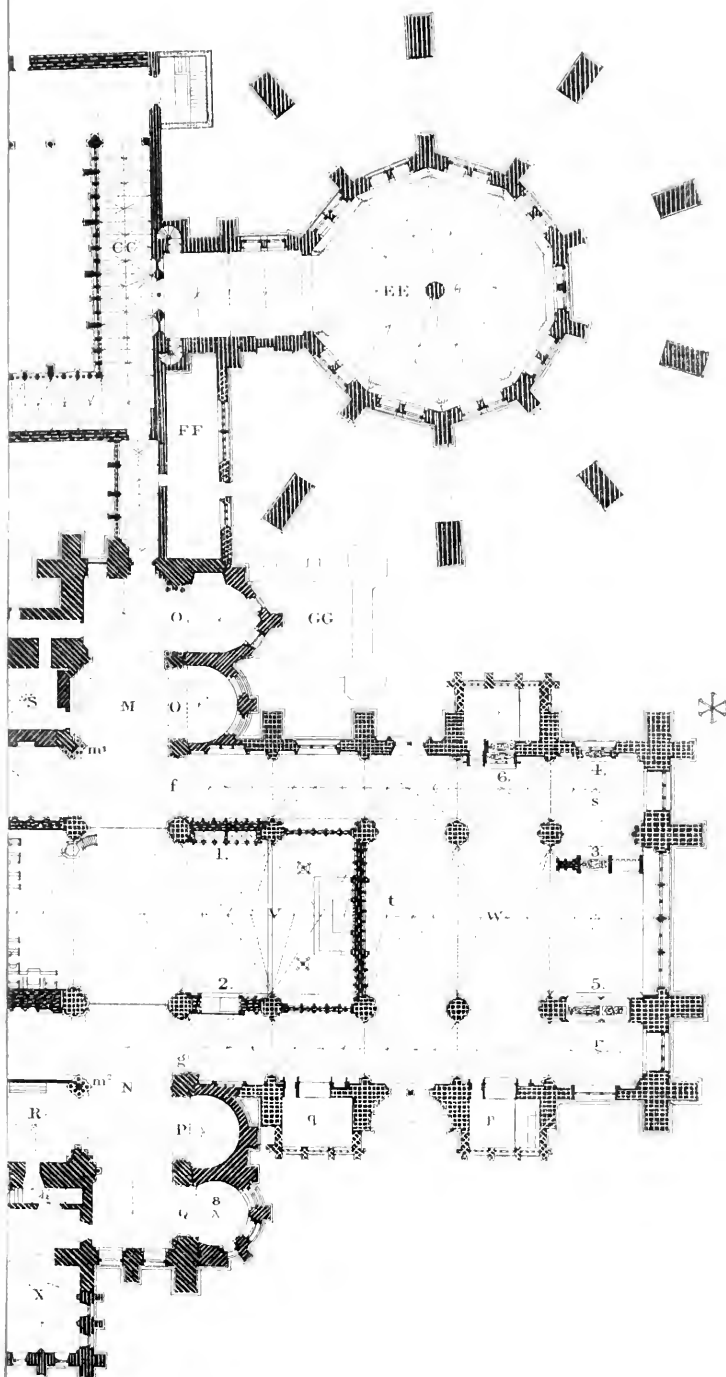


“None but itself can be its parallel.”

Sir G. G. Scott thus speaks of it, “the architect seems to have put himself out of his way to make an easy matter difficult, for instead of groining his oblong bays in the usual way, he has made each cell strike obliquely to points dividing the central ridge of the bay into three equal parts, so that neither the cells nor the diagonal ribs from either side ever meet one another, but each cell is met by an intermediate or an oblique transverse rib from the opposite side.” The vaulting of the two central bays of the side aisles is *quinque partite*, in correspondence with the couple of lancets which light them. A careful examination of the exterior of these bays and of the chapels of the great transept has discovered that the tall thin intermediate buttresses bisecting each bay (*v, v*) are very early additions not contemplated in the original design, but erected to resist the outward thrust of the central ribs of the vault between the lancets, and concealing the shaft, common to the two windows, which supports the hood mould above them. For fuller details of the investigation and of the light thrown by its results on the chronology of the building, I must be permitted again to refer to my former paper,¹ with the accompanying illustration.

The death of St. Hugh and the change of design consequent thereon form a convenient break in our architectural history, which will be pursued in a future *Journal*.

¹ *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 236.



HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

NORMAN

4TH EARLY ENGLISH

1ST EARLY ENGLISH
(5' HIGH)

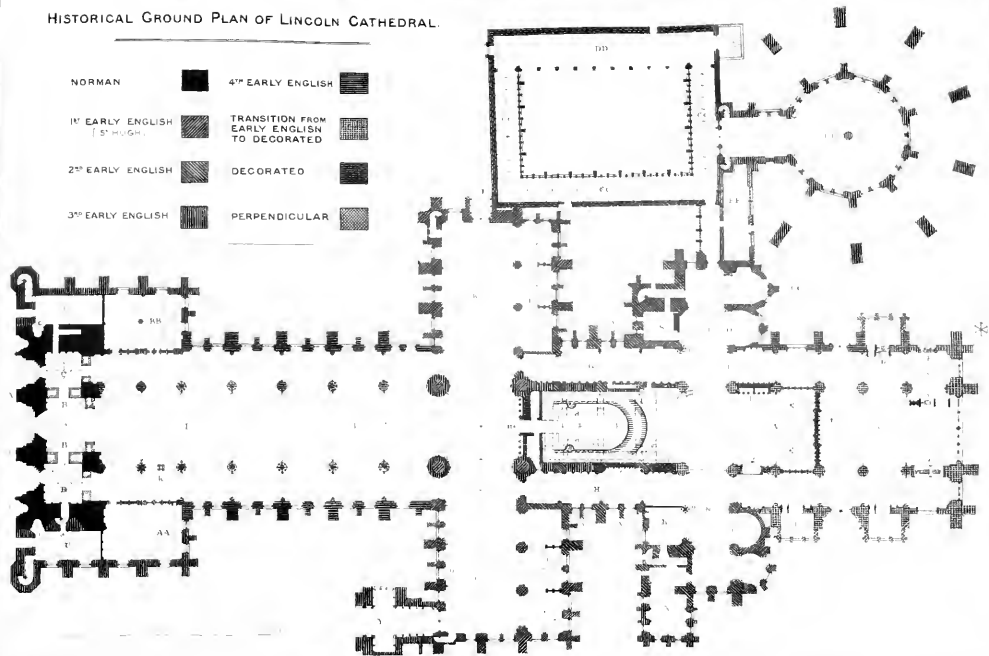
TRANSITION FROM
EARLY ENGLISH
TO DECORATED

2ND EARLY ENGLISH

DECORATED

3RD EARLY ENGLISH

PERPENDICULAR



REFERENCES TO HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN OF
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.—PLATE I.

- AAAA Remigius's West Front, with its five arched recesses and three doorways.
N.B. The doorways are of the Second Norman, ascribed to Bishop Alexander.
- B B One bay of Remigius's Nave.
- C D St. Mary's and St. Hugh's towers.
N.B. The groining and the internal panelling were added by Treasurer Welbourn.
- E Foundations of Remigius's apse, and the walls of his choir, beneath the present pavement.
- F St. Hugh's choir.
- G H North and south aisles.
- I I Nave and aisles.
- K L North and south transepts.
- M N North and south choir transepts.
- O St. John Baptist's Chapel, lengthened after the burial of St. Hugh, and again restored to its original form, 1779.
- P St. Paul's Chapel.
- Q St. Peter's Chapel.
- R Choristers' vestry and lavatory.
- S Dean's Chapel with Dispensary over.
- T North Chapel of the west wing.
- U St. Hugh's, or the Ringers' Chapel.
- V Presbytery.
- W Angel choir.
- X Vestry. Singing school over.
- Y Galilee. Muniment room over.
- AA Consistory Court.
- BB Morning Chapel.
- CC Cloisters.
- DD Library.
- EE Chapter house.
- FF Common room, now Clerk of the works' office.
- GG Foundations of enlargement of S. John Baptist's Chapel.

- (*a*) Early English stair in Norman wall.
- (*bc*) Norman recesses.
- (*dd*) Bases of Norman shafts.
- (*e*) Supposed original place of Remigius's grave.
- (*f*) Arch from N.E. Transept into N. Aisle.
- (*g*) Fragment of earlier wall.
- (*h*) Staircase and Vestibule to Vestry.
- (*i*) Little St. Hugh's shrine.
- (*j*) Deans' Porch.
- (*k*) Norman Font.
- (*l*¹ *l*²) Point of junction of St. Hugh's and Later Early English work.
- (*m*¹ *m*²) Singular Early English clustered columns.
- (*n*) Choir screen.
- (*o*) Bp. Fleming's Chantry and monument.
- (*p*) Bp. Russell's Chantry.
- (*q*) Bp. Longland's Chantry.
- (*r*) Cantilupe Chantry.
- (*s*) Burghersh Chantry.
- (*t*) Assigned site of St. Hugh's shrine.
- (*u*) Site of Bp. Dalderby's shrine.
- (*v*, *v*) Added buttresses.

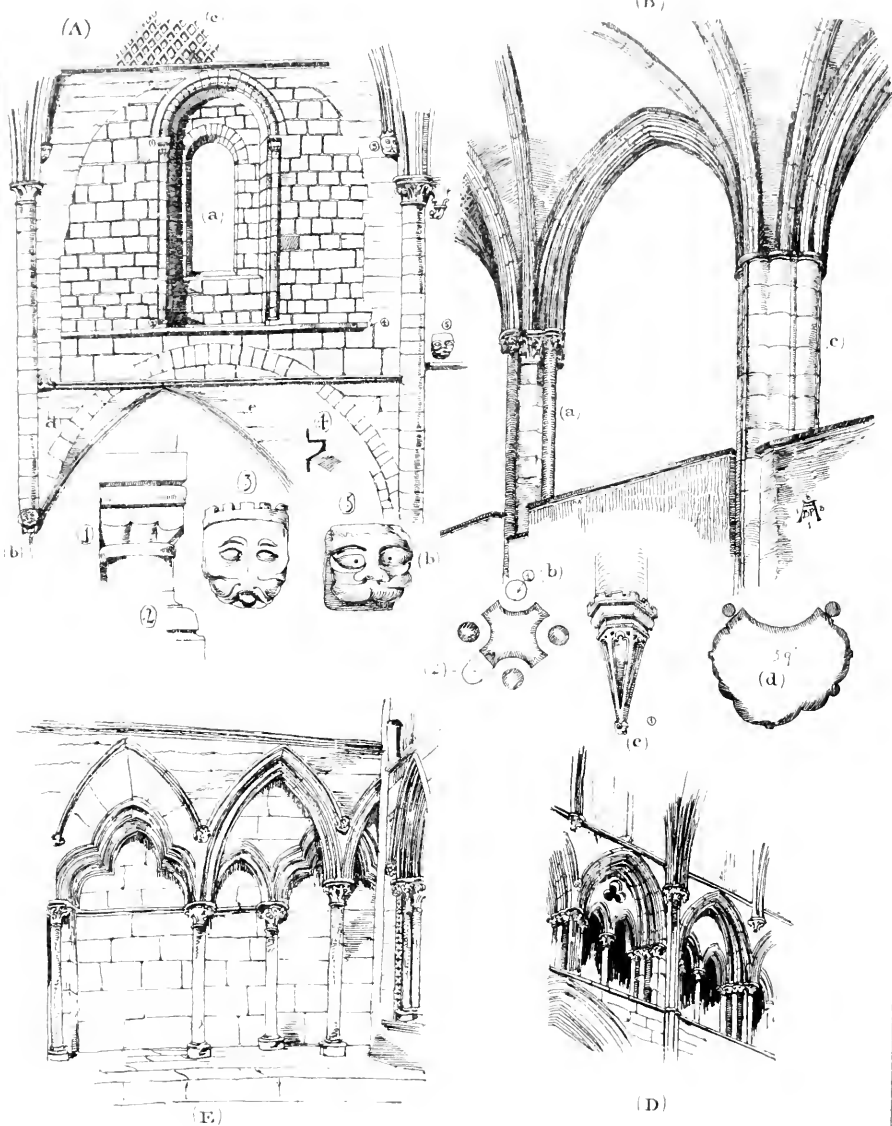
REFERENCES TO MONUMENTS, &c.

- 1 Easter Sepulchre.
- 2 Monument of Katherine Swinford and of the Countess of Westmoreland.
- 3 Monuments of Bishop Burghersh, and Sir Robert Burghersh.
- 4 Monument of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh.
- 5 Monument of Sir Nicholas Cantilupe, and Prior Wimbush.
- 6 Monument of Bishop Fleming.
- 7 Monument of Sir G. Taylboys.
- 8 Monument of Bp. Kaye.

REFERENCES TO PLATE II.

- (A) One bay of Remigius's nave, at the west end. (*a*) Clerestory window. (*b, b*) Vaulting shafts. (*c*) Grosteste's diaper. (*d*) Triforium arch. (*e*) Welbourn's inserted arch. (1) Capital of shaft of clerestory window. (2) Base of do. (3, 5) Corbel heads. (4) String course.
- (B) Part of arcade of north aisle of choir (*a*) Unaltered pier (*b*) plan of do. (1) Place of vaulting shaft cut away (2) Corbel head (*c*) Altered pier (*d*) Plan of do (*e*)
- (C) Corbel added on the cutting away of the vaulting shaft (*b*)
- (D) Two bays of the Triforium of the N. E. Transept, shewing the development of plate tracery.
- (E) Part of the wall arcade of the second Chapel of the N. Transept, shewing the change of plan after St. Hugh's death.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL
HISTORY OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.



LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE CLOCKMAKERS' COMPANY OF
LONDON, FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR INCORPORATION
IN 1631 TO THE YEAR 1732.¹

By C. OCTAVIUS S. MORGAN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

The Clockmakers' Company of London was incorporated at the Petition of the Clockmakers, as well Freemen of London as foreigners residing there, by a Royal Charter in the year 1631, by the name of "The Master, Wardens and Fellowship of the Art and Mystery of Clockmaking of the City of London."

The Company consists of a Master, three Wardens, and ten or more Assistants, chosen out of the fellowship, who have power by their Charter to make bye-laws for the government of all persons using the trade in London, or within ten miles thereof, and for the regulation of the manner in which the trade should be carried on throughout the realm.

The Company has no hall, but its meetings have from its first establishment been regularly held in some tavern in the City.

It must be borne in mind by persons desirous of knowing the age of a clock, that no clock had a pendulum before the year 1661. The movement was governed by a vertical rod or "verge," having small flat pallets which played on the teeth of a crown wheel, from which it received an alternating movement which was regulated by a horizontal bar at the top, in form of the letter T, weighted at the extremity of the arms; or by a horizontal wheel in the same manner as the escapements of the old watches of the period; a perfect original example of this balance is to be seen in the ancient Dover clock, exhibited in the mechanical collection at South Kensington.

About 1639, Galileo first discovered the isochronous vibrations of a pendulum, and his son Vicenzio Galileo reduced his father's discoveries to practice, and in 1649 put up the first pendulum clock at Venice.

Pendulum clocks were first introduced and made in England by Ahasuerus Fromantil, a Dutch clockmaker in London in 1661, and the first had short or "bob" pendulums. In 1680 Mr. W. Clement of London improved the mechanism of the escapement by introducing the swing wheel with the anchor pallets, by which he was enabled to have a longer pendulum and heavier "bob," which beat more regularly in seconds, and vibrated in a smaller arc, and many old clocks were altered in consequence of these two inventions.

¹ This list was extracted from the books of the Company and arranged alphabetically and chronologically by Octavius

Morgan, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., in the year 1848.

The first Freemen admitted in 1631-2 were *certainly* all clock-makers, as were most probably all those admitted to their freedom in this Company for the first few years. Afterwards it is not so certain. It is probable also that many clock and watch-makers had taken out their freedom in other companies, and were subsequently admitted *Brothers*, or members of the fellowship of this, as many certainly had exercised the business of clock-makers before they belonged to this company, being admitted brothers, and at the time of their admission called "Great Clockmakers."

a Attached to a name indicates a certainty of the person having been a clock-maker by trade.

b Following a name means that he was admitted a "Brother."

c Indicates his having been mentioned on his admission as a "Great Clockmaker."

Those names without any mark were admitted to their freedoms as "Free Clockmakers."

Many were case-makers, engravers, &c., connected with the trade, and after the admission of mathematical instrument makers, many were probably of that business. Many were quite unconnected with the trade, and only took out their freedom as of that company. Clock-makers however seem all to have been sworn and admitted brothers, and it may be fairly presumed that the brothers were all clock-makers by trade, and that at the first establishment of the company, none but actual clock and watch-makers were admitted members of it, say to 1640.

The names of the Masters, Wardens, and Assistants are given every five years, as showing from time to time who were the principal members of the Company.

MASTERS, WARDENS, AND ASSISTANTS.

1631.		<i>Assistants</i> , Elias Allen	
<i>Master</i> , David Ramsey		Peter Clason	
<i>Wardens</i> , Henry Areher		David Bouquett	
John Wellowe		1645.	
Sampson Shelton		<i>Master</i> , Edward East	
<i>Assistants</i> , James Vantrollyer		<i>Wardens</i> , Robert Grinkin	
John Smith		Oswald Durant	
Francis Forman		Thomas Alecock	
John Harris		1650.	
Richard Morgan		<i>Master</i> , Simon Bartram	
Samuel Lynaker		<i>Wardens</i> , John Nicasius	
John Charlton		Robert Smith	
John Midnall		1655.	
Simon Bartram		<i>Master</i> , Robert Grinkin	
Edward East		<i>Wardens</i> , Benjamin Hill	
1640.		John Pennock	
<i>Master</i> , John Charlton		<i>Assistants</i> , Mr. Ramsey	
<i>Wardens</i> , Simon Bartram		Mr. Bouquet	
Edward East		Mr. Bayes	
Robert Grinkin		Mr. Hues	

Mr. Bartram
 Mr. Nicasius
 Mr. Holland
 Mr. Child
 Mr. Reeve
 Mr. Coxiter
 Mr. East
 Mr. Harris

1660.

Master, Simon Hackett
Wardens, Nicholas Coxiter
 John Bayes
Assistants, Robert Grinkin
 Thomas Taylor
 Jeremy Gregory
 John Nicasius
 John Pennock
 Benjamin Hill
 David Bouquet
 Peter Hue
 David Mell
 Simon Bartram

1665.

Master, Henry Child
Wardens, Jeremy Gregory
 Abraham Beckner
Assistants, Edward East
 John Nicasius
 Nicholas Coxiter
 Thomas Taylor
 Simon Hackett
 Benjamin Hill
 David Bouquett
 Samuel Horne
 Simon Bartram
 John Pennock
 Edmund Gilpin

1670.

Master, Thomas Taylor
Wardens, Thomas Clayton
 Samuel Horne
Assistants, John Nicasius
 Nicholas Coxiter
 Isaac Daniel
 Samuel Turnor
 Benjamin Hill
 Jeremy Gregory
 Ralph Almond
 Henry Kent
 John Pennock
 Jeffery Bayly
 John Matchett

1675.

Master, Jeffery Bayly
Wardens, Isaac Daniell
 John Matchett
Assistants, John Nicasius
 Thomas Taylor
 Walter Hayes
 Benjamin Bell
 Robert Casby
 Nicholas Coxiter
 Samuel Horne
 John Browne
 John Saville
 Jeremy Gregory
 Ralph Almond
 Richard Ames
 Thomas Wheeler

1680.

Master, Samuel Vernon
Wardens, Walter Hayes
 Richard Lyons
 Benjamin Bell
Assistants, Jeremy Gregory
 Jeffery Bayly
 Thomas Wheeler
 Thomas Taylor
 Henry Wynne
 John Brown
 Richard Farrett
 John Harris
 Henry Jones
 Samuel Horne
 Richard Ames
 Thomas Hencorne
 Nathaniel Burrow
 William Knutsford
 William Clement
 Nicasius Russell

1685.

Master, Thos. Wheeler
Wardens, Edward Norris
 Thomas Taylor
 John Harris
Assistants, Jeremy Gregory
 John Brown
 Richard Farrett
 Robert Casby
 Henry Wynne
 William Knatford
 Henry Harper
 James Markwick
 Jeffery Bayly

Benjamin Bell
 Thomas Hancorne
 Nathaniel Barrow
 Henry Jones
 William Clement
 John Ebbsworth
 Robt. Williamson
 Thomas Willson
 Walter Henshaw
 Edmd. Stanton
 Thomas Hicks
 Christopher Maynard
 1690.

Master, Nathaniel Barrow

Wardens, Henry Jones
 Nicasius Russell
 William Knatford

Assistants, John Brown
 Thomas Wheeler
 Thomas Hancorne
 Henry Wynne
 Edwd. Stanton
 Robt. Williamson
 Joseph Knibb
 Benjamin Bell
 Richard Furrett
 Thomas Taylor
 William Clement
 John Ebbsworth
 Robt. Halstead
 Charles Gretton
 Richard Lyons
 Edward Norris
 John Harris
 Walter Henshaw
 James Markwick
 Nathaniel Delander
 1695.

Master, William Clement

Wardens, Walter Henshaw
 Edward Stanton
 John Ebbsworth

Assistants, John Brown
 John Harris
 Nicasius Russell
 Robert Halstead
 William Speakman
 Edward Norris
 Nathaniel Barrow
 William Knatsford
 Joseph Knib
 Thomas Hancorne

Henry Wynne
 Robert Williamson
 Charles Gretton
 William Young
 Joseph Windmills
 Thomas Tompion
 1700.

Master, Robert Halstead
Wardens, Charles Gretton
 William Speakman

Joseph Windmills
Assistants, Edward Norris
 Thomas Hancorne
 Nathaniel Barrow
 Henry Wynne
 Nicasius Russell
 William Clement
 Walter Henshaw
 Edward Stanton
 Robert Williamson
 Thomas Tompion
 James Atkinson
 Robert Webster
 Benjamin Graves
 Samuel Marchant
 John Finch
 John Pepys
 Daniel Quare
 1705.

Master, Robert Webster
Wardens, Benjamin Graves
 Joseph Finch

Assistants, Norris
 Hancorne
 Wynne
 Henshaw
 Stanton
 Halstead
 Gretton
 Speakman
 Windmills
 Pepys
 Quare
 Puller
 Taylor

1710.

Master, George Etherington
Wardens, Taylor
 Gibbs
 Shaw

Assistants, Henshaw
 Stanton

Halstead	1720.
Gretton	<i>Master</i> , Edward Crouch
Speakman	<i>Wardens</i> , Martin Jackson
Windmills	George Graham
Tompion	<i>Assistants</i> , Halstead
Greaves	Chamberlayn
Pepys	Pepys
Quare	Gibbs
Barrow, John	Gretton
Mertins	J. Windmills
Jaques, Wm.	Taylor
Clowes	Fielder
1715.	Williamson
<i>Master</i> , John Barrow	Berry
<i>Wardens</i> , Thos. Fielder	Robinson
Wm. Jaques	1725.
Nathaniel Chamberlyn	<i>Master</i> , Joseph Williamson
<i>Assistants</i> , Stanton	<i>Wardens</i> , Francis Robinson
Halstead	Langly Beadley
Gretton	<i>Assistants</i> , Halstead
Speakman	Graves
Windmills	Gibbs
Graves	Markwick
Pepys	Graham
Taylor	Herbert
Gibbs	Drury
Shaw	Stones
Thomas Windmills	Sellers
Cronche	Marsden

MEMBERS.

A.	ob.	1675	a Aspinwall, Josiah b
			Adeane, Henry
1631	a Archer, Henry, <i>first Warden of Company</i>	ante 1650	1676 Arthur, William
1632	a Alcock, Thomas	ante 1655	Aske, Henry
1633	a Almont, William b		1677 Appleby, Edmund
	a Allen, Elias b	ante 1655	a Acton, Thomas (of Clerkenwell)
1646	Almond, Ralph	1675	1680 Ansell, Richard
1648	Ash, Ralph b		Ayeres, Richard
1649	Ashwell, Nicholas		1682 Ames, William
1653	Allen, John b		1686 a Adamson, John b
	Ames, Richard	1679	1687 a Apelyne, Francis b (French)
1660	Archer, John		1688 Andrews, John
1664	Allam, Andrew		1689 c Allsop, Joshua b (Northamptonshire)
1669	Ambrose, David b		1691 Allet, George
1671	c Aldred, Leonard b		1695 Allaway, John
	Almond, John		1697 a Aldworth, Samuel b
	Atler, Henry		1699 Ashurst, William
1674	Applegarth, Thomas		

1703	Andrews, Richard		Bayle, Richard	
	Arnold, Thomas		1662	Baddeley, Phineas
	Abbott, Philip			Bridgeman, Edwd.
1705	Andrews, Thomas		1653	Butto, Daniel
	Avenell, Thomas			Bayley, William
	Adeane, Henry		1664	Bagley, Thomas
1709	Andrews, Robert		1665	Bicknell, Francis
	Acton, Abraham		1667	Bucknor, Philip
1711	Archer, Edward		1668	<i>a</i> Batten, John <i>b</i>
	Austin, John		1669	Beck, Nicholas
1719	Andrews, William		1672	Bukenhill, John
	<i>a</i> Appleby, Joshuar (ap. D. Quare)		1674	<i>a</i> Bellard, John
	Abbott, Peter		1675	Bayes, Benjamin
	Andrews, James			Browne, Richard
1720	Allen, John			Bartholomew, J.
	Allen, John		1677	<i>a</i> Bennett, John
1722	Alling, Richard			Brackley, George
1724	Armstrong, John			Brewer, John
1726	Aldridge, John		1678	Bennett, John
1731	Aveline, Daniel			Brafield, William
	Albert, Isaac		1680	Beckman, Daniel
				Bradford, Thomas
				Baxter, Charles
			1681	Bradley, Henry
	B.	<i>ob.</i>		Bowtell, Samuel
				Burgis, Elias
1631	<i>a</i> Bartram, Simon, <i>one of the first Assistants</i>	1660		Barrow, John
1632	<i>a</i> Brooke, John			Brooke, George
	<i>a</i> Bouquett, David	1665	1682	Becke, John
	<i>a</i> Burgis, John			Bridgden, Henry
	<i>a</i> Bullby, John			Blundell, Richd. (Case maker)
	<i>a</i> Bull, John			Barnett, John
	<i>a</i> Barker, William			Brayfield, Thomas
1633	Browne, Matthew <i>b</i>			<i>c</i> Barber, Jonas <i>b</i>
1637	Bull, John			Broad, Thomas
1639	Bacon, John <i>b</i>			Birch, Thomas
1641	Barton, Samuel <i>b</i>			<i>a</i> Bird, Michael <i>b</i>
1646	Banting, William		1683	Bouquett, Solomon
1647	Bayes, John <i>b</i>	1660		Bird, Luke
1648	Bayly, Jeffery	1685	1681	Baseley, Thomas
	Barcole, John			Biddle, Joseph
	Bezar, Stephan <i>b</i>			Bartram, William
1650	Bouquett, Solomon			Bates, Thomas
1652	Becknor, Abraham <i>b</i>	1665		<i>a</i> Berrington, Urian
	Broome, Thomas <i>b</i>		1685	<i>a</i> Barjon, John <i>b</i>
	Browne, John	1698		<i>c</i> Baker, Richard <i>b</i>
1653	Beck, Richard			Banbury, John
	Bliss, Ambrose <i>b</i>		1686	Bestuck, Henry
1659	Bonner, Charles		1687	Bates, Joseph
1660	<i>a</i> Barrow, Nathaniel			<i>a</i> Bille, John
	Bell, Benjamin	1694		Birdwhistle, Francis

	<i>a</i> Barachin, Stephen <i>b</i> (French.)		Bayle, Thomas
	<i>a</i> Brown, James <i>b</i> (Croydon.)	1704	Bowtell, William
	Buckenhill, Edward	1705	Bonner, Charles
	Barrett, Robert		Berry, Samuel
1688	Brown, Philip	1706	Burnett, Richard
	<i>a</i> Bennett, Mansell, <i>b</i>	1707	Baldwyn, Thomas
	Berry, John	1709	Bumstead, Robert
	Billop, William		Broadhead, Benjamin
1689	Brandon, Benjamin		Brook, Edmund
1690	<i>a</i> Beauvais, Simon <i>b</i>		Boult, Joseph
	Brookes, Edward		Barrow, William
1691	Boone, Edward	1710	Bowen, John
	Bell, Joseph	1712	Bradford, Thomas
1692	Berry, John		Bennett, John
	Brittayne, Stephen		Brayfield, William
	Barrett, Henry	1715	Bennett, Richard
	Boddily, Elizabeth		Burnett, Phillip
	Bennett, William		Bannister, Anthony
	<i>a</i> Burleigh, Ninyan <i>b</i>		Blundell, William
	Bayre, James		Barugh, William
	<i>a</i> Broadwater, Hugh <i>b</i>	1716	Bradin, Caspar
	Bradford, Thomas		Bennett, Samuel
	Birdwhistle, Isaac		Benn, Robert
	Bodd, Thomas		Brayfield, John
	<i>a</i> Buchman, John (a German) <i>b</i>	1718	Brandreth, Joseph
1693	Birdwhistle, Thomas		Birdwhistle, John
	Breynton, Vaughan		Bowley, Devereux
	Batterson, Robert	1719	Bodenham, Edward
1694	Booker, Richard		Bacon, Charles
	Bazeley, Nathaniel		Bell, John
	Bradley, Nathaniel		Beasley, John
1695	Beckman, John		Bagnell, William
	<i>a</i> Banger, Edward (ap. to Tompion)	1720	Bennett, Thomas (ap. Wind- mill)
	Bayse, Thomas		Badger, John
1696	<i>a</i> Barrow, Samuel	1721	Bruce, James
	Bryan, Richard	1722	Bagshaw, William
1697	Berry, John		<i>a</i> Barclay, Samuel (ap. George Graham)
1698	Bunn, Matthew		Bass, George
	Banks, William	1724	Bailey, Jeremiah
	<i>a</i> Beeg, Christiana		Bale, Thomas
1700	Bayly, John		Butler, John
	Brunt, Richard	1725	Bradshaw, Richard
	Benson, Samuel		Buschman, John Baptist
1701	Batterson, Henry		Bellinger, John
	Beck, Joseph		Basley, Joseph
	Barrett, Samuel	1726	Beckman, Daniel
	Buckner, Richard		Brown, Henton
1702	Barrett, Thomas		Baker, Richard
1703	Brown, Thomas	1728	Berry, John
	Bridger, Samuel		Bray, Robert

- | | | | |
|------|--|------------|--|
| | Britton, Stephen | | <i>a</i> Creed, Thomas <i>b</i> |
| | Bradley, Benjamin | | Crouch, George |
| | Bouchet, Jacob | | <i>a</i> Cother, William <i>b</i> |
| | Booker, Richard | 1669 | Catsworth, John |
| 1729 | Bush, James | 1670 | Cordrey, Thomas |
| | Bennett, William | | Clement, Edward |
| 1731 | Burchett, John | | <i>c</i> Clewes, James <i>b</i> |
| | Bradshaw, John | 1671 | <i>a</i> Curtis, John |
| | | | Clyatt, Samuel |
| | | | Cattell, William |
| | C. | <i>ob.</i> | 1672 <i>c</i> Clowes, John |
| | | | 1673 Clampson, Richard |
| 1631 | <i>a</i> Charlton, John, <i>one of the</i> | | 1674 <i>a</i> Creed, Thomas |
| | <i>first Assistants</i> ante 1650 | | 1675 Chapman, Simon |
| 1632 | <i>a</i> Child, Richard 1655 | | 1677 Cruttenden, Thomas |
| | <i>a</i> Cuper, Josias | | <i>c</i> Clement, William <i>b</i> |
| | <i>a</i> Cooke, Lewis | | Child, Henry |
| | <i>a</i> Clarke, George | | 1679 Carduoy, Phillip |
| 1633 | Closon, Peter <i>b</i> ante 1655 | | Carey, George |
| 1638 | Cope, Peter <i>b</i> | | Card, Edmund |
| 1641 | Cony, John <i>b</i> | | 1680 Clyatt, Abraham |
| | Champion, John <i>b</i> | | 1681 Cooke, William |
| 1642 | Child, Henry <i>b</i> 1655 | | Coward, William |
| 1646 | Claston, Thomas | | 1682 Colston, Richard |
| | Clayton, Thomas 1670 | | 1685 Chamberlaine, Nathaniel |
| 1647 | Comfort, William <i>b</i> | | 1686 Clements, Robert |
| | Calson, John <i>b</i> | | <i>a</i> Cam, William |
| 1648 | <i>a</i> Coxiter, Nicholas 1675 | | 1687 Clifton, Thomas |
| 1649 | Cam, John <i>b</i> | | Clay, Samuel |
| | Cooke, John | | Chamberlayne, — |
| 1651 | Clifton, Thomas <i>b</i> | | <i>a</i> Cowpe, Edward <i>b</i> |
| | Champion, John | 1688 | Cade, Simon |
| 1653 | Cooper, Hugh | | Cattell, Thomas |
| | Calston, John | | <i>a</i> Craven, Thomas <i>b</i> |
| | Cosboy, Robert 1679 | | 1689 <i>a</i> Crucifix, Robert <i>b</i> |
| 1654 | Coxiter, William | | 1690 Chilcott, Richard |
| | Cleeve, William <i>b</i> | | 1691 Crouch, Edward |
| | Coope, James | | Cue, William |
| | Clarke, William | 1692 | <i>a</i> Cauch, James <i>b</i> |
| 1655 | Creeke, Henry | | <i>a</i> Chams, Charles Sampson <i>b</i> |
| | Coster, Robert | 1693 | Collyer, Benjamin |
| 1660 | Coster, William | | Crockford, Matthew |
| | Crawley, Thomas | 1694 | Cotterel, William |
| | Craggs, Richard | | Churchman, Michael |
| 1661 | Cornish, Michael | | Cuthbert, Amariah |
| 1662 | Child, Ralph | | Cutting, Christopher |
| | Cooke, John | 1695 | Cotton, John |
| 1664 | Calcot, Tobias | | Carte, John |
| 1665 | Croft, John | 1696 | Clarke, John Stanford |
| 1667 | Crump, Henry | 1697 | <i>a</i> Cabrier, Charles |
| 1668 | Croak, Sampson | | Cambridge, Samuel |
| | Clarke, Humphry | 1699 | <i>a</i> Cuff, Jam |

<i>a</i> Chanville, James	Compart, Ebenezer
Carter, Thomas	<i>a</i> Charlton, Matjonat, (ap. of
Cooke, Thomas	G. Graham)
Cheeseman, Daniel	1729 Cordon, Richard
1701 Collins, John	Cottonbult, John
1702 Cripple, William	Cole, John
1703 Calliber, John	1730 Cext Catharine
Cobb, John	Cabrier, John
Cæsar, Daniel	1731 Cattey, Daniel
1705 Collins, Clement	
Carey, Thomas	
1706 Cartwright, George	D. <i>ob.</i>
Cranfield, Henry	
1708 Cox, Thomas	1632 <i>a</i> Dawson, Thomas
Clyatt, John	<i>a</i> Durant, Oswald ante 1655
Camden, William	<i>a</i> Daniell, William
Cooke, William	<i>a</i> Droeshout, John
1709 Clyatt, William	1641 <i>a</i> De Landre, Roger <i>b</i>
Chuer, Obed	1646 Dobb, William <i>b</i>
Chuter, William	1648 Daniell, Edward <i>b</i>
Clarke, Thomas	Daniell, Isaac 1675
1711 Clyatt, Samuel	Davies, Samuel
1712 Cheltenham, Michael	Dodsworth, John <i>b</i>
Crucifix, John <i>b</i>	1650 Delaversperre, William <i>b</i>
Cooke, John	1653 Davis, Tobias
1713 Cartwright, William	Davis, John <i>b</i>
1715 Cooke, Joseph	Dudson, Simon
1716 Crocker, James	1660 Dettacher, John
Compton, Adam	1662 Dosssett, Gregory
Conyers, Richard	Durdent, Andrew
1718 Cufford, Francis	1663 Dike, Nathaniel
Cuff, John	1666 Desborough, Christopher
Cotton, John	Dinis, Francis (Engraver)
1720 Combs, Joseph	1667 Dove, Henry
Clark, Thomas	1668 Dingley, Robert
Chappel, Robert	<i>a</i> Delandre, James <i>b</i>
Clarke, Richard	<i>a</i> Delandre, Nathaniel <i>b</i>
1721 Chilcott, John	1670 <i>c</i> Dobson, William <i>b</i>
Cotterel, John	1671 Door, Robert
1722 Crouch, Robert	Deane, George
Cliverdon, Thomas	1673 Dennis, Francis <i>b</i>
1724 Crooke, Peter	1674 <i>c</i> Dent, William
Calderwood, Thomas	Davis, Thomas
1726 Carter, Leon Augustus	1675 <i>a</i> Drossati, Samuel
Cole, Daniel	1677 <i>a</i> Dunn, Henry
1727 Collins, John	Duval, John
Chaytor, James	<i>a</i> Delaunce, James <i>b</i>
Calliber, Thomas	1678 Davis, Benjamin
Couche, Charles	Dawson, Robert
Creede, John	Draycot, Francis
1728 Carter, John	Day, Isaac
Coombs, Fisher	1681 Dent, Robert

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| 1682 | <i>a</i> Duke, Joseph (ap. to Markwick) | 1646 | Elson, David <i>b</i> |
| 1684 | Drew, John | 1648 | Engall, Abraham <i>b</i> |
| 1686 | <i>c</i> Davison, William <i>b</i> | 1650 | Erbury, Henry |
| 1688 | Dickens, John | 1658 | Emmis, Edward |
| 1689 | <i>a</i> De Beaufré, Peter (French) | 1659 | Eyston, Edward |
| | Dawson, John | 1665 | Elsworth, John |
| 1690 | Davis, Jeffry | 1667 | Ellis, James |
| 1691 | <i>a</i> DeCharmes, Simon <i>b</i> (French) | 1670 | Elsworth, Christopher |
| | Day, Thomas | 1673 | Evans, Thomas |
| 1692 | Day, Edmund | 1674 | Elfis, Benjamin |
| | <i>a</i> De Charmes, David <i>b</i> | 1675 | Elton, John |
| | <i>a</i> Delafosse, Samuel <i>b</i> (French) | 1677 | East, Thomas |
| | Drew, Edward | | Eldridge, John |
| 1693 | <i>a</i> Duchesne, Claude (of Paris) | 1682 | Ellis, Thomas |
| 1694 | Drury, James | | Evans, Henry |
| | Dyson, John | | Ellis, Paul <i>b</i> |
| 1696 | Doughty, Thomas | 1684 | Etherington, George |
| 1697 | Davis, John | | Euys, Edward |
| 1698 | <i>a</i> Daniel, Stephen <i>b</i> | 1687 | Edlin, John |
| 1699 | Delander, Daniel | | <i>c</i> Elwood, Martin <i>b</i> |
| | Davis, William | 1688 | <i>a</i> Elliot, Henry <i>b</i> |
| 1700 | Dargent, James | 1690 | Eagle, John |
| 1701 | Dunlop, Andrew | 1692 | <i>a</i> East, Peter |
| 1702 | Dorrill, Francis | 1696 | <i>a</i> East, Edward, (ap. to D. Lyon and L. Clyatt) |
| 1703 | Draper, John | | Ellicott, John |
| | Ducastel, Isaac | | Egleton, Christopher |
| | Dermere, Abraham | 1702 | Elwood, John |
| 1704 | Desbrow, Robert | | Effington, John |
| 1705 | Delander, John | 1703 | Eyre, John |
| 1707 | Dawkes, John | 1708 | Eston, Edward |
| 1708 | Dowsett, Jeremiah | 1709 | Elkins, William |
| | Daniel, Robert | | <i>a</i> East, Edward, junr., (ap. Thos. East) |
| 1712 | Dennis, Peter | 1716 | Etty, Marmaduke |
| | Draper, James | 1718 | Evans, Thomas |
| | De Banfre, James | | Exelby, James |
| 1719 | Dunn, Anthony | 1719 | Edwards, Isaac |
| 1720 | Davis, George | | Ericke, Robert |
| | Drury, John | 1720 | Evans, Thomas |
| 1721 | <i>a</i> Delander, Nathaniel (son of Daniel) | | Earle, Thomas |
| 1725 | Downes, John | 1724 | <i>a</i> East, Jordan, (son of Edmond) |
| 1726 | Davis, Thomas | 1726 | Ellis, John |
| 1728 | Duke, Joseph | | Eden, William |
| 1729 | Dee, William | 1730 | Eric, William |
| 1730 | Debois, Jacob | | |

E.

F.

ob.

1631 *a* East, Edward, *one of the first Assistants*1641 East, Jeremy *b*1631 *a* Foreman, Francis, *one of the first Assistants ante 1650*1632 *a* Felter, Nicholas

1646	Freeman, John	1700	Ford, William	
	Fletcher, Daniel <i>b</i>	1702	<i>a</i> Faulkener, Edward	
1647	Farmer, Thomas <i>b</i>	1705	Fell, William	
1653	Farmer, Thomas	1706	Finch, Simon	
	Frowde, John <i>b</i>	1709	Felter, Thomas	
	Fetters, Henry	1712	Franklin, William	
1655	<i>a</i> Fromantil, Ahasuerus	1719	Freeman, James	
1658	Ffury, Flack	1722	Furnifull, Richard	
1660	Faircloth, Thomas	1723	Falks, Robert	
1662	Fenton, John	1724	Ford, Thomas	
	Fox, Charles	1725	Fisher, Ebenezer	
1663	<i>a</i> Fromantil, Ahasuerus, (for-		Fleming, Andrew	
	merly app. to Simon	1726	Forster, John	
	Bartram)		Fishwater, John	
	<i>a</i> Formantil, John (formerly		Foote, William	
	app. to Thomas Loomes)	1727	Fell, John	
1664	Freeman, Stafford	1728	Finnie, Henry	
1668	Frippett, John <i>b</i>	1730	Flower, Thomas	
1670	<i>a</i> Fowll, Edward <i>b</i>	1731	Francis, Bulmer	
	<i>a</i> Farrett, Richard		Franklin, William	
1672	Forte, John			
1674	Filton, Charles		G.	<i>ob.</i>
1675	Fuller, William			
	Finch, John	1632	<i>a</i> Grinkin, Robert	1660
1676	<i>a</i> Finch, Thomas <i>b</i>		<i>a</i> Gillpin, Edmund	1665
	<i>a</i> Fletcher, Thomas <i>b</i>		<i>a</i> Grose, Richard	
1679	Femel, Richard	1633	Gray, Timothy <i>b</i>	
	<i>a</i> Ferment, John <i>b</i>	1648	Gwillim, Eli <i>b</i>	
1680	Fromantil, Abraham (son of		Gibbs, Walter	
	Ahasuerus)	1652	Gregory, Jeremy <i>b</i>	1685
1681	Forster, William <i>b</i>	1653	Greatrex, Ralph	
1682	Forster, Clement	1656	Gambell, Thomas	
1684	Farmer, Richard	1659	Gernon, Bernard (ap. to Solo-	
1685	<i>a</i> Fitter, John <i>b</i>		mon Wagson of Bristol)	
1689	<i>a</i> Fordham, Thomas <i>b</i>	1660	Grout, William	
	<i>a</i> Framborough, Edward <i>b</i>	1661	Gilbert, Faustin	
	Feilder, Thomas	1664	Green, James	
	Fenn, Robert	1666	Glazier, William	
	<i>c</i> Fox, Mordicai <i>b</i>	1667	Goss, Jeremiah	
1689	Frearson, John	1670	<i>c</i> Gibson, James <i>b</i>	
	Farmer, Thomas	1671	Gregory, Thomas	
	<i>a</i> Forster, John (app. to D.		<i>c</i> Grimes, Thomas <i>b</i>	
	Quare)		<i>a</i> Gretton, Charles	
1691	Finch, William	1673	Gutch, John	
	Finch, Robert	1675	Grice, Thomas	
	Foster, Joseph	1676	Gascoyne, Samuel	
1692	Forrest, Joseph		Graves, Benjamin <i>b</i>	
1693	<i>a</i> Ferror, John	1678	Gregory, Robert	
1697	Farewell, John		Good, John	
	Fletcher, Edward	1680	Garfoot, William	
1698	Freeman, Thomas	1681	Gibbs, Thomas	
	Frencham, James		Goldsmith, John	

	George, Richard	1720	Gells, Thomas	
1682	<i>c</i> Gould, Christopher <i>b</i>		Goldsmith, John	
	Grimes, William		Griffith, George	
	Gardener, John		Garrett, Charles	
1683	<i>a</i> Gavelle, James <i>b</i> (alien)		Griffin, John	
	Gould, Abel	1722	Goodyear, John	
1685	<i>a</i> Godfrey, Henry <i>b</i>	1723	Green, Joseph	
	Greene, James	1726	Goodechild, John	
1686	Gilkes, Richard	1727	Goddard, Benjamin	
	<i>a</i> Goode, Charles <i>b</i>	1728	Guthridge, William	
1687	<i>a</i> Gobert, Peter <i>b</i> (French)	1729	Gildechrist, Archibald	
	<i>a</i> Giugner, Anthony <i>b</i> (French)	1730	Gibbons, Richard	
	<i>a</i> Gardiner, John <i>b</i> (Croydon)	1732	Goodyear, Joseph	
	Grizell, John			
1689	<i>c</i> Goodlad, Richard <i>b</i>			
	<i>a</i> Gardner, Thomas <i>b</i>		H.	<i>ob.</i>
1690	<i>a</i> Goubert, James <i>b</i>			
	Garrett, Charles	1631	<i>a</i> Harris, John, (<i>one of the</i>	
1691	Gideon, Robert		<i>first Assistants</i>)	1655
1693	<i>a</i> Girod, James (French)	1632	<i>a</i> Holland, Thomas	1655
	Gifford, Thomas		<i>a</i> Helden, Onesiphorns	
1694	Glover, Samuel		<i>a</i> Hackett, Simon	1665
	Garron, Peter		<i>a</i> Hues, Pierry (Peter)	1660
	Grimley, William		<i>a</i> Howse, Thomas	
	Gregory, Jeremiah		<i>a</i> Holloway, Robert	
1695	Gilbert, William		<i>a</i> Hertford, John	
	<i>c</i> Graham, George (app. to	1638	Hall, Ralph <i>b</i>	
	Hy. Aske)	1641	Hopkins, John	
	Granger, Richard		<i>a</i> Hill, Benjamin <i>b</i>	1670
1698	Gordon, John	1646	Hulst, Jacob	
1699	Glover, Daniel	1648	Hall, Peter <i>b</i>	
	Gany, Thomas	1650	Holloway, Edward <i>b</i>	
	Ginn, William (freeman)	1653	Hanslapp, Robert	
1700	Glover, John	1654	Horne, Samuel	1685
	Gilbert, Charles		Hayes, Walter	1684
1701	Goddard, Benjamin		Hurland, Henry	
1702	Guy, Henry	1658	Hancorn, Thomas	
1703	Glover, Richard		Holland, Thomas	
	Gladstone, Thomas	1659	Harris, John	
1705	Glynn, Richard	1661	Higgs, John	
1706	Griffith, Robert	1662	Higginson, Henry	
1707	Gibbs, William	1663	Hanslapp, William	
	Gill, John	1664	Harper, Henry	
1711	Greene, John		Herbert, Edward	
	Greatorex, Henry	1666	Ricks, Thomas	
	Gardner, Obadiah	1667	Harbottle, Cornelius	
1712	Garden, William	1668	Halsted, Robert	
1714	Guy, Charles	1669	Halstead, Richard	
1715	Grove, George		<i>a</i> Hambleton, George	
	Grove, Thomas	1670	Harbert, William	
1718	Greenaway, Richard		Hester, Henry	
1719	Goldsmith, William	1671	<i>a</i> Hunt, John	

- a* Huggeford, Ignatius *b*
 1672 Hill, Francis
 1674 Hennon, William
 1676 Hancorne, William
a Haynes, John *b*
 Herbert, Thomas
 1677 Hurst, Isaac
a Harris, John *b*
 Howe, Thomas
 Halstead, Charles
 1679 Hillyard, William
 1680 Hammond, John
 Houghman, Charles
 Hatchman, James
 1681 *c* Hodges, Nathaniel *b*
 1682 *a* Habart, James *b*
 Heady, George
a Hassenius, James *b* (alien)
 Hayes, Edmond
 Hutchins, Joshua
 1683 *c* Harris, Anthony *b*
 1684 Hunt, Edward
 1685 *c* Harding, John *b*
 Hussey, Joseph
 1687 Harding, Francis
a Howse, John (Croydon)
 Highmare, Edward
a Haydon, William (Croydon)
 Halsey, George
 1689 Hester, Henry
 Hellam, James
 1690 *a* Harris, John *b*
 Harold, Richard
 Hickson, Thomas
 Haughton, Richard
 1691 How, Benjamin
 Herbert, Evan
 1693 Hatch, John
 1694 Hanwell, Zachariah
 Hicks, John
 Howard, John
 Heckstetter, Joseph
 1695 Harris, Charles
 Hart, Noe
 1696 Henshaw, John
 Harvey, Samuel
 1697 *a* Holloway, William *b*
 Holmes, John
 Higginson, Samuel
 Hutchin, James
 1698 *a* Hilton, John, ap. Tompion
a Halstead, John
a Heathcock, Timothy *b*
 Hill, Edward
c Harrison, George, ap. to
 Johana May and Thos.
 Tompion
a Hooke, John
a Howse, Joseph
 1699 Holland, Lewis
 Humphrys, William
 Howson, John
 Howell, Benjamin
 Harrison, William
 Herbert, Cornelius
 Hodgkin, Sarah
 1701 Harrison, Anthony
 1702 Halked, Thomas
 Harris, Francis Wm.
 Huchason, Richard
 1703 Hutchin, Joseph
 Hutchins, John
 Hughes, John
 1705 Holeyard, Samuel
 Hoddle, John
 Hill, John
 1706 Howse, John
 Haines, Francis
 1707 Hiome, John
 1708 Harris, Samuel
 Hunt, James
 1709 Horsman, Stephen
 Hawkesbee, Benjamin
 Hawkesworth, John
 1710 Hall, Edward
 Herbert, Edward
 1711 Harris, Henry
 1712 Howe, Samuel
 Hamilton, Richard
 Hughes, Thomas
 1713 Hornblower, William
 Herbert, Henry
 1715 *a* Halstead, William
 1716 Higgs, Thomas
 1717 Hayden, William
 1718 Howard, Richard
 Horne, George Henry
 1719 Hodges, William
 1720 Hitchen, John
 Hart, John
 Hayward, William
 Hart, Henry
 1721 Howell, Joseph
 Harding, John

1682	Knight, Richard	1676	Lee, Cuthbert
1684	<i>c</i> Kenning, William <i>b</i>		<i>a</i> Leconte, Daniel <i>b</i>
1685	Knight, Charles	1677	<i>c</i> Longland, John <i>b</i>
1686	Kenton, Joseph		Long, John <i>b</i>
1688	Kemp, Charles		Lloyd, David
1689	King, Jonathan	1680	<i>a</i> Lounde, Jonathan
1701	Kinning, John	1681	Lloyd, Richard
	Kemp, Richard	1682	<i>a</i> Loundes, Isaac <i>b</i>
1712	Kissor, Samuel	1683	<i>a</i> Laughton, William <i>b</i>
	Kanns, John	1685	Leake, Faith
1715	King, John	1687	<i>a</i> Le Comte, James <i>b</i>
1717	Keddon, Daniel		<i>c</i> Le Feburg, Charles (French)
1719	Kendrick, John	1689	Lodowick, Peter
1720	King, William	1691	Lloyd, Charles
	King, Henry	1693	Leake, George
1722	Kirby, Robert	1694	Lumpkin, Thomas
1723	Knight, Henry		Lee, Samuel
	Kelton, Simon	1697	<i>a</i> L'Estrange, David <i>b</i>
1726	Kendrick, John		<i>a</i> Lester, Thomas <i>b</i>
1729	King, John	1698	<i>a</i> Littlemore, Whitestone (ap. Tompion)
			Long, John
	L. ob.	1700	Lloyd, James
			Latham, John
1631	<i>a</i> Lynaker, Samuel, (<i>one of the first Assistants</i>) ante 1650	1701	Lushbrook
1632	<i>a</i> Lambe, Thomas	1702	Lovett, William
	<i>a</i> Lord, Richard	1703	Lyne, William
1641	Le Grand, James <i>b</i>	1705	Lewis, John
	Louarth, Jasper <i>b</i>	1706	Langley, Cornelius
1642	Laxton, Thomas <i>b</i>		Ludlow, Samuel
1647	Le Grand, Francis <i>b</i>		Leroux, Alexander
1648	Light, John <i>b</i>	1709	Ladd, Ladd
1649	Loomes, Thomas	1711	Lens, William
6152	Langford, Goring <i>b</i>		Ley, William
1653	Laxton, Thomas	1712	Limonière, Stephen <i>b</i>
	Lawell, Paul <i>b</i>	1713	<i>a</i> Lamp, John
	Layton, John <i>b</i>	1715	Lashbrook, Henry
	Long, Thomas	1718	Langeroft, Richard
1655	Loeharl, John	1719	Lee, John
1656	Lello, James <i>b</i>	1720	Lany, John
1663	Lucie, John		Leffin, Thomas
1664	Langley, Thomas		Luttman, William
	Legrand, James, junr.	1721	Le Sturgeon, David
1668	Lloyd, William	1722	Lloyd, James
1669	<i>a</i> Lucas, William	1724	Legg, John
1670	Lynch, Robert	1725	Lewis, Ambrose
	Lloyd, William	1726	Layton, Francis
1672	Longford, Ellis	1727	Lucas, Edward
1673	Lloyd, Joseph	1730	Leigh, Thomas
1674	Lake, Bryan		Latour, René
1675	<i>a</i> Lambe, Edmund	1731	Lucas, Henry
			Lewin, William

M.	ob.		Myddleton, Timothy
			<i>a</i> Medhurst, Richard <i>b</i> (Croydon)
1631	<i>a</i> Morgan, Richard, (<i>one of the first Assistants</i>)		1688 Mason, William
	ante 1650		Merttins, George
	<i>a</i> Midnall, (<i>one of the first Assistants</i>)	ante 1655	1689 <i>a</i> Marshall, John (ap. D. Quare)
1632	<i>a</i> Mason, Richard		Marshall, Samuel
1633	<i>a</i> Masterson, Richard <i>b</i>		1690 Moore, Joseph
1637	Morgan, Robert <i>b</i>		1691 Mather, Samuel
1640	Mitchell, Myles <i>b</i>		1692 <i>a</i> Markwick, James
1648	<i>a</i> Matchett, John	1680	<i>a</i> Massey, Henry <i>b</i>
1649	Moodye, David		Mount, William
1652	Mills, Thomas <i>b</i>		<i>a</i> May, John <i>b</i> (Dutch)
1653	Munden, Francis <i>b</i>		1693 <i>a</i> Massey, Nicholas <i>b</i>
1654	Morgan, Jude <i>b</i>		1694 Manwaring, Thomas
	Monday, Joseph		1697 Miller, Ralph
1655	Mill, David <i>b</i>	ante 1660	Motteux, Samuel
1656	Matthews, Francis		Mills, Ralph
1658	Morris, Edward		Moore, Daniel
	Morgan, Thomas		1698 <i>a</i> Milborne, John
1664	Meredith, John		<i>a</i> Marsden, John
1666	<i>a</i> Markwick, James (ap. to Gilpin)		Mayland, Thomas
1667	<i>a</i> Maynard, Christopher (Hacket's ap.)		Myson, Jeremiah
1669	Marston, William	1799	Morris, John
1670	Munden, Francis	1700	Manchester, John
1671	<i>c</i> Million, William		Mowlton, Conan
1673	Micklewright, Erasmus		Marchant, Samuel
1674	Miller, John	1701	Moor, William
	Merryman, Henry		Masters, William
1677	Marchant, Samuel		Minchinale, William
1679	May, William	1703	Meade, Garrett
	Martin, John		Morgan, John
1680	Marshall, Benj.	1704	Mayson, John
	Millett, Edwd.	1708	Micklewright, Erasmus
	Moseley, William	1709	Molens, Charles
1681	Miller, Peter		Martin, William
1682	<i>a</i> Massy, Nicholas (French)	1712	Mason, Samuel
	<i>a</i> Mesniel, James <i>b</i> (French)		Mason, John
	<i>a</i> Merriman, Benjamin <i>b</i>		Mestager, Henry
	Martin, Abraham (Engraver)		Mitchell, John
	Massey, Edmund	1713	Macy, Benjamin
	<i>a</i> Motley, Richard	1714	Meigh, Moses
1684	Mountfort, Zachariah	1715	Millet, William
1685	Moulton, Henry		Marriott, John
1686	<i>a</i> Mussard, Daniel <i>b</i> (Genevese)		Mowlton, Henry
1687	Meades Thomas,		Mason, Henry
	<i>a</i> Martin, Jeremiah (ap. to Tompion and Dent).	1718	<i>a</i> Massey, Jacob <i>b</i>
			Marshall, Samuel
			Mason, John
		1724	Marsh, Anthony
			Marduit, Isaac

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| 1726 Moseley, Eleanor | 1639 Priddith, John |
| 1728 Miller, Joseph | 1641 Park, Nicholas <i>b</i> |
| 1730 <i>a</i> Mudge, Thomas (ap. Graham) | 1646 Petty, William |
| 1731 Matthews, William | 1647 Pryme, Andrew <i>b</i> |
| Matthews, John | 1648 Pierre, Pasquier <i>b</i> |
| N. | 1652 Pleverie, Isaac <i>b</i> |
| | 1653 Prerie, Humphry |
| | 1654 Palfrey, John |
| 1632 <i>a</i> Nicasius, John | Peere, Mr. |
| 1639 North, William <i>b</i> | 1664 Plant, Edward |
| 1650 North, John | Pearce, Adam |
| 1661 Nau, Richard | 1668 Patterson, Robert |
| 1667 Nicholls, Roger | Powell, Bartholomew |
| 1670 Norris, Joseph | 1669 Parker, Thomas |
| 1673 Nathan, Henry | 1670 Paul, Thomas |
| 1675 Nau, George | 1672 Player, Thomas |
| 1681 Narcot, John | Prime, Abraham |
| Nichol, Isaac | 1674 Pepys, Richard |
| 1685 <i>a</i> Neighbour, William | Parker, John |
| Newton, William | 1677 Pyne, Nathaniel |
| 1687 Norris, Charles | 1678 Parker, John |
| 1697 <i>a</i> Nobson, John (ap. Dan. | 1680 Pepys, John |
| Quare) | <i>a</i> Peres, Mark |
| Nelson, Robert | Prince, Richard |
| 1703 Newnham, Nathaniel | 1682 Peatting, Thomas |
| 1706 Nicholls, Thomas | 1683 Page, Joseph |
| 1709 Needham, Benjamin | Puller, Jonathan |
| 1712 Norgate, John | 1687 Pigott, Henry |
| 1717 Nash, Thomas | <i>a</i> Papavoyne, Isaac <i>b</i> (French) |
| Nemes, Robert | 1688 Papworth, John |
| 1718 Nurse, John | 1689 <i>a</i> Pitcher, John <i>b</i> |
| 1720 Nichols, Thomas (ap. Ed. | 1690 Parsons, Richard |
| East) | 1691 Perry, Henry |
| North, John | Peckett, John |
| Norton, Thomas | 1692 Parter, William |
| 1724 Nemes, John | Penkethman, Thomas |
| O. | 1695 Penford, Joshua |
| | 1696 Parsons, John |
| 1632 <i>a</i> Okham, Thomas | 1697 Pluett, Anthony |
| 1639 Outred, Benjamin <i>b</i> | 1698 <i>a</i> Parker, Robert (ap. to J. |
| 1659 Ogden, Thomas | Markwick) |
| 1678 <i>a</i> Overzee, Gerard <i>b</i> | Print, Richard |
| 1687 Orton, Edward | 1700 Player, Robert |
| 1688 <i>a</i> Overbury, Thomas <i>b</i> | 1701 Planner, Thomas |
| 1700 Osborn, William | 1703 Prestwood, Joseph |
| P. | Prestige, Bartholomew |
| | 1705 Purrier, Richard |
| | 1706 Parker, John |
| | 1710 Powell, Robert |
| 1632 <i>a</i> Petit, William | Pitan, James |
| 1634 <i>a</i> Pace, Thomas <i>b</i> | 1712 Patrie, John <i>b</i> |
| 1638 <i>a</i> Pennock, John <i>b</i> | Pack, Richard |

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|------|--|------------|---|
| 1713 | Page, Henry | | Ranceford, Barnard |
| 1714 | Pitman, John | | 1679 <i>a</i> Richard, Peter <i>b</i> |
| 1715 | Pepys, John, Junr. | | 1682 <i>a</i> Roy, David <i>b</i> |
| 1716 | Paradise, John | | Reeve, Henry |
| 1720 | Parten, William | | 1683 Rudkin, Thomas |
| 1721 | Preston, Edward | | 1685 Ridley, Josiah |
| 1722 | Pools, Edmonde | | 1687 Rant, John |
| 1723 | Pepys, William | | Rant, Jonathan |
| | Parish, Simon | | <i>a</i> Ronnizen, Adam |
| 1725 | Peck, George | | 1689 Rainsford, Francis |
| | Pamphillon, William | | 1691 Reynolds, Joseph |
| | Payne, Richard | | <i>a</i> Rayner, Stephen <i>b</i> |
| 1727 | Peachy, William | | 1692 <i>a</i> Roumyen, James <i>b</i> |
| 1728 | Patching, Elisha | | 1693 Ring, Joseph |
| | Pomeroy, Joseph | | 1695 Roumieu, Adam |
| | Paget, Ambrose | | 1697 Rayner, John |
| 1729 | Pain, William | | 1698 Ryder, Thomas |
| | Priest, Thomas | | 1699 Rowe, Thomas |
| 1730 | Parter, Francis | | Richards, Henry |
| | Perkins, James | | Roycroft, Thomas (freeman) |
| | Petter, Christopher | | 1703 Robinson, Thomas |
| | Planner, Thomas | | 1704 Ryley, Thomas |
| | | | 1705 Reynolds, Thomas |
| | Q. | <i>ob.</i> | Reith, James |
| 1646 | Quash, Joseph | | 1706 Rawlins, Henry |
| 1670 | <i>c</i> Quare, Daniel <i>b</i> æt 92 | 1724 | Robinson, Francis |
| | | | Reed, Alexander |
| | | | Romeux, Lewis de |
| | R. | <i>ob.</i> | 1708 Rowe, Benjamin |
| 1631 | <i>a</i> Ramsey, David Eson (<i>first</i> | 1650 | 1709 Raynesford, Benjamin |
| | <i>Master of Compy.</i>) | | Richards, Hugh |
| 1632 | <i>a</i> Rothwood, Robert | | 1712 Ryder, Thomas |
| 1641 | Rogers, William <i>b</i> | | Ryler, William |
| 1648 | Richards, Luke <i>b</i> | | Reeve, John |
| | Reeve | 1655 | 1713 Robinson, Ruhamer |
| | Rothwood, Robert <i>b</i> | | 1715 Rewalling, Thomas |
| | Ramsden, Thomas <i>b</i> | | 1719 Raiment, Thomas |
| 1649 | Ricord, Richard <i>b</i> | | 1720 <i>a</i> Robinson, William (ap. |
| 1652 | Robinson, Robert | | Dan ^d Delander) |
| 1660 | Raines, William | | Roumieu, John |
| 1661 | Romer, Flaek | | 1721 Radford, Henry |
| 1662 | Rotheram, Thomas | | 1726 Roumien, Adam |
| 1663 | Russell, Nicasius | | 1728 Rooker, Richard |
| 1664 | Roberts, Hugh | | 1731 Reeve, Jarvis |
| | Romney, Joseph | | Rogers, John |
| 1665 | Rooks, Barlow | | |
| 1667 | Robinson, William | | S. |
| 1672 | Rosse, Samuel | | <i>ob.</i> |
| 1675 | Richardson, Richard | | |
| 1676 | Rose, Michael | | 1631 <i>a</i> Shelton, Sampson (<i>first</i> |
| | <i>a</i> Roof, Daniel <i>b</i> | | <i>Warden</i>) ante 1650 |
| 1677 | <i>a</i> Regaud, Remond <i>b</i> | | <i>a</i> Smith, John (<i>one of first</i> |
| | | | <i>Assistants</i>) ante 1650 |

- 1632 *a* Shepperd, Thomas
a Sanders, Daniel
a Smith, George
a Stephens, Francis
 1633 Selwood, William *b*
 1641 Selwood, John *b*
 Smith, Walter *b*
 1648 Smith, Robert *b* ante 1655
 Selutt, Jasper *b*
 1649 Seaborne, James
 1654 Samon, John
 Stayne, Thomas
 Smith, John
 1656 Smith, John
 Saville, John 1679
 Say, Nehemiah
 1661 Simonds, Thomas
 Sindry, Lawrence
 Stevens, Daniel
 1662 Smith, David
 Seddon, James
 Stanton, Edward
 Sutton, Isaac
 Sumner, William
 1664 Sedwell, Edward
 Southworth, Peter
 1665 Short, Joshua
 Strelly, Francis
 1668 Standish, William
 a Smith, Robert *b*
 1669 Shuttleworth, Henry
 1671 Sweley, John
 1673 Stevens, George
 1674 *a* Smith, John
 1675 *a* Stubbs, Gabriel
 1676 Savory, Andrew
 1678 Saville, John
 1680 Stevens, Samuel
 Sambrook, John
 Snelling, Thomas
 1681 Sharpe, William
 1682 Shaw, John
 Smart, John
 Stamper, Frances
 Simeox, William
 1683 Sowter, John
 Stacey, John
 1684 Spurrier, John
 1685 *c* Stables, Thomas
 Speakman, Thomas
 Spencer, Thomas
 1686 Stanes, Jeffery
 Sudbury, John
 1687 *a* Saer, Joseph *b*
 Sloagh, William
 a Street, Richard *b*
 a Sacheverell, Benassir *b* (ap
 to Tompion)
 c Smalley, Thomas
 1688 Snell, George
 1689 *a* Southwarth, John
 1691 Strongfellow, John
 Speakman, Edward
 a Seddon, Nathaniel *b*
 1692 Stones, als. Scoles, Thomas
 Stanton, John
 1693 Sylvester, John
 1694 Stapleton, Thomas
 1695 *a* Sherwood, William (ap. to
 Jas. Delander)
 a Smith Robert *b*
 1697 Scott, Daniel
 1699 Still, Francis
 Stone, Andrew
 a Spittle, Richard
 Stegar, John
 1700 Stevens, Thomas
 Stone, William
 Smith, Thomas
 1701 Sidley, John
 1702 Smith, Morris
 1703 Stepstow, William
 Smith, Henry
 Smith, John
 Stanton, Joseph
 Storey, James
 Sanderson, Robert
 1704 Stiles, John
 Stratford, George
 c Sully, Henry (ap. of Chas.
 Gretton)
 1706 Starkey, Joseph
 Stevens, Samuel
 Speakman, John, Jun.
 1708 Somersal, John
 Simcox, Samuel
 Stafford, John
 1709 Stanbury, Henry
 South, Joseph
 Simpson, John
 1710 Stone, Roger
 Sidley, Benjamin
 Seymore, John
 Simkins, Thomas

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|------|-------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| 1711 | Sens, William | 1674 | Tipping, George |
| 1712 | Snelling, James | 1675 | <i>a</i> Thomequez, Abraham |
| | Stevens, Nathaniel | 1681 | Thompson, Robert |
| 1714 | Stanton, Samuel | 1682 | Taylor, William |
| 1715 | Stevens, Richard | | Tanner, Joseph |
| 1716 | Stretton, Sarah | 1683 | Tebball, Benjamin |
| | <i>a</i> Stockden, Matthew, (re- | | Tolley, Charles |
| | peating movements) | 1685 | Thacke, Philip |
| 1717 | Smith, Tudor | | Taylor, Thomas |
| | Shelley, Joseph | 1686 | Trubshawe, John |
| 1718 | Sawyer, Paul | 1687 | Taylor, John |
| | Smith, Thomas | 1688 | Twining, James |
| 1719 | Shuckburgh, Charles | | <i>a</i> Turveen, Jarrett <i>b</i> |
| 1720 | Sargent, Robert | 1694 | Terrier, James |
| | Shirley, James | | Terrier, Thomas |
| | Sly, Robert | 1695 | Tuttell, Thomas |
| | Sherwood, William | 1694 | Taylor, Jasper |
| | Stratton, Richard | 1699 | Thompson, Isaac |
| | Shilton, John | | <i>a</i> Tomlinson, William |
| | Seafie, William | | Thornton, Henry |
| 1721 | Stevens, Joseph | 1700 | Trippett, Robert |
| | Saunders, John | 1701 | Trigg, Thomas |
| 1723 | Simpson, John | 1702 | Townsend, Samuel |
| | Slack, Joseph | | Taylor, John |
| 1724 | Science, John | | <i>a</i> Tompion, Thomas, Junr. |
| 1725 | Stiles, Nathaniel | 1703 | Taylor, Thomas |
| | Smith, Obadiah | | Tothaker, William |
| 1726 | Sloper, Jeremiah | | Tilly, Joseph |
| 1730 | Swanson, Robert | 1706 | Trippett, William |
| | Saunders, Samuel | 1708 | Triggs, Thomas |
| | Sidey, Benjamin | | Thompson, William |
| | Segrave, Matthew | 1713 | Terrier, Mary |
| 1732 | Stanley, John | 1714 | Tollison, John |
| | Spencer, Arthur | 1717 | Turner, Joseph |
| | | 1720 | Thompson, John |
| | | | Temple, Thomas |
| | | | Tolby, Charles |
| | T. | <i>ob.</i> | 1722 |
| | | | Tallis, Aaron |
| | | | Trowe, Gilbert |
| 1633 | Torrado, Francis <i>b</i> | 1723 | Taylor, Charles |
| 1646 | Taylor, Thomas | 1695 | 1724 |
| 1647 | Tomlyns, Nicholas | | Taylor, Richard |
| | Tomlinson, Thomas <i>b</i> | | 1728 |
| 1655 | Taylor, Richard | | Trenholm, William |
| 1660 | Thorogood, John | | 1729 |
| | Thorogood, William | | Taylor, Jasper |
| 1662 | Thompson, John | | 1731 |
| 1668 | Temant, Thomas | | Thornton, John |
| | Taylor, Abraham | | Thompson, Troughton |
| 1671 | <i>c</i> Tompion, Thomas <i>b</i> , | | |
| | et. 75 | 1713 | |
| 1673 | Templer, Charles | | |
| | | | U. |
| | | | 1655 |
| | | | Underhill, Cave <i>b</i> |

V. ob. 1670 *a* Wolveston, Thomas

1631 *a* Vantroleyer, James (*one of the first Assistants*)
ante 1650

1632 *a* Volant, Ely 1671 Whitehead, Richard

a Vecue, Thomas Wright, Joseph

1649 Vernon, Samuel *b* 1685 *c* Windmill, Joseph *b*

1682 Virgoe, Thomas. 1672 *a* Winnock, Joshua

1685 Viell, Charles 1674 Willmot, Stephen

a Vernon, Samuel 1675 *a* Webster, Robert

1692 *a* Vouloire, Matthew *b* 1677 *a* Waldoe, John *b*

1694 Voyce, Gamaliel Westoby, John

1698 Vossière, Thomas *a* Wolveston, James *b*

a Viet, Claude *b* Winch, Amos

1702 Vick, Richard 1679 Wise, Richard

1708 Vines, James Wainwright, John

1715 Vaughan, Edward 1680 Watts, Richard

1717 Vaslet, Andrew Wheeler, John

1682 Warner, John

Weaver, Cuthbert *b*

Wells, John

c Williamson, John

1631 *a* Welcome, John (*first Partner of compy.*) ante 1650 1683 Wyse, John

1632 *a* Walker, John Waters, John

1646 Wyeth, Lionel Whittle, Thomas

Waters, John *a* White, Thomas *b*

1647 Wiseman, John 1685 Wright, Benjamin

1648 White, John *b* *c* Williams, Joseph *b* (Ireland)

Whitehear, Richard *b* 1686 Willoughby, John

Wirrall, Copley Wyse, Thomas

Willerme, Pierre *b* 1687 Wise, Joseph

1649 Whitwell, Robert Walker, Jonadab

1650 Wolverstone, Thomas 1688 *c* Weekes, Thomas *b*

1654 Weekes, Thomas *b* 1690 Wolverston, James

1655 Wyeth, John *b* 1691 Wood, Thomas

Wheeler, Thomas 1694 Watson, William

1659 Willson, Thomas Westwood, Richard

1660 Witte, Samuel 1692 White, John

1661 Weakman, William Willson, George

Wright, John *a* Watson, Samuel

1662 Wynn, Henry Warfield, Alexander

1663 Whitfield, Edward 1693 *a* Wyse, Peter (son of John)

Waker, Peter Wallitt, Richard

1664 Williamson, William Warburton, William

Wattes, John Willson, William

1666 Williamson, Robt. Watt, Brouncker

1668 Wheatley, John 1694 Wyche, Daniel

Warren, Richard Walkden, Thomas

Williamson, Thomas Wyse, Luke

1669 *a* Wyse, John 1695 Webster, John

	Weadon, William		Winerow, William
	Wyse, Robert		Windon, Daniel
	Windmills, Thomas	1719	Wyse, Mark
1696	Wright, John	1720	Wood, Henry
	Warner, John		Watson, Walter
	Wightman, William		Watts, James
1697	Wilton, Clay	1721	Worthington, John
	<i>a</i> West, William	1723	Willson, James
1698	Wheatley, William	1724	Whichcote, Samuel
1699	Wither, John		Wragg, Honblon
1700	Wright, John		Wagdon, Stephen
1701	Ware, Robert	1726	Wellington, John
	Wood, John	1727	Wood, Thomas
	Wightman, Thomas	1728	Whitebread, William
1703	Wescott, John		Wade, Henry
	Webster, George	1730	Ward, John
1705	Welcome, John		Wilson, George
1706	Williamston, Ralph	1731	Ward, Edward
1707	Winnock, Daniel		Waters, Thomas
1709	Webster, Henry		
	Webster, Thomas		
1710	Wyse, John		Y.
1711	Whittaker, Edward		
1712	Winsmore, John	1648	Yates, Samuel <i>b</i>
	Watts, John	1668	Young, William
1713	Weeks, Charles	1671	Young, Henry
	Weller, John	1682	Young, William
	Woods, Thomas	1685	<i>a</i> Yates, Samuel <i>b</i>
	White, Joseph	1699	Young, Thomas
1714	Willson, John	1716	York, Thomas
	Wright, John	1722	Yeomans, Ralph
1715	Willmot, Thomas		
	<i>a</i> Wallis, William		
1717	Walford, John		Z.
	Walker, John		
1718	Wilkinson, William	1694	Zachary, John

NOTE.—It will be noticed in the foregoing list how many names of Frenchmen appear immediately after 1685, the date of the Revocation the Edict of Nantes, that ill advised and intolerant measure which caused so many skilled artizans to leave their native land for England, greatly to the benefit of this country.—Ed.

JOHN DE DALDERBY, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, 1300-20.

By the REV. PREB. WICKENDEN, M.A., F.S.A.

On the floor of the great south transept of Lincoln cathedral may be read the name of John de Dalderby, marking the spot where a saintly bishop of the see was buried. The re-pavement of the church a century ago has obliterated any memorial of him which may have been there, but the shaft which supported his silver shrine is still standing against the west wall of the transept, and facing the chapel and altar of his patron, S. John the Evangelist. A drawing of this shrine is mentioned by Browne Willis, as existing among the Hatton MSS, but search for it has been made, in the collection which goes by that name in the Bodleian library, in vain.

The bishop took his name apparently from a village close to Scrivelsby, the home of the hereditary champions of England, and several of the same name, probably of the same family (for the village even now a-days counts but forty-nine inhabitants,) occur in the Lincoln annals of the period. A 'Peter de Dalderby' was prebendary successively of Crackpole and Lafford, (1305-1322 :) a 'William,' of All Saints, Holy Cross, and Marston, (1311-1339) : another 'Peter,' succeeded to Marston (in 1339) : and a 'Robert de Daklerby' was mayor of the city in 1342.

The first mention of our own John de Dalderby is as canon of St. David's, becoming Archdeacon of Carmarthen in 1283. (Wharton, Ang. Sac., p. 651.) He was made Chancellor of Lincoln,¹ and on January 20, 1299, (or, as we should call it, 1300,) was elected by the Chapter as bishop. His election was confirmed on March 17 of the same year, and on June 12 following, he was consecrated. We possess in an ancient register the account given by an eye-witness, both of the enthronization, and of the funeral of his predecessor Oliver Sutton, so that it would be

¹ There is a book, miscalled "Martilogium," in the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, which consists of notices of the church of Lincoln arranged under the different bishops, from the foundation under Remigius to the episcopate of Henry de Borowasch (or Burewasch), in whose time the book was compiled by John de Schalby, as he says, in the year 1328. All in it that is personal, relating to John de Dalderby, is quoted in this and the following note.

"*De Johanne de Dalderby Episcopo.*
Mortuo Olivero predicto Magister Johannes de Dalderby ecclesie Line. Cancellarius

in episcopum Lincoln' xviii kalend' Febr' anno quo dictus Oliverus obiit per viam scrutinij est electus et iij Idus Junij proxime sequent per Robertum de Winchelse Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum apud Cantuariam consecratus. . . .

"Iste Johannes gemma fulsit scientia utpote qui in artibus et theologia rexerat eleganter. Hic fuit vir facundus, contemplativus, piissimus, verbi dei predicator egregius. Nonnavarus velud alter Nicholaus se amabilem clericis prebens, largus munificus et sicut alter Joseph in cunctis prospere satis agens. . . ."

possible to recall approximately the ceremonial used for Bishop de Dalderby. (Reg. antiquissimum, p. 189-192.)

The king, Edward I, was the bishop's guest at Nettleham, the year after, from January to March, when an important parliament was held at Lincoln, (as were two others during this episcopate, both in the year 1316.) We may suppose that the king stimulated the bishop's efforts to obtain from Avignon the canonization of, his predecessor by half a century, Robert Grosteste. Petitions to this effect were sent from different parts of England; to the one from the chapter of St. Paul's, printed by Wharton, several others might be added from the collection of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. In the same repository has been found a file of letters, mostly in French, addressed to Bishop John by Margaret, Queen of Edward I, and by the Prince of Wales, commending various clerks, chaplains of theirs, to his good offices and praying for their preferment in his diocese, an indication as it seems of his cordial relations with the court. A comparison of these letters with the 'Institutions,' and 'Memorandum,' preserved among the episcopal registers in the old palace, might tell us how far these royal requests were complied with.

There is no evidence, so far as I know, that the bishop took an active part in the condemnation of the order of Knights Templars, though a court was held in his chapter house to try them, during his occupancy of the see.

The building work in the cathedral, which is due to him, is the upper portion of the great central tower, continuing and completing the work of Grosteste.

The health of Bishop de Dalderby seems to have failed some years before his death, for in 1315 the sub-dean, Henry de Benningworth, was consecrated as his coadjutor. On his death, at Stow Park, on January 5th, 132½, Bishop John was venerated as a saint;¹ and we find, in the following year, that John Lindsay, Bishop of Glasgow, when visiting at Lincoln granted forty days of pardon to all persons, "vere contritis et confessis," who should visit his tomb. An attempt was made to procure his canonization, but it was as ineffectual as that on behalf of Bishop Grosteste had been, though his virtues were much more of the accustomed type of saintliness than those of his reforming and energetic, not to say pugnacious, predecessor. Miracles were alleged to have been wrought at his tomb on December 14th 1322, and again on August 22nd 1324, the attestations in support of which are still extant. A transcript also is preserved of the letters sent to Pope John xxii by the English bishops, William de Melton (of York), Lodovick Beaumont (of Durham), John de Stratford (of Winchester), and those of Carlisle, Ely, Worcester, Coventry, Norwich and Lincoln, praying for his enrolment among the saints. The usage of the mediæval church in this respect differed from that of earlier times, when a bishop, after consultation with his comprovincials, decreed the commemoration of some local martyr or saint for the faithful within his diocese. This practice was evidently open to abuse, and Alexander iii (1159) is said to have been the first

¹ " . . . Hic ij Idus Januar' anno domini Mill^o ccc^{mo} xix^o vita functus celestia sicut pie creditur adeptus. Nam post ipsius obitum miracula manifesta ob eius merita dignatus est altissimus operari. Huic viro dei dum vitales carperet auras

ille qui hec scripsit per octo annos in statu non infimo deservivit et condiciones eius sanctissimas bene novit."

These two notes are kindly furnished by Mr. Henry Bradshaw.

Roman pontiff to reserve to the Holy See the right of declaring who should be considered saints. The canonization of Walter of Pontoise, in 1153, is quoted as the last instance in which no reference to Rome was made; but it would seem that St. Thorlak, declared saint in the parliament of Iceland, in 1199, is a later instance still. Since the Congregation of Sacred Rites, to which, at present, the consideration of these questions is referred, was not instituted until 1587, it may be worth while to relate in brief what was the process in use in the mediæval church.

The Pope then, on being advised of the death in reputation of sanctity of one of the faithful, and having received earnest and repeated prayers for his confirmation of that repute, was to consult with his cardinals and to issue general enquiries to persons of note in the neighbourhood of the deceased, as to character and the esteem in which he or she was commonly held. If preliminary investigation was satisfactory, a set of commissioners was appointed to make more minute enquiries, especially in respect to specific doubts as to the credit, virtue and miracles of the supposed saint. On receiving their report the auditors of the rota were authorised to draw up a formal process, and three cardinals (one of each order in the cardinalate) were to sift the reports and make full relation to the consistory. The Pope in council then decided whether the virtue of the deceased person had reached the "heroic" standard required for saintliness, and discussed the reputed miracles one by one. If after this examination the cardinals were agreed in favour of the canonization, another consistory was called in which the whole process was submitted to the archbishops and bishops then in Rome, and in a subsequent consistory if all had been agreed, the place and time of publication was announced.

This was the current usage, with which we have to deal, and in face of so severe a scrutiny, it seems needless to imagine political influences to account for the rejection both of Grosteste and de Dalderby, which in the case of a French Pope we might be apt to do. John xxii canonized three saints in all, of whom one was the great doctor Thomas Aquinas.

To return from this digression. The court of Rome sent a courteous answer in the negative to the English appeal, bearing date 1328. And the papers relating to it were deposited, as has been seen, among the muniments of the Lincoln chapter. An attempt has been made without success to supplement the information given by them from the archives of the Vatican. It need hardly be said that the name of S. John de Dalderby does not occur in the calendar of the ancient office books of York and Sarum, nor in the modern calendar of saints 'of the ecclesiastical province of Westminster' compiled by Father Stanton of the London oratory, 1882.

Within the cover which contains the transcripts of petitions there is a MS. on two folios of vellum containing the (Breviary) office for the designated saint. This has been carefully examined by Mr. Everard Green, and compared with the Sarum and Roman "*Commune confessoris Pontificis*." It is supposed by him to have been a schema, sent maybe to Avignon on approval, and is considered by him to furnish additional evidence that the Lincoln use was framed on the Gallican model, which is still in use in all churches of the Friars' Preachers (that is the Dominican order); in the same way the ancient rite of the papal chapel is preserved in the use of churches of the Franciscan order. The

MS. is of great interest though incomplete; it wants the entire 'Proper' for the mass, and the nine lessons at matins; but it gives first vespers, compline, matins, lauds, and a rubric as to the little hours, second vespers and compline. This will now be given in full together with some comments, kindly supplied by Mr. Green. The portions within brackets are added from the Roman or Sarum breviaries.

It may be added that the arms attributed to Bishop John de Dalderby are Arg. a chevron gules between two scallop shells in chief, and a cross crosslet fitché at the foot in base all of the second, but the coat is not above suspicion.

Istoria de Sancto Johanne de Dalderby quondam Ep̃i (sic) Lincoln.

Ad Vesperas.

Antiph. [1] ¹	Forma morum doctor veri Fac nos patre promereri Ut possimus intueri Vultum Regis glorie.
Psalm [112 Vulg.]	"Laudate pueri."
Ant. [2]	O Johannes Christi care Cui datur nomen a re In quo Dei gratia, Nos ab hoste defensare Digneris et impetrare Nobis celi gaudia.
Ps. [116.]	"Laudate Dominum omnes."
[Ant. 3]	Vir insignis vitis vere Palmes sine macula, A malignis nos tuere Trina tollens jacula.
Ps. [145.]	"Lauda anima mea."
Ant. [4]	Presul pie presulum Pastor bonitatis, Prece pura populum Salves a peccatis.
Ps. [146.]	"Laudate Do[minum] q[uoniam]."
Ant. [5]	Ave salus egenorum, O Johannes flos pastorum Dele sordes peccatorum, Choris junge nos sanctorum.
[Ps. 147.]	"Lauda Ier[usalem]."
Capitulum. ²	"Ecce sacerdos [magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo et inventus est justus : et in tempore iracundiæ factus est reconciliatio]."

¹ These five Psalms at Vespers are not a Roman arrangement. All the five antiphons are "proper" to the feast.

² "Chapter" Roman of to day and Sarum. From Ecclus. 45.

Respons.	Johannes Lincolnie Presul Christo caro Vas divinæ gratiæ Nomen habens a re Gemine sciencie Doctor nos dignare, [*]Precibus milicie Celi sociare.
Vers.	O doctor veri famulos dignare tueri.
ymnus. ²	precibus. Vers. Gloria patri. precibus. Iste Confessor [Domini sacratus].
Vers.	Amavit cum dominus et ornavit [eum].
[Resp.	Stolam glorie induit cum].
[Ad Magnif.] Ant. ³	Ave presul inclite Gemina puritatis, Cultor innocentie Norma castitatis, Speculum justicie Mire pietatis, Fac nos frui requie Immortalitatis.
Ps.	"Magnificat [anima mea Dominum, &c.]
[Oratio] ³	Deus qui beatum Johannem confessorem tuum atque pontificem tue gracie largitate juxta sensum sui nominis decorasti, fac nos quesumus ejus meritis et precibus ad celestem qua perfruitur gloriam pervenire. Per [Dominum].
	<i>Ad Completorium.</i>
[Antiph.] ⁴	Non datur hic ocio [Seu jociis amenis Sed die servicio Succurrens egenis].
Ps. [4]. ⁵	"Cum invocarem," &c.
[i.e. Ps. 30.	"In te Domine."
90.	"Qui habitat."
133.	"Ecce nunc."]
Ymnus. ⁶	"Salvator [mundi domine]."
Vers. ⁷	Custodi nos [Domine ut pupillam oculi
[Resp.	Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos].
Ant.	Diu qui indueras [vestem cilicinam Fac ut Christus conferat nobis medicinam].
Ps.	Nunc dimittis, &c.
	<i>Ad Matutinum.</i>
Invitatorium. ⁸	Confessorum Dominum, venite adoremus, Confessoris Johannis festa celebremus.

¹ The Roman Breviary has no respon-
sary before the hymn at Vespers, the
Monastic Breviaries, however, of to day
have one.

² Hymn, Versicle and Response, Roman
and Sarum.

³ Antiph. to Magnificat and Collects
'proper' to feast.

⁴ Antiph. "proper" to feast.

⁵ Psalm Roman and Sarum.

⁶ "Salvator" Sarum hymn, not Roman.

⁷ Vers. and Resp. Roman of to-day.

⁸ Invitatory "proper" to feast.

Ps. [94.]
Ymnus.¹

Venite [exultemus].
"Jesu Redemptor [omnium
Perpes corona præsulum].

[*In I Nocturno*].

Ant.²

Fungens pontificio
Subditis fit lenis,
Mitis in officio
Non vacans terrenis.

Ps. [1].²

Ant. [2]

"Beatus vir."
Non datur hic occio
Seu joci amenis,
Sed Dei servicio
Succurrens egenis.

Ps. [2]

Ant. [3]

"Quare fremuerunt."
Utendo cilicio
Sese flagellavit
Arto quoque jejunio
Carnem maceravit.
"Domine quid."

Ps. [3]

Vers.

Amavit eum Dominus et ornavit eum.

[Resp.

Stolam gloriæ induit eum].

[Lectio 1. 1 Tim. iii, 1-8, Roman. Sermo Fulgentii. i. Sarum]

Resp. 1.

Dum legit Lincolnie
Nondum infulatus,
Vir sue vicinie
Demone vexatus
[*]Prece viri venie
Fuit liberatus.

Vers. Multis post annis prece vixit in orbe Johannis. Prece [viri].

[Lectio 2. Titus i, 7-12. Roman. Sermo Fulgentii. 2. Sarum].

Resp. 2.

Utentes latratibus
Viri pro loquela
In Rotlande partibus
Non absque querela
[*]Curantur non potibus
Sed preeum medela.

Vers. Famina dans mutis dedit hiis prece dona salutis. Curantur

[Lectio 3. Titus ii, 1—9 Roman. Sermo Fulgentii. 3. Sarum].

Resp. 3.

Vexat illum litibus
Vir religiosus
Rome magnis flatibus
Sed litigiousus
Vite caret motibus
[*]dum perstat pomposus.

Vers. Vincitur inflatus necesse, fastus et est superatus. Dum perstat. Gloria
Patri. [Dum perstat.]

¹ Roman hymn at Lauds.

² The Psalms at all 3 nocturns are the same as in Roman and Dominican Bre-

viaries. The Antiphons before them and the 9 responsories all "proper" to the feast.

In II Nocturno.

- Ant. [1.] In mamilla fortiter
Mulier egrota,
Est ad tactum funeris
Mamma sana tota.
- Ps. [4.]¹ “Cum invocarem”
Ant. [2.] In marinis mergitur
Fluctibus tenella,
Moritur et redditur
Ad vitam puella.
- Ps. [5.] “Verba mea [auribus]”.
Ant. [3.] In cisterna sordium
Nimpha suffocata,
Vite sentit gaudium
Fusa prece grata.
- Ps. [8.] “Domine Dominus noster.”
Vers.² Justum deduxit Deus per vias rectas.
[Resp. Et ostendit illi regnum Dei.]
[Lectio 4. Sermo S. Maximi Episcopi. Rom. Sermo Fulgentii 4. Sar.]
Resp. [4.] Post hec mundo moritur
Vita vir insignis,
Humatus et plangitur
Sed fulcitur signis,
[*]Et in celo fruitur
Gloria cum dignis.
- Vers. Hic vita functus est Christo concito junctus. Et [in celo].
[Lectio 5. Sermo S. Maximi. 1 Rom. Sermo Fulgentii 5. Sar.]
Resp. 5. Fratri nam celeriter
Seni revelatur,
Quod transit hilariter
Presul nec moratur
[*]Ignem quo salubriter
Peccatum purgatur.
- Vers. Turnis sanctorum nos uni Christe tuorum. Ignem [quo].
[Lectio 6. Sermo S. Maximi, 6 Rom. Sermo Fulgentii, Sar.]
Resp. 6. In profundam coruit
Puella piscinam,
Et vita mox caruit
Post ejus ruinam,
[*]Sed cito re habuit
Vite medicinam.
- Vers. Congaudent gentes oculis hec mira videntes.
Sed [cito.] Gloria. Sed [cito.]

In III Nocturno.

- Ant. [1.] Pede manu pariter
Mulier contracta,
Curatur celeriter
Tumba viri tacta.

¹There is a special appropriateness in the use of Psalms 1-4 for the office of this Bishop and Confessor, since as Bishop of Lincoln he recited them daily for the living and dead benefactors of his see ;

the canons completing each day this “living psalter.”

² Vers. and Resp. Sarum, not Roman of to-day.

Ps. [14.] Ant. [2.]	“ Domine quis habitabit.” Surgunt animalia Mortis casu strata, Et arant ruralia Dum sunt mensurata.
Ps. [20.] Ant. [3.]	“ Domine in virtute.” Vident sic jocalia Ceci sibi data Et fantur magnalia ¹ Dei muti grata.
Ps. [23] Vers. ²	“ Domini est terra.” Justus germinabit sicut liliū. Et florebit in eternum ante Dominum.
[Resp. [Lect. 7.]	S. Matt., xxv. Homilia S. Gregorii, Rom. and Sar. S. Matt. xxiv. Hom. S. Hilarii. Dom.]
Resp. [7.]	Tumidis ex genibus Parvulus inflatus, Nervorum fragminibus Necnon cruciatus [*]Est oracionibus Presulis sanatus.
Vers.	Fit laus in manis ex hiis morbis preece sanis Est [oracionibus].
[Lect. 8. Resp. [8.]	Hom. S. Gregorii, Rom. and Sar.] In virili caleulo Virga flagellatus Clericus in seculo Notus et amatus [*]Sanctum petit clanculo, Moxque fit euratus.
[Vers.]	Obviat hic morbis in multis partibus orbis. Sanctum.
[Lect. 9. Resp. 9.]	Hom. S. Gregorii, Rom. and Sar.] Felix est ecclesia fovens tumultum Corpus sine macula argentum purgatum. [*]Dei ejus gratia Nomen est vocatum.
Vers.	Gloria sit Christo qui sic operatur in isto. Dei. Gloria Patri. Dei.
Prosa.	Johannes est Christo datus annis puericie. Studio fit occupatus non vacans stulticie. Gradum scandit magistratus gemine sciencie. Docet mores ut vir gratus non actus nequicie. Hinc ad sedem presulatus vocatur Lincolnie. In qua vixit honoratus a cetū vicinie. Denum migrat premiatus a rege clemencie.

¹ Cf. Acts ii, 11. “ Audivimus loquentes
nostris linguis magnalia dei ” and so con-

stant use in Pentecost offices of Rom. Brev.
² Vers. and Resp. Sarum at Lauds.

Cum quo regnat coronatus in regno leticie.
Dei cuius [gratia nomen est vocatum].
Te Deum laudamus.¹

In [Ad] Laudes.

Vers. Justum deduxit Dominus per [vias rectas]
[Resp. Et ostendit illi regnum Dei.]
Ant. [1]² Puer per triennium

A nativitate,
Carens fatu, loquitur
Viri sanetitate.

Ps. [92.] “ Dominus regnavit.”
Ant. [2]. Nutrix premit nimphulam
Secum dormientem
Quam Johannes precibus
Reddidit viventem.

Ps. [99.] “ Jubilate Deo.”
Ant. [3.] Mergitur et moritur
In fonte profundo,
Prece vivit puella
Cum corde jocundo.

Ps. [62.] “ Deus [Deus meus ” with Ps. 66 “ Deus misereatur.”]
Ant. [4.] In fossatum corruit
Et vitam finivit
Puer, et per merita
Sancti modo vivit.

Ps. “ Benedicite [omnia opera] ”
Ant. [4.] Diu qui indueras
Vestem cilicinam
Fac ut Christus conferat
Nobis medicinam.

Ps. [148.] “ Laudate [Dominum ” with Ps. 149, ‘ Cantate ’ and Ps.
150, ‘ Laudate. ’]

Capitulum. “ Ecce Sacerdos ” [as at first Vespers.]

Ymnus. “ Iste confessor ” [as at first Vespers.]

Vers.³ Justus ut palma florebit

[Resp. Sicut cedrus Libani multiplicabitur.]

[Ad Bened.] Ant. Ave pastor ovium
Dulcis amor cleri,
Pauperum refugium,
Predicator veri.
Fac nos celi gaudium
Per te promereri
Ut possimus Dominum
Lucis intueri.

Ps. “ Benedictus [Dominus Deus Israel.] ”

Oratio. “ Deus qui beatum Johannem,” et cetera [as at first
Vespers.] Ad omnes horas dicantur Antiphone de Laudibus,

¹ ‘ Te Deum ’ not in Sar.

² The Psalm of Lauds are Sarum,
Dominican, and Roman of to-day (the
use of the V. and Resp. Dominican only),

the five Antiphons of Lauds, “ proper ” to
the feast.

³ Vers. and Resp. Sarum at 3rd Nocturn.

capitulum, responsum, versiculus de communi unius
confessoris pontificis, oratio de die.

Ad Vesperas.

Ant. [de Laud.]

Puer per, &c.

[Ps. 109]¹

“Dixit dominus.”

[111, ‘Beatus vir qui timet ;’ 112, ‘Laudate pueri ;’ 115, ‘Credidi ;’ 125,
in convertendo.]

Capitulum.

“Benedictionem.”

Resp.

Proficiscens peregre

Johannem vocavit,

Et ei pecuniam

Augendam donavit,

[*]Qui pro sibi traditis
duplum reportavit.

Vers.

Plaudas in celis in paucis serve fidelis.

Qui pro. Gloria patri. Qui [pro].

Vinnus. Iste Confessor [Domini sacratus, as at 1st Vespers].

Vers.

Amavit eum dominus [et ornavit eum].

[Resp.

Stolam glorie induit eum.]

[Ad Magnif.] Ant.

Ave stella fulgida

Cujus ex fulgore

Rutilat Lincolnia

Velut ortus flore,

Mentes nostras radia

Celesti splendore,

Et nos tuos solida

in Dei timore.

Ps.

Magnificat [anima mea Dominum, &c.]

Oratio.

Deus qui beatum Johannem, &c. [as at 1st Vespers].

completorium ut supra.

¹ Psalmus in Dominican Rite.

Original Documents.

MALT RATE LEVIED IN THE PARISH OF WOODBURY, CO. DEVON. FROM A MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LATE GENERAL LEE OF EBFORD BARTON.

Communicated by the Rev. H. T. ELLACOMBE, M.A., F.S.A.

March 12, the 27th Year of K^s Henry 8th 1536. [Copied from Woodbury Church Ledger, formerly called the Malt Book.]

The hole Pishners of the P'ishe of Woodbury by their hole assent & consent hath agreed to gyff ev'y yere yerely to the Alle Wardyns of the P'ishe Church of Woodbury for the tyme beyng so muche malt or monye to the valew of the malt for the mayntenaunce of the Church as apperyth upon ev'y of ther names hereafter followyng. And also the seyde P'ishners hath ferder agreed, that is to saye, to dyne togethers the Tuysday yn the Whitsonweke & the later seynt Swythyn Day¹ at the Church House of Wodbury, & thei & ev'y of them to bryng there meyte & brede w^t them & to paye at ev'y of the seide dayes afore rehersyd for there Dryncke at ther Dyners yerely for a man & his wyff the sum or sumes set on ther names hereafter folowyng, And also the seide P'ishners hath ferder agreed that wⁿ thei do not in⁷ to dyne at ev'y of the seide dayes beffore lymtyed thet thei so paye at ev'y of the seide dayes for theire Dyn's the seide monye hereafter folowyng not w^t standyng to the Church Wardyns for the tyme beyng. And also that no wedow man or widow woman to paye for a place but ii^d | & for di⁷ | a place i^d.

THE EST SYDE OF WODBURY

P'ISHE.

Houndbere.

Joh'es Haydon Gent. iiii Bushels

Joh'es Hyll - i —

Joh'es Myddleton - i —

Gryndell.

Joh'es Fermor ali'

Wescott - iii —

Cecilia Shrerewyll,

Vid. - i —

Will'ms Webber - i Pecke

Hoggysbroke.

Joh'es Dobbyn - i Bussell

Roger Pow - Di' —

Joh'es Comyng - i —

Rich^d Faytor - Di' —

Wotton.

Ric' Ellyott - ii —

Tho^s Wreyfford - ii —

Hothfelde.

Henry Gybbe - i Bussell

Tho^s Morys - i —

Joh'es Sydecomb - i —

¹ Mr. E. Peacock is kind enough to remind us that the date of the "later seynt Swythyn" is July 15th—see Bond's "Handbook of Rules and Tables for veri-

fying dates"—and to call our attention to the term "widow" being used alike for man and woman.—[ED.]

W ^m Lutton	-	i Bussell	W ^m Tyll	-	i bussell
—			Joh ^{es} Aysse	-	i —
THE WEST SYDE OF WODBURY			Rich ^d Scott	-	i Bussell Di'
P ^r ISHE.			Rob ^t Adam	-	i —
<i>Woodbury Towne.</i>			Rich ^d Smyth	-	ii —
Joh ^{es} Sym	-	Di' Bussell	Walterus Holdmede	-	i —
Joh ^{es} Andeby	-	Di' —	Joh ^{na} Scott, Vid.	-	ii —
Tho ^s Smyth	-	i Pecke	Tho's Scott	-	ii Q.
W ^m Sym	-	ii Q.	<i>Eaton.</i>		
Jacobus Myllward	-	i Pecke	Joh ^{es} Rendell	-	Di' Pecke
Joh ^{es} Saunders	-	i Bussell	Thomas Boughton	-	i Pecke
Rich. Leyt	-	Di' —	Joh ^{es} Boughton	-	Di' Pecke
Joh ^{es} Beryman	-	ii Q.	Joh ^{es} Sym	-	Di' —
<i>Grete Fenmore.</i>			Joh ^{es} Hollwyll al'		
Hugo Pyle	-	Di' Bussell	Hoppyn	-	i —
Rich ^d Campyn	-	Di' —	Walt ^s Gybbe	-	Di' Bussell
Joh ^{es} Plympton	-	i Bussell	Rich ^d Tyrypn	-	Di' —
<i>Sp^hekelays.</i>			Joh ^{es} Oke	-	i —
Joh ^{es} Legh	-	ii Bussell	W ^m Carter	-	Di' —
W ^m Hoper	-	i —	Rich ^d Trappenell	-	Di' —
<i>Woddlington.</i>			Walt ^s Rede	-	i —
W ^m Sym	-	ii	Alicia Courteney,		
Joh ^{es} Emb'y	-	i Pecke	Vid.	-	i —
Joh ^{es} Rowe	-	i Bussell	Rich ^d German	-	ii —
Joh ^{es} Northorn	-	i Pecke	Tho's Young	-	i —
Rich ^d Oke	-	ii Q.	<i>Ebberorth.</i>		
Tho's Pyne	-	i Pecke	Tho's Haydon	-	iiii Bussells
Ja's Croft	-	ii Q.	Joh ^{es} Robyns, Vid.	-	Di' —
Tho's Franke	-		Tho's Wall	-	ii Q.
Joh ^{es} Lucas	-	i Peck	Rob ^t Pyne	-	i Bussell
Tho's Cove	-	ii Q.	W ^m Jacobb	-	Di' —
Sm ^r L Bussells			Rich ^d Jacobb	-	ii Q.
<i>Comb.</i>			Rich ^d Churchwyll	-	i Bussell
Joh ^{es} Wescott, Sen ^r	iii Buss. &		—		
Joh ^{es} Wescott, Jun ^r	i Pecke		Mary Scott Widow for the		
<i>Lytell Fenmore.</i>			Tenement she lives in	-	3 1
Joh ^{es} Cayt	-	Di Bussell	—For Bettyes Coate in		
W ^m Lucas	-	ii Bussells	Woodbury Town	-	7
<i>Cattysmore.</i>			W ^m Lovering for his Tene-		
Joh ^{es} Webber	-	ii —	ment	-	1 2
<i>Ryden.</i>			Rob ^t Addams	-	2 9
Rich ^d Tye	-	ii —	Joan Weekes Wid.	-	1 2
<i>Golyfford.</i>			Joan Addams Wid.	-	1 2
Joh ^{es} Bryght	-	i Pecke	Roger Nichol for his Tene-		
Tho's Harrys	-	i —	ment	-	7
Tho's Hyllman	-	ii Q.	— for Pollards Brook in		
Joh ^{es} Scott	-	ii Q.	Woodbury Town	-	2
Joh ^{es} Yeatt	-	ii Bussells	Rob ^t Moore	-	2 0
Joh ^{es} Trosse	-	i —	Barth' Webb	-	2
Rich ^d Morys	-	Di'	W ^m Headman	-	6
<i>Nutter ell.</i>					
Joh ^{es} Adam	-	i —			

<i>Exton.</i>		W ^m Pearse for the Tenement	
John Pearse for a Cottage at		he lives in	- 1 6
Exton Hill	- 1	— for his Tenement in	
Antho ^y Pearse	- 2	Woodbury Town	- 10
W ^m Cooke for his Cottage		John Beadon	- 2
and his Land	- 7	W ^m Hurford	- 5
Johan Roades	- 5	John Embery	- 2
Oliver Wittchalse	- 1	John Taylor	- 1
Peter Knott	- 6	Rabbish Pearse Wid.	- 1
W ^m Turpyrn or Occupiers of		Tho's Crutchard	- 2
that Tenement	- 7	George Peeke	- 2
Arthur Spurr Gent. for the		Rich ^d Salter	- 9
Tenement he lives in	- 2 6	<i>Ridon.</i>	
— for Mr. Goves Tene-		Jane Holwill Wid. for the	
ment	- 1 4	Tenement she lives in	- 1 9
Joan Young Wid. for her		— for Broad Ridons	- 3
Tenement & Water Mill	- 2 4	Rob ^t Stogdon for Mosehills	- 3
Ambrose Snow for one Close		— for two Closes of	
called Long Park	- 2	Thomas his Tenement, &	
Peter Trapnell for his	2	the little meadow by the	
Tenements	- 1 9	Mill	- 3
W ^m Webber for a Cottage		— For two Cottages in	
at Marsh	- 4	Woodbury Town	- 6
Alex ^r Duke Gent. for Exton		Cath' Colsworthy for Sab-	
Farm	- 3 4	byn's Marsh	- 4
— for Sowell Ground	- 1 6	Geo ^y Colsworthy	- 6
— for Ellyotts Tenement		Christ' Hill Wid.	- 1 2
in Woodbury Town	- 1 3	John Hill the Younger	- 6
— for Bussells Tenement	- 5	<i>Little Fenmore.</i>	
— for Mr. Thos' Duke's		Rob ^t Caddew	- 2 11
Tenement	- 9	Anth ^y Pynse	- 6
John Leate for the Tenement		Tristram Thomas	- 9
he lives in	- 1 6	Jas' Vincent	- 6
— For his Tenement		<i>Great Fenmore.</i>	
called Gilbroke	- 1	John Plympton	- 1 6
Tristram Pearse for a Close		John Sprætt Gent.	- 1 8
called Stooke Bridge	- 2	— for Payges Meadow	- 15
Joseph Morrish	- 6	W ^m Smyth	- 1 0
<i>Ebford.</i>		<i>Scutts Moor.</i>	
Gideon Haydon Esq. for		Rebecca Hill Wid.	- 1 5
Ebford Barton	- 4 2	— for Hamns Close	- 4
— for Houndbear Farm	- 8 4	<i>Gullyford.</i>	
Christ ^o Wall	- 10	Tho ^s Cooke	- 2 4
W ^m Whetcombe for the		Philip Pyne	- 11
Tenement in lives in	- 2 6	W ^m Way	- 10
— for his Tenement at		— for his Cottage in Town	- 2
Exton	- 1 5	W ^m Salter	- 2
John Gibb	- 1 6	Cha ^s Stookes	- 1 7
Mary Dalby Wid.	- 9	Rob ^t Lovering the Younger	- 9
Rich ^d Bryant for the Tene-		Nich ^s Warren	- 4
ment he lives in	- 1 6	Joan Hayman Wid.	- 5
— for German's Tenement	- 7	Rob ^t Halfyard	- 6

Rob ^t Halfyard for that in Exton	6	Christ ^r Pressford for Rush-	
Rich ^d Smyth	- 3	moor	- 6
Tho ^s Manning	- 5	Nich ^s Scott	- 2
John Hillman	- 9	Christ ^r Brockwell	- 2
<i>Combe.</i>		Rich ^d Corney	- 2
Amys Predyaux Gent.	- 3 4	And ^w Leonard for his house	- 2
W ^m Collings	- 1 8	—, for Barton Land	- 7
Tho ^s Densham	- 1 8	W ^m Soper	- 2
W ^m Cooke for his Tenement	6	Rich ^d Mable the Younger	- 1 6
— for Pearse' Ground	- 4	Alice Ford Wid.	- 7
— for the Mill at Ridon-	1 3	Rich ^d Pigeon for his Cottage	
Christ ^r Ellett	- 3	& Silcomb Meadow	- 3
<i>Wood Manton.</i>		Alice Beale Wid.	- 1 10
Mrs. Joan Farrington for		<i>Porslake.</i>	
the Tenement she lives in	3 2	John Trosse for Porslake	
— for Heath's Tenement	10	Tenement	- 3 0
John Heath the Elder	- 10	— for his tenement at	
John Heath the Younger		Salterton	- 1 9
for Ham's Ground	- 5	Rich ^d Johans & his Mother	1 11
Rob ^t Symons for his Tene-		<i>Pylehaies.</i>	
ment	- 1 5	John Hill	- 1 9
—, for Tucker's Wood	- 5	Edw ^d Glass for his Tene-	
Amys Rochett	- 8	ment there	- 1 5
John Perryam	- 10	— for his tenement in	
Joan Starr Wid.	- 1	Elford	- 9
<i>Sparkeshaies.</i>		<i>Heathfield.</i>	
Thomas Lee for his Tenement	1 5	Peter Sutton for his tene-	
—, for his tenement in		ment	- 1 3
Gulliford	- 8	— for the Ground of	
Rich ^d Mallacke	- 3 2	Johans	- 5
W ^m Taylor	- 5	Rich ^d Hill for his Tenement	1 3
Vincent Hellman	- 1 3	— for that was Johan's	
<i>Bridgcpitt.</i>		Ground	- 7
Rich ^d Hill	- 1 1	— for Coad's Ground	- 7
<i>The Wester Part of Woodbury</i>		Susanna Biddicombe Wid.	1 3
<i>Tourne.</i>		John Turner	- 1 3
Rich ^d Parrett for his Tene-		George Gibb	- 3
ment there	7	<i>Salterton.</i>	
—, for his Tenement in		Ab ^m Parkyn	- 1 7
Salterton	- 9	Marke Parkyn	- 4
W ^m Mable	- 1	John Bidgood for the tene-	
Rich ^d Mable the Elder	- 4	ment he lives in	- 10
Joan Ballamant Wid.	- 3	— for Heale	- 1 3
James Payge	- 6	— for ten Acres of Hop-	
W ^m Smeath	- 2	pings & Woods	- 5
Tho ^s Addams	- 11	— for the tenement in	
<i>The Easter Part of Woodbury</i>		right of his wife	- 1 0
<i>Tourne.</i>		John Hoppinge	- 3
Mrs. Joan Gove Wid.	- 1 6	John Winter	- 3
Edw. Bampfild, Esq. for		W ^m Pearse in right of his	
Woodbury Wood	- 1 2	wife	- 1 7
Christ ^r Labbett	2	W ^m Downham for Thatches	4

W ^m Downham for Lamb Parks	5	Edw ^d Holwill for the Black-	
Ant ^o Howe	- 10	lands & Hoppings Hills	- 7
John Potbury	- 9	Oliver Hopping	- 10
John Wood	- 2	Thomas Aauxe	- 5
Joan Symons Wid.	- 1	Christ ^r Westcott for his	
W ^m Radford	- 2	Cottage	- 3
John Holwill for his Tene-		— for the Wood Parks	
ment	- 2 6	& the Brewhouse	- 6
— for a Cottage	- 3	Gilbert Drake Gent.	- 3 4
— for Wiscomb Meadow	11	Thomas Webber	- 1 4
— for Flemon's Ground	- 1 1	Humphry Smyth	- 1 4
— for Bagmoors	- 1 8	John Clarke	- 2
Ric ^d Payne for his Cottage	- 2	John Crutchard	- 1
— for Porslake Grounds	- 3	George Worthleigh	- 6
Robt. Brockwell	- 2	Henry Ham for Heathfield	
John Cheave	- 3	& Combs	- 9
Edw ^d Holwill for the Tene-		Joan Baker Wid.	- 3
ment he lives in & for 2		Henry Hopping for Kite-	
acres of Scotts Land	- 2 10	lands	- 2
— for Myll leates	- 8	W ^m Scott for his Tenement	- 3
— for the Tenement on		John Spare	- 3
Winsore Green	- 1 3	W ^m German	- 1
— for the Well Parkes	- 8	W ^m Lux	- 8
— for Lamb Parkes	- 6		

Woodbury.

The whole Parishoners of the Parish of Woodbury by their whole assente & condiscente have elected & chosen those sixteene men, whose names are hereafter written, in the Visitation Corte holden at Woodbury Church by Mr. John Leache Bachelor of Devynytye Officiall of the Dyocese, & Thomas Chaffe Register the 28th June in the 33 year of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth the Queen's Majestye that now is. Upon wel election the s^d 16 men were sworn there in the s^d Corte by the s^d officiall, to make a trne just & perfitte Rate or Taxatione of all the Land & Lands whatsoever lying within the P'she of Woodbury, towards the reperation & Mentaynaunce of the Church of the s^d P'she. And now yt is fully concluded & agreed upon by & between the s^d Raters that every Person & Persons hereafter written shall paye everye yeare towards the mentaynaunce of the s^d Church yearlye toe the Wardenes for the tyme beyng so muche Malte as appeareth & is set doune p'ticularly upon every of the name & names hereafter followinge. And it is further agreed upon by the said Raters toe paye in money for every Bushell of Malte Sixteen pence, and soe bee yt more or less after the same Rate. 1591.

The names of the Raters—

Gregory Goffe Gent.	W ^m Pearse.	John Hill.
W ^m Downam Gen	Thos. Halle.	Thos. Scott.
W ^m Beele.	Rich ^d Scott.	Greg ^s Stokes.
And ⁿ Holwill.	Tristram Whitcombe.	John Windover.
Robt. Cooke.	Philip Westcott.	Robt Loveringe.
		John Sowile.

Natwill.

Tho ^s Prideaux Esq. for his Barteyne, for Withischaies, for that was Hole's Ground, for Thirtyne acres, that was Gregory Stokes for Bashaies, five Bushell in all	-	-	6	8
Robert Lovering one Bushell	-	-	-	16
Tho ^s Scott one Bushell & half & Half a peeke	-	-	2	2
John Tissard three Peckes	-	-	-	12
Eliz ^d Addame Wid. one Bush. & half & half a peeke	-	-	2	2
Nich ^d Scott, three Peckes	-	-	-	12
Rich ^d Addeme, three Peckes	-	-	-	12
W ^m Pike one Peeke & half	-	-	-	6
Henry Holmead one Bushell & a Peeke	-	-	-	20
John Watts half a peeke	-	-	-	2

Elson.

Tho ^s Webber half a peeke	-	-	-	2
W ^m Lange half a peeke	-	-	-	2
Roger Smith half a Bushell	-	-	-	8
Johan Robines Wid. half a peeke	-	-	-	2
Henry Knott a Peeke & Half	-	-	-	6
Henry Turpine a Peeke & half	-	-	-	6
Thomsine Brown Wid. half a Bushell & half a Peeke & half a Bushell for Ground in Elford	-	-	-	18
Jone Yonge Wid. one Bushell	-	-	-	16
Jone Yeate Wid. one & half & half a peck	-	-	2	2
Geo. Morrice half a Bushell & half a peeke	-	-	-	10
W ^m Whetcombe one Bushell	-	-	-	16
Walter Trapnell half a Bushell	-	-	-	8
Nic. Trapnell half a Bushell & half a peeke	-	-	-	10
Henry Sanders one Bushell	-	-	-	16

Elford.

Mistr ^s Christian Haydon fower Bushells	-	-	5	4
Tho ^s Wale half a Bushell	-	-	-	8
Tristram Whitecombe one Bushell & half	-	-	2	0
John Towill one Bushell	-	-	-	16
Else Clapp Wid. half a Bushell	-	-	-	8
Wid. Bryante one Bushell	-	-	-	16
Rich ^d Pearse one Bushell & three Peckes & half & for Basteyn Land one Peeke & halfe toe in all toe Bushells & a peeke	-	-	3	0
Wid. Pike one Peeke	-	-	-	4
Wm. Coode half a Peeke	-	-	-	2
George Churchmill one Peeke	-	-	-	4
John Pearse half a Peeke	-	-	-	2

Ryden.

Johan ^d Holwill Wid. one Bushell & half & half a Peeke	-	-	2	2
And. Holwill the younger one Bushell & half a Peeke	-	-	-	10

Great Fenmore.

Rich ^d Plymton one Bushell & half a peeke	-	-	-	18
John Hill two Bushells & a Peeke	-	-	3	-
John Pyle half a Bushell and half a Peeke	-	-	-	10

Wotton.

John Axe two Bushells	-	-	-	2	8
Tho ^s Parsons one Peecke & half	-	-	-	-	6
Rob ^t Scott 3 Peekes	-	-	-	-	12

Hogsbrooke.

Wid. Wheaton three Peekes	-	-	-	-	12
Wid. Wickes one Bushell	-	-	-	-	16
Ric ^d Scott one Bushell	-	-	-	-	16

Grindell.

W ^m Downname toe Bushells & half	-	-	-	3	4
... Martine toe Bushell & half	-	-	-	3	4
John Pridome one Bushell & half	-	-	-	2	
Rich ^d Watts one Peecke & half	-	-	-	-	6
George Ellies one Peecke & half	-	-	-	-	6

Houndbeare.

Mistriss Haydone fower Bushells	-	-	-	5	4
Wid. Hill one Bushell	-	-	-	-	16

[Part of this Rate is missing, as the whole is said to be 137 bushels and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Peck ; in money £9 2s. 11d.]

Woodbury, 1631.

Whereas the ancient Rate for the repairing of the Church of the said Parish is now too little & not sufficient to satisfy such yearly charges & payments as heretofore hath been accustomed, & now hereafter ought to be laid out & paid towards the said Church. Therefore it was ordered at the Visitation Court holden in the P^rishe Church aforesaid the 23^d of May in the year of our Lord 1631 by the Official & Register for the time being, that there should be a new Rate or tax made for the purpose aforesaid by the then Churchwardens & Sidemen, with others of the said P^rish. Whereupon the s^d Parishioners as well by the condisent of the Right Wors^d Sir Thomas Predyaux Knight as also by the assent of Divers others of the said P^rish whose names are hereafter to this rate subscribed, have now made & agreed upon this new Rate & Tax upon all the lands within the said P^rish, towards the reparation of the said Church & Charges above said yearly from henceforth to be paid from the feast of Easter last past these several sums of money & of these several persons whose names are hereafter in this present Rate expressed : viz.—

Nuttwell.

Sir Tho ^s Predyaux Kt. for his ancient Barten of Nutwell ; for that was Holes Ground ; for Withisaies ; for Basshaies ; for thirteen acres that was Stooks Ground ; for Rydon Meadow ; & for Broad Meadow ; in all	-	-	-	16	8
Robt. Lovering sen ^r for the tenement he lives in	-	-	-	-	11
„ for one Clove called the Horsepark	-	-	-	-	3
„ Two Cloves at Sowell	-	-	-	-	4
„ Five Cottages & a Meadow at Gulliford	-	-	-	-	6
Nathan ^l Salter for Horklake	-	-	-	-	2
Gilb ^t Thatcher	-	-	-	-	7
Gregory Prydham	-	-	-	-	4
Nath ^l Wood for his Tenement	-	-	-	-	8

Nath ^h Wood for that was Braggs	-	-	-	2
Rich ^d Dagworthy	-	-	-	9
Edm ^d Trumpe	-	-	-	2
Tho ^s Hopping for his Tenement	-	-	-	7
— for that was Nychols	-	-	-	7
— for the Hills	-	-	-	10
Richoard Earle Wid. for her Tenement	-	-	-	10
— for Culverley	-	-	-	3
Agnes Benyson Wid.	-	-	-	1
Edw ^d Halse	-	-	-	1
Rich ^d Wood	-	-	-	1
John Terry Gent. for Bridge	-	-	-	4 7
Peter Scott	-	-	-	1
Michael Leycock	-	-	-	2
— Carpenter	-	-	-	1
John Wood the Younger	-	-	-	2
Edm ^d Gallopp	-	-	-	10
Rich ^d Halse	-	-	-	1 2
W ^m Veale	-	-	-	10
Ellinor Bond Wid.	-	-	-	10
Tho ^s Hall	-	-	-	1 8
Rob ^t Hall	-	-	-	11
Ellinor Truscott Wid.	-	-	-	9
Rich ^d Melhuish	-	-	-	1 2
George Wood	-	-	-	2
Clement Watts	-	-	-	1
John Edwards	-	-	-	6
Edw ^d Eveleigh	-	-	-	3
W ^m Coole	-	-	-	1
John Maunder	-	-	-	1

Gryndle.

Walter Younge Gent ^t	-	-	-	9 2
Tho ^s Prydham	-	-	-	1 5
John Wescott	-	-	-	2 0
Rich ^d Watts	-	-	-	4
John Stowforde	-	-	-	4
W ^m Ellis	-	-	-	7
George Bussell	-	-	-	2

Wotton.

John Pynn	-	-	-	10
Christ ^r Morre	-	-	-	4
And ^w Hall	-	-	-	3
Thomsin Cooke Wid. for her Tenement	-	-	-	10
— for Hernes Land	-	-	-	1
— for the Souther Grounds	-	-	-	5
John Lee for Wotton Meadow	-	-	-	9
Francis Gernyn	-	-	-	10
Rob ^t Symons	-	-	-	4
Rob ^t Scott	-	-	-	1 5
Tho ^s Bussell	-	-	-	2
Nicholas Halse	-	-	-	10

		<i>Hogsbrook.</i>				
Tho ^s Scott	-	-	-	-	1	7
Rob ^t Perry	-	-	-	-	1	4
John Scorkche	-	-	-	-	1	5
		<i>Houndbear.</i>				
John Hill	-	-	-	-	2	4
					<hr/>	<hr/>
					£12	5 7
					<hr/>	<hr/>

This Rate beeng finished & published in the P^rishe Church aforesaid, was in the month of July in the aforesaid year of our Lord God 1631 put in & fixed to this Book [the Malt or Ledger] & so confirmed by the hands of those persons whose names are hereafter following set down, viz. :

Tho ^s Prydeaux	Tho ^s Webber
Tho ^s Atwill Minister	Ar. Spurre
Henry Henston	Rob ^t Caddewe
Edw ^d Dally	John Perye
Will ['] Waye	Rob ^t Adams
Edward Holwill	W ^m Whetcomb
Rob ^t Halfyard	Rich ^d Bryant
Rich ^d Halse	Rob ^t Scott
Tho ^s Lee	Rob ^t Symons
Tho ^s Cooke	John Holwill
Charles Stokes	W ^m Pears

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 1, 1883.

Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Alluding to the loss which the Institute had sustained by the death of the Rev. W. Henley Jervis, the Chairman spoke of his constant attendance for many years at the monthly meetings of the Institute, and proposed that a letter be written by Mr. Hartshorne to Mrs. Jervis expressive of the sympathy of the meeting with her. This was seconded by Mr. E. WALFORD, who added some observations respecting Mr. Jervis's historical attainments, specially mentioning his "History of the Church from the Concordat of Bologna to the Revolution," and his "History of the Gallican Church and the Revolution," which brought him much and well-deserved credit.

Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE read a paper on "The Pottery of Ancient Egypt," and exhibited diagrams and examples illustrating the different classes of the fictile vessels of the 4th, 18th, and 19th dynasties, and of Greek, Roman and late Roman times. Many hundreds of specimens had been collected from sites of which the dates were known, in order to establish the epochs of various forms and qualities used. The general result appeared to be that, although some varieties are almost exactly similar from the earliest down to Roman times, yet there are several characteristics by which the periods may be readily distinguished.

The CHAIRMAN enquired as to remains of other kinds in refuse heaps. Mr. PETRIE said there was nothing of any importance, scarcely any metal, and rude late stone implements. Mr. J. BROWN made some observations respecting the rising of the soil since Roman times, as in London, observing that the quantity of pottery went a long way to explain it in this country as well as in Egypt, where Cairo was a case in point.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Petrie, whose paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. W. BRAILSFORD read a paper on "the Monuments in Tideswell Church, Derbyshire," for which a vote of thanks was passed.

Mr. HARTSHORNE read a paper on "Kirkstead Chapel, near Horncastle," calling attention to the singular beauty of this exquisite Early English work, and giving some notes upon the great Cistercian house near which it is placed. Much regret was expressed that, for lack of funds to preserve it, the chapel, which—unlike the Abbey,—still stands complete with its vaulting, windows, and walls, as it was left by its builders in the first

quarter of the thirteenth century, must within a very short time become a hopeless ruin. Mr. Hartshorne thought that since a building of such rare beauty had survived almost intact to the present day, passing unscathed through Reformation, Civil War, Revolution, and that still more dangerous period for its architecture, a contemplated "restoration" of forty years ago, the time had certainly arrived that something should be done to save it, and that it would be a sort of scandal to the body archæological, if so choice a memorial should be supinely suffered to fall into the utter ruin which is now imminent, without at least the support of a few wooden props, which might keep it up until something better could be done. Attention was also called to a remarkable effigy in the chapel, exhibiting a knight in a cylindrical flat-topped helm, of which not more than eight examples have hitherto been noticed in monumental sculpture, and wearing a hauberk of *banded mail*, the fifth sculptured example in England, now observed as such for the first time, of this very puzzling kind of defence. Some wooden screen work, among the earliest in the kingdom, also remaining in the chapel was commented upon. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Hartshorne, whose paper will appear in a subsequent *Journal*.

MR. W. THOMPSON WATKIN communicated the following notes on the Roman station, "*Petriana*," or *Petrianæ*, named in the *Notitia*, and the evidence as to Hexham being its probable site:—

"In the year 1870 I communicated to the Institute a paper which embraced some remarks on the identification of the stations named in the *Notitia*, which had previously been supposed to be on the Roman Wall, west of Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*).

"In that paper, I stated that the station named next to *Amboglanna* in the *Notitia* list (*Petriana*) *might* have been at Lanercost, or its neighbourhood, but that I had a strong suspicion the author of the work followed the line of the wall *no further* than that point. I also gave the opinion that the whole of the wall, westward of Lanercost, had probably been destroyed in the Roman period, and that my idea seemed confirmed by the chorography of *Ravennas*.

"As to the three stations following *Petriana* in the list, I identified the first (*Aballaba*) as being at Papcastle, from an inscription found there; the second (*Concarata*), from an inscription naming the garrison, I placed at the adjoining station of Moresby; and the third (*Ætoldunum*), from a number of inscriptions, I thought was plainly identified with the neighbouring large fortress at Maryport.

"Subsequently, Dr. McCaul, of Toronto, came to the same conclusion as to *Aballaba*; and in 1873, Professor Hübner, in vol. vii of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, whilst leaving the site of *Concarata* an open question, adopted Maryport as the site of *Ætoldunum*, and concluded that *Aballaba* was also upon the Cumberland coast.

"Under this pressure of opinion, Dr. Bruce (who had, up to this time, contended that these three stations were *on the wall*) yielded to the allocation I had proposed for the two last named (*vide* '*Lapidarium Septentrionale*,' pp. 394, 430, 455-6). Since then, I have pointed out in newspaper articles (1875) and in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 341-2, that *Gabrosentæ* and *Tinnocetum*, the stations following *Ætoldunum* in the *Notitia* list, must also have been on the Cumberland coast, as inscriptions mentioning the names of the corps which formed

their garrisons have been found there; whilst on the wall, and on the eastern coast of England, no trace whatever has been found of these troops.

"The site of *Petriaua*, therefore, alone remained to be determined. Traces of the cavalry regiment (*Ala Petriana*), which formed its garrison, had, up to that time, been found at Old Penrith, Carlisle, and on a rock near Lanercost. But in September, 1881, a fine tombstone inscribed to the memory of a soldier of the regiment, was found in part of the foundations of Hexham Church, which I described in a letter to the *Academy* of 1st October in the same year, remarking that Hexham had now 'by far the best claim' to be considered the site of *Petriana*. This remark I repeated in my paper on 'Britanno-Roman Inscriptions discovered in 1881' (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix, pp. 359-60) pointing out also that we had apparently further evidence in the inscription *Lap. Sept.* No. 661, the third line of which I read as (PR) AEF. AL. AVGV(STAE. PETRIANAE), for in the Carlisle inscription, the *ala* bears the prefix of *Augusta*.

"Lately some further interesting discoveries have been made which seem to confirm the views I then expressed. Near Cawfields Mile Castle, on the Wall, an inscribed Roman milestone has been found, which, if read correctly by Dr. Bruce, as there seems little reason to doubt, bears the following inscription:—

IMP . CAES . M . AVREL
SEVER . ALEXANDRO
PI . FEL . AVG . P . M . TR . P .
COS . PP . CVR . CL . XENEPHON
TE . LEG . AVG . PR . PR .
A . PETR . M . P . XVIII

i.e., Imp(eratore) Caes(ar)e M(arco) Aurel(i)o Sever(o) Alexandro Pi(o) Fel(ice) Aug(usto) P(ontifice) M(arimo) Tr(ibunitia) P(otestate) Co(n)s(ule) P(atre) P(atricio), Cur(ante) Cl(audio) Xenephon(e) Leg(ato) Aug(usti) Pr(o) Pr(aetore) A. Petr(ianis) M(ilia) p(assuum) .xviii.

"The first point of interest connected with this inscription is that it informs us of the approximate date of the praetorship of Claudius Xenophon. The name of this imperial legate had previously occurred in an inscription found at *Vindolana* on the Wall, but the period of its erection was not known. The present discovery tells us that it was *before* the second consulate of Alexander Severus, and *after* the death of Elagabalus (as he is not named in the inscription) consequently between the years A.D. 223-225 (both inclusive).

"But the great feature of the inscription is its last line, which tells us that eighteen Roman miles intervened between the place where it was set up, and *Petriaua*. The stone was found *near*, though not *on* the Roman road called 'Stane Gate' which runs inside the great wall, and strikes the North Tyne at right angles, at twelve and a half English miles eastwards from Cawfields, and about three and a half north-north-west from Hexham. From the course of the modern roads it seems most probable that a branch Roman road connected Hexham with this portion of the 'Stane Gate,' and, if so, the distance from Cawfields (sixteen English miles) would be, within a fraction, identical with the eighteen Roman miles marked on the stone.

"That a Roman station existed at Hexham seems a certainty, from the

number of inscriptions found there. Dr Bruce has previously pointed out in his 'Roman Wall' (3rd edit., 1867, p. 343) the probability of this. He says: 'Though not upon the line of the Watling street, Hexham without doubt had communication by road both with *Cilernum* and *Corstopitum*. The situation of Hexham has all the characteristics which the Romans sought for, in fixing upon the site of a camp. That they had a station here is rendered probable by the grandeur of the place in Saxon days.' And Dr. Stukeley, in the last century, says: 'The town was undoubtedly Roman. We judged the *castrum* was where the castellated building now stands, east of the market place, which is on the brow of a hill and has a good prospect.'

"Horsley marks on his map a Roman road from Portgate through Hexham and then on by Allendale to the station at Whitley Castle (*Glanoventa*).

"But it may be argued that the stone possibly marks a distance of eighteen miles from a station further to the westward. If we accordingly trace the road in this direction as far as it is visible (near the station of *Amboglanna*, Birdoswald) and thence produce it in a straight line to the neighbourhood of the next station at Walton House, we shall have traversed a distance of from thirteen-and-a-half to fourteen English miles, which does not agree so well as that to Hexham. Further, the station itself is a small one (only two and three-quarter acres,) and would not have accommodation for a large regiment (even of infantry); we know that the *Ala Petriana* was one thousand strong, so that the space required for so large a body of men, with their horses, would be much greater than the camp at Walton. The garrison of the latter too, from inscriptions appears to have been a foot regiment (the second cohort of the *Tungri*), no trace of any cavalry regiment being found.

"It has also been asserted that as the stone was found near, or adjoining to the *military* road which ran close within and parallel to the great Wall, it must have been Castlesteads that was named on it as being *Patriana*. But this seems at once confuted by the fact, that before the road reached Castlesteads, two other stations at least, *Magna* and *Amboglanna*, had to be passed. Why then should not the first station reached (*Magna*) have been named, instead of the third? On the other hand, no such obstacle occurs between Cawfields and Hexham, the latter being the first station reached on the 'Stane Gate.'

"Under these circumstances, I submit, that from the agreement of distance with that named in the milestone, from the fact of its being a cavalry station, from an inscription naming the *Ala Petriana* having been found there, Hexham, as I was the first to point out (in 1881,) has by far the best, if not the only claim, to be considered the *Petrian* of the *Notitia*, and thus, that the allocations of *Aballara*, *Congwata*, *Axelodunum*, *Gabrosentae*, and *Tunnoceum*, which I had previously made, are still further confirmed.

"I may add that additional evidence as to Hexham being a cavalry station is to be found in the inscription, No. 656, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, from which we gather that Quintus Calpurnius Concessinius, who erected it, was a Praefect of Horse. (*Praefectus Equitum*.)"

Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.—Egyptian pottery and diagrams, in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. W. BRAILSFORD.—Rubbing of the brass of Sir Sampson Meverell.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—Photographs of Kirkstead Chapel, drawing of the effigy, and squeezes of the banded mail represented upon it, and drawings of the screen work.

By SIR H. DRYDEN, Bart.—Drawings of heraldic tiles from churches in Northamptonshire. Among these coats was Widvile, Catesby, and a jumbled coat of Pipewell Abbey, with the arms of some abbot or benefactor. Two other shields, doubtful in their appropriation, at least for Northamptonshire families, bore respectively, a chevron between ten crosses (6 and 4); and a cross flory between four martlets.

By Mr. H. HUTCHINGS.—A tile bearing a shield charged with a cross between four lions rampant, a coat which, variously coloured, was borne by Daubeney, Danby, Talbot, Bendish, Everard, Burghersh, Dokesworth, and Sir W. Pipard.

By Mrs. HENLEY JERVIS.—A covered cup of steel inlaid with silver, Indian work.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A brass clock lately obtained from a cottage at Heckford Bridge near Colchester. This was of the usual type, with a bell on the top like a dome. It had been altered from a short "bob" to a long pendulum, and bore the name Thomas Rafe, and the date 1661, on the lower edge of the pierced brass work in front between the face and the bell. Mr. Morgan is kind enough to inform us that several clock and roasting-jack makers lived in Colchester, and that works for these objects were much made in that town.

March 1, 1883.

The Rev. Sir TALBOT H. B. BAKER, Bart., in the Chair.

Mr. J. PARK HARRISON read a paper on "Saxon Remains in Minster Church, Isle of Sheppy." Among the features belonging to the early church an arcade of seven openings, extending across the east wall and possibly connected with the upper choir, was commented upon, as well as five sets of Roman flue-tiles, passing through the wall about twelve feet from the ground, which had been discovered by Mr. Harrison. It was noticeable that the semi-circular arches were built irregularly of Roman tiles, *more Romano*, as at Brixworth. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Harrison, whose paper will appear on a future occasion.

Mr. C. E. KEYSER read a paper on "Mural Paintings at Farnborough Church, Hampshire." These decorations are interesting as containing the only known representation in this country of St. Eugenia.

Mr. WALLER gave a general sketch of the life of St. Eugenia, and Mr. Keyser then read a second paper on "Mural Paintings at Oakwood Chapel, Surrey." Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Keyser and Mr. Waller.

Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN communicated his seventh annual List of Roman Inscriptions found in Britain.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. PARK HARRISON.—Drawings in illustration of his paper.

By MISS LONGMAN.—Tracings and photographs of the paintings at Farnborough.

By the Rev. E. A. CHICHESTER.—Tracings and drawings of the paintings at Oakwood. The figures here represented are of gigantic size, and must originally have been very fine things; they are now faded and damaged almost beyond recognition.

MR. HARTSHORNE exhibited two suits of Japanese armour, and communicated the following notes upon them:—

“The two suits of Japanese armour, which I have the honour to bring before the meeting are exhibited, not because they are old enough to be called ancient—I believe they date from the middle of the last century—but because they carry in their details so many of the methods and practises of classic and mediæval armour. The back and breast pieces in their general construction recall the antique; the sleeves are of wire mail, arranged after the classic fashion, but with pieces of repoussé iron imbedded in it.

“The skirts, shoulder pieces, and other portions are Jasarant, or splint armour, some of the strips being connected with each other in a most careful and ingenious manner by ties and interlacings of silk or worsted braid.

“The helmets are built up of different pieces of iron, the whole being then covered with lacquer. The linings, always a most important point in helmets of all kinds, have much in common with the linings of mediæval helmets, and they also have inner bands to relieve the head from the lateral pressure of the helmet. The masks are very carefully beaten out and beautifully lacquered inside. We know that many of the processes of our Middle ages have survived in the East, and in these suits we see what many of the processes and forms of classic times have survived in Japan till late times; indeed Japanese suits of precisely this form are made, chiefly in lacquered papier maché, at the present day for the English market. The examples now under consideration are fighting suits and have been used, one a good deal.

“How old these types of equipment are we have at present not sufficient means of accurately judging. They probably exhibit traditional shapes and methods of construction, that have come down with a singularly gifted and artistic people from at least what we reckon classic times.

“A most elaborate and picturesque volume could be written about Japanese armour, of which these are quite second-rate examples. The variety of their decorations, the wonderful delicacy of their workmanship, and the accuracy with which their different parts are knotted together is very remarkable.

“With regard to the splint armour for the legs, we get some explanations of the defences worn so commonly in the middle of the fourteenth century; armour which monumental effigies and illuminated MS. do not always clearly explain. The armour of splints worn by Sir Guy Brian in his effigy at Tewkesbury is precisely what we have in these Japanese examples.”

Since the above notes were written, Mr. N. Makino, an attaché of the Japanese Embassy, has been obliging enough to inspect the armour in question, and he informs us that the suits are such as would have been

worn by common soldiers, and that they date from the early part of the last century.

By the Rev. J. E. WALDY.—A silver plate given in 1783, according to an inscription on the back, to the church of Claverton, near Bath, by the Rev. R. Graves. The engraving on the plate seems to be Dutch work, but the general design is certainly Greek, and the hand of the Divine Infant seems to be giving the benediction in the Greek manner. It was probably copied from some Greek drawing, but for what purpose the plate was made is not certain. It seems to be considerably older than the date at the back.

By Mr. FISHER.—A bronze torque found in Carlisle.

By Mr. COURT.—An acanthus leaf in bronze, terminating in a winged bat or griffin, and having a socket at the back for the insertion of a rod. This beautiful object also came from Carlisle.

By Mr. R. READY.—Twelve bowls in Roman glass of great delicacy and beauty.

By Mr. A. E. GRIFFITHS.—A collection of Mezzotints of Old London.

It was announced that the Earl of Chichester had accepted the office of President of the Institute at Lewes.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

RETROSPECTIONS, SOCIAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL, Vol. I. By CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. Printed by Subscription. G. Bell & Sons, London, 1883.

That veteran archaeologist, Mr. Roach Smith, has just printed the first volume of his "Retrospections, Social and Archæological," and of one thing we are certain, that all who read Volume I will be anxious to handle, as soon as possible, Volumes II and III. To the older archaeologists Volume I must recall pleasant reminiscences of many old friends and collaborateurs; while it admits the younger men to the behind scenes of the contentions which attended the "split" between the Institute and the Association. Stormy days indeed were those; but what Mr. Roach Smith tells, he tells without bitterness, and none of the survivors can feel hurt when reading his interesting pages; nay, rather the contrary. *Forsitan et hæc olim meminisse jurabit* has become a fulfilled prophecy in their case; while his occasional girds at the Society of Antiquaries will find, even now-a-days, many sympathisers. If we would hint at a fault in the book, it is an occasional want of perspective: all those of whom Mr. Roach Smith writes are placed alike in the foreground, and yet the youngest tyro in archæology cannot fail to see how far (to take but one example) Planché stands out beyond one or two who occupy almost as much space in the volume as the late Somerset Herald.

Possibly the most interesting part of the volume is Mr. Roach Smith's account of Mr. Roach Smith, his "Early Life, and Prelude to Life in London." There is a charming little touch of egotism about it—indeed about the whole volume—which makes us realize the man better; we can almost understand what Mr. Edward Hawkins meant when he said Mr. Roach Smith was "impracticable." "Impracticable" or not (Mr. Roach Smith himself tells the story, and so we can comment on it) no one can fail to recognise the practical and valuable work done by Mr. Roach Smith. Difficulties never daunted him, and if he was sometimes "impracticable" and gave offence, it was because, as in the case of the excavation at Lymne, he would not wait for colleagues, who hummed and hawed, and saw difficulties, but went in and made the score off his own bat. Mr. Roach Smith was the first to commence the systematic preservation of the relics of Roman-London; his collection is well known, and the liberal terms on which he parted with it to the nation, rather than allow it to be broken up, are most honourable to him.

The book is well got up, and by the kindness of Mr. Joseph Mayer is enriched with a characteristic portrait of the writer. Those who have never seen the original will learn from the portrait somewhat of the energy and keenness inherent in the man himself.

We regret to learn that much of the volume now before us was destroyed by fire while in the sheets, and fear that it must have entailed serious loss upon the author.

Archaeological Intelligence.

MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN SUSSEX.

The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Lewes, on July 31st, under the presidency of the Earl of Chichester, are now completed. The following are the names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections: *Antiquities*—President, Major-Genl. Pitt Rivers: Vice-Presidents, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. F. W. Cosens, the Baron de Cosson, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Mr. A. Nesbitt, and Mr. J. E. Price. *History*—President, Mr. E. A. Freeman: Vice-Presidents, Mr. D. G. C. Elwes, the Rev. T. W. Jex-Blake, Mr. E. Peacock, the Rev. W. Powell, Sir J. Sibbald D. Scott, Bart., and the Rev. Precentor Venables. *Architecture*—President, Mr. J. T. Mickethwaite: Vice-Presidents, Sir C. H. J. Anderson, Bart., Mr. G. T. Clark, Mr. Somers Clarke, Jun., Mr. J. H. Parker, Mr. T. Gambier Parry, and Mr. R. P. Pullan. The following places will be visited among others during the week:—Pevensey, Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings Castle, Battle, (where Mr. Freeman will act as guide,) Mount Caburn, Hurstmonceaux Castle, New Shoreham, Old Shoreham, Sompting, Broadwater, Arundel, Castle, and Church, Chichester, &c.

* * All persons who have it in contemplation to read papers during the Meeting are desired to communicate at once with the Secretary of the Institute.



The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1883.

ON THE NATIVE LEVIES RAISED BY THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN.

By the REV. JOSEPH HIRST.¹

As to the manner in which the Romans levied their auxiliary forces amongst all the subject nations of the Empire, we are left entirely without information; nor can any exact or well-defined knowledge be gathered from the writers of antiquity as to the numerical constitution of the various bodies into which they were formed—the cohort, the cuneus, the ala, the numerus, and the vexillation. Of the motley horde of barbarian irregulars brought by the Romans on to British soil, we can form a very good idea, and various authors have endeavoured to supply an accurate list of their names, as Brady, Horsley, Hodgson, Mr. Thompson Watkin, and Professor Hübner.²

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, June 7th, 1883.

² Brady, in his *Complete History of England*, in the Savoy, 1685, a long since forgotten work in folio, gives (i, p. 71), for his time, a very fair account of the Roman military establishment in Britain. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, published 150 years ago, is, of course, fuller and more accurate, as he could then draw, not only from the Notitia, but from various military rescripts and lapidary inscriptions as well. A list of the auxiliary forces of the Romans in Britain was next given by the Rev. J. Hodgson, in his *History of Northumberland*, Part II, vol. iii, p. 312; but a still more satisfactory list has recently been supplied by Mr. Thompson Watkin, in the *Proceedings* at the evening meetings of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, sessions 1872-3, to which a short supplement of six new corps was added by him in the *Transactions* of 1880. In 1881, Dr. Hübner of Berlin, to whom British Epigraphy is indebted for two noble volumes, pub-

lished in the xvth part of *Hermes*, a most important and learned article on the subject, entitled "Das Römische Heer in Britannia." In this long and erudite article, however, extending over thirty-two closely-printed pages in octavo, and literally bristling with authorities, Hübner does not furnish as many separate corps as Mr. T. Watkin, whose first article he had probably not seen, as I do not observe him quote it. In Roy's *Military Antiquities*, a superb volume in imperial folio printed in the last century by the London Society of Antiquaries, I find no definite information, the subject being merely mentioned. Sir James Turner, in his *Pallas Armata*, is equally silent, though the 11th Chapter of Book II is entitled "Of the Roman Allies and Auxiliaries, and the Mistakes of some Authors concerning them." I have also looked in vain in such works as Aylett Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua*, and in other similar works where the military equipment of the Britons is treated of at length. The subject of the native levies, which is one of extreme

The troops, however, recruited by the Romans amongst the native Britons, and sent, according to custom, upon foreign service, have not attracted equal attention; and I am aware of only two authors in this country who have attempted the interesting task of furnishing an adequate description of them, Camden and Mr. Sadler. The list drawn up by Camden, three hundred years ago, must necessarily be very inaccurate; and such as it is, neither Gibson nor Gough have thought fit to amend it.¹

As, however, I must discuss it in the following paper, I will begin by transcribing it as it stands in his *Britannia*.²

Ala Britannica Milliaria.
 Ala IIII Britonum in Aegypto.
 Cohors Prima Aelia Britonum.
 Cohors III Britonum.
 Cohors VII Britonum.
 Cohors XXVI Britonum in Armenia.
 Britannici sub Magistro peditum.
 Invicti juniores Britannici } inter auxilia Palatina.
 Exculcatores jun. Britan. }
 Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.
 Invicti Juniores Britones intra Hispanias.
 Britones Seniores in Illyrico.

In the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, for September, 1870, there is an article by Mr. A. Sadler, of the existence of which I was not aware until after the publication in the *Journal* of the Institute of my recent article on the Continental Britons. Mr. Sadler's article is entitled "British Auxiliary Troops in the Roman Service," and I may summarise the native British levies admitted by him as follows:—

interest, is dismissed by Sammes, at p. 378, in a paragraph of five lines, without the mention of a single corps.

It is a circumstance ever to be regretted, that as the books of Livy, which treat of the invasions of Britain by Cæsar, have been lost, so we have to deplore the loss of those books of the *Annals* of Tacitus which would have recounted the first permanent occupation of Britain by the Romans. Thus it is only from scattered allusions of classic authors, and from the fragmentary inscriptions, which are now every day coming to light, that we can gather the number and names of the regions and their auxiliaries which made

up the very numerous Roman army in Britain. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official document showing the distribution of the civil officers and of the military forces of the divided Empire, is of service only for the period immediately preceding the time when it was drawn up, viz., the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era.

¹ Of this list, I intend to show that only one body named by Camden, the first, consisted of troops raised in Britain; while we have proof of the existence of eight other native levies not mentioned by him.

² Ed. Gibson, 1722, col. cvii.

Cohors I Britannica Milliarum Civium Romanorum.
 Pedites Singulares Britannici.
 Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica Milliarum Civium Romanorum.
 Ala II Britannica (probable).
 Vexillatio Britannica.

Besides the above corps belonging to Britain proper, our author gives a long list of Britones, viz., a first, second, third, fourth, and sixth cohort; a fourth wing; a numerus Britonum from Rugby, another from Caledonia; Britones Secundani in Gaul; Invicti Juniores Britones in Spain; Britones Seniores in Illyria; and four bodies of Atecotti, or Scots. In justification of the above enumeration, our author says (p. 229), "The expression Cohors Britannica would, in accordance with Roman parlance, imply a cohort stationed in Britain; not a cohort of Britons. But in the instance of these British troops, the usual phraseology has been violated, and the auxiliary troops of this nation are constantly mentioned as cohorts or ala Britannica. There can be no doubt that two distinct nations are understood by the term Britannica and Brittonum. The first are men raised in Britannia propria, *i.e.*, on this side of the Roman wall; the second, in Britannia Prima, or Inferior, *i.e.*, the northern provinces of England, parts of the lowlands of Scotland, also men from Britannia Secunda, or Superior, *i.e.*, Wales."

For a full treatment of this vexed question of the distinction between Brittones and Britanni, I must refer my readers to my article on the Continental Britons in a former number of this *Journal*.¹ For the present, it will be sufficient to observe that Hübner, a great authority, in his classified list of the auxiliary troops brought by the Romans into Britain, puts down the Brittones as coming from the province of Gaul;² while Mr. Rhys, Professor of Celtic at Oxford, in his work on *Celtic Britain*, forming the first volume of an excellent series entitled *Early Britain*, issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, fully endorses the conclusions of De Vit, to which I there gave expression. The subject, however, is an interesting one, and I hope to return to it in another paper.

¹ Vol. xl, p. 80.

² Cf. Die cohorten der Brittonen

scheinen gallischer Herkunft. Hermes, Part xvi, p. 552, note.

It will be observed that Camden omits altogether all mention of any cohort of Britannic foot-soldiers, while Mr. Sadler gives only one. For reasons, however, which seem irrefragable, at least three cohorts formed of the natives of the island must be admitted; while two more must be ascribed to the inhabitants of the island who enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship. As regards the cohorts of British natives, Mr. Sadler acknowledges three separate titles left on record, but he attributes them to one and the same cohort. On this point, however, the testimony of Hübner in favour of three several cohorts is decisive: "Es gab überhaupt, so viel ich sehe, nur drei cohortes Britannorum." (*Hermes*, Part xvi, p. 552.)

One of the first cares of the Romans, after the conquest of any territory whatsoever, was to reduce it as much as possible to the form of a Roman province, and to subject it to its just proportion of tribute, as regards both the products of the country and men for military service. The able bodied among the newly conquered subjects were drafted into various corps, where they occupied in the Roman army the post of auxiliaries, at the flank of the trusted legions which were fed from the mother country.¹ When therefore little by little the island of Britain was conquered by Claudius, and made a Roman province, as is attested by Tacitus in his life of Agricola,² it was at the same time, as we may well believe, obliged to pay tribute, and to furnish its contingent of native soldiery. Indeed, Tacitus himself observes in particular that the inhabitants of Britain enrolled themselves willingly under the Roman colours, and were prompt in paying tribute, as long as they were well treated and not subjected to insult.³ Not only the conquered natives, however, but even those who enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship, though living in foreign parts, were obliged to serve in the auxiliary forces attached to the Roman legions. No sooner then did Aulus Plautius feel himself firmly

¹ The legions were Roman or Italian, but in course of time abuse soon altered their composition. Barbarian legionaries, who became more and more common as the Empire grew in extent, were a frequent cause of trouble to the later Emperors.

² *Redacta paulatim in formam provinciæ*

proxima pars Britannicæ, addita insuper veteranorum colonia. (ch. xiv.)

³ *Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta imperii munera impigre obant, si injuriæ absint; has ægre tolerant, jam domiti, ut parcant, nondum ut serviant. (ib. ch. xiii.)*

established in the island, than, as we may well suppose, did he address himself to the task of making amongst both natives and Roman-born the requisite levies. Such was the invariable custom under the iron rule of the ever-advancing power of Rome, and it was especially a matter of the highest importance to denude the conquered territory of every arm amongst the barbarians capable of lifting a weapon in its defence. The very fact of this first levy of the native Britons, the necessarily harsh and unsparing way in which in too many instances it would in the beginning have to be carried out, the cruel family separations it entailed, the marching away of the impressed gangs under strong military escort to the sea-board, whence the flower of British youth were wafted to distant lands, from which escape was impossible, and where they would be quickly trained and formed into organised bands, officered by none but Romans, and shoulder to shoulder with unknown races, and urged on by Roman legionaries, would have to fight, often in self defence, against an unknown enemy; all this legalised cruelty and suffering may perhaps in itself have been one of the chief causes of the rebellion of Caractacus.¹ At the latest would this levy take place under Ostorius Scapula, after the victory he obtained over the rebellious Britons, A.D. 50. Then it was, that he planted a colony of veterans at Colchester, with the double intent, as observed by Tacitus, to over-awe the turbulent natives, and to accustom those who had submitted or become allies, to the various burdens imposed upon them, by the searching and unbending laws of their inexorable masters: *Colonia Camalodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos subsidium adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum* (Ann. xii, 32).

To admit, then, during the whole period of the Roman occupation, only one cohort of native Britons, even though kept up to its full complement of over a thousand men, a cohort which before the end of the first century became composed exclusively of veterans and Roman citizens, is

¹ Compare the words of Caractacus before his last battle, where he appeals to the valour of his ancestors, *quorum virtute vacui a securibus et tributis, intemerata conjugum et liberorum corpora retinebant* (Tacitus, Ann. xii, 34), with those of the

British King Galgacus, before the battle of the Grampians "Our children and relatives are by the laws of nature the dearest of all things to us. These are torn away by levies to serve in foreign lands." (Agricola, ch. 31.)

manifestly a supposition unequal to the occasion. If we were to admit Mr. Sadler's calculation¹ we should have no Roman citizens at all enrolled originally as such in the auxiliary service. Now the number of Roman citizens then living in Britain must have been very great, for there existed already at the time of Claudius the two colonies of Colchester and London, and the municipium of Verulam. Great numbers of Roman citizens were brought into the country as civil officers connected with the revenue derived from the island, or with the administration of police; while numbers flocked from every part of the empire to settle down as merchants, planters and artificers. The numerous legionaries and their officers, together with the families of the civil functionaries, could not be provided with the necessaries and luxuries of life, without the presence of numerous trade agents in the island; neither could the splendid villas and public buildings, the baths, the theatres and the temples, which began to adorn the isle of Britain, be erected and embellished, without the aid and direction of Roman citizens from other lands. Amongst other professions that the medical was not un-represented, is evidenced by the Roman medicine stamps to be found in our museums.² These Roman citizens with their dependants and children would soon amount to a goodly number. No more than twenty years after the arrival of the first Roman governor in Britain, no fewer than seventy thousand citizens and allies perished, according to Tacitus (*Annals*, xiv, 33), during Boadicea's rebellion in London, Verulam and Colchester alone.³ Instead then of admitting, that no Roman citizens living in Britain were enrolled until near the end of the first century, when, from the period of their first appearance at that date, we should have no further enrolments from the natives of Britain; most probably both

¹ The statement is made by Mr. Roach Smith, whose name would naturally carry great weight on all questions of Britanno-Roman antiquities. In his *Illustrations of Roman London*, page 32, he writes as follows: "The cohorts prima Britannica, which was in Dacia under Trajan, bore the additional distinction of *Cives Romani* shewing they had obtained the rights of Roman citizenship."

² Vide Davis in *Crania Britannica*, p. 172, and Kemble's *Saxons*, vol. ii, (in

the chapter *Towns sub init.*) Under date A.D. 61, Tacitus speaks of London, in a well known passage, as *Londinium cognomento quidem colonie non insigne, sed copia negotia torum et comineatuum maxime celebre* (*Ann.* xiv, 33).

³ We may note with Gibbon (vol. i, p. 22), that about forty years after the reduction of Asia, 80,000 Romans were massacred in one day by order of Mithridates. Some authors say that 150,000 Roman citizens were then butchered.

the native and citizen levies were, after a short interval, conducted contemporaneously, all enlistments in the auxiliary forces being for equal periods of twenty-five years while the time of service in the regular army varied from ten to twenty years. These different corps, bearing different titles, were no doubt replenished by fresh recruits according as the case required and as occasion offered, and were thus kept up to their original strength in accordance with the numerical designation signified by their respective titles.

Instead then of admitting one cohort of native Britons, which went first under the designation of Cohors I. Britannica, until after being composed first of somewhat over five hundred men, it was later on raised to be a *milliary* cohort of somewhat over a thousand men, and hence called Cohors I. Britannica miliaria, which same cohort was again transformed into a British cohort composed exclusively of Roman citizens, whence we find it called Cohors I. Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum; I think, on the following grounds, that not only three, but five different British cohorts must be admitted under the Roman occupation.

Our first record of a cohort of British auxiliaries is given in one of those tablets of bronze, called *tabulae honestae missionis*, specimens of which may be now seen in the British Museum in the room of Anglo-Roman Antiquities recently arranged by Mr. Franks,¹ and first opened to the public in April of the present year. By this rescript of the Emperor Titus, dated A.D. 80, the usual privileges bestowed after twenty-five years' service in the Roman army were granted to various bodies of troops at that time stationed in Pannonia, including the rights of Roman citizenship for themselves and their families, provided always they conformed in the matter of marriage to the stricter customs of their conquerors.² Judging from the

¹ The inner or second room as one enters from the main landing immediately after ascending the principal staircase.

² As an example, and for convenience of reference, I will give one military rescript in full. It is the first in which a British cohort is recorded. *Imp. Titus Caesar, Divi Vespasiani F., Vespasianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunus,*

potestat. VIII, Imp. XV, pp. censor, Cos. VIII, iis, qui militaverunt equites et pedites in alis quatuor et cohortibus decem et tribus, I. Arcacorum, I. Civium Romanorum, II. Arcacorum Frontoniana, I. Alpinorum, I. Montanorum, I. Noricorum, I. Lepidiana, I. Augusta Ituracorum, I. Lucensium, I. Alpinorum, I. Brittanica, II. Asturum et Gallacorum, II. Hispanorum, III. Thracum, V. Breucorum, VIII.

date of this diploma, the first British cohort herein mentioned must have been formed about A.D. 54, the last year of the life of Claudius, though possibly as early as A.D. 51. Usually the first cohort formed in a given nation consisted of a thousand men, and it was given the name of *milliary*; but when not, it was styled simply *cohors*, without any numerical designation, and consisted of something over five hundred men. This first British cohort, then, of which we have record, belongs to this latter class. We soon meet, however, with the record of a first *milliary* British cohort, for a *Cohors I. Britannica miliaria* is mentioned in a similar military diploma issued by Domitian, only five years after the former, viz., A.D. 85, so that this cohort must have been formed somewhere about A.D. 59, if not earlier. We have record of this cohort's having served both in Dacia¹ and Pannonia. If this latter cohort were identical with the former, which, having first been composed of five hundred men, was afterwards raised to a thousand, and thereupon styled *milliary*, this latter title would have been applicable to it only during the short period of five years that intervened between these two military rescripts, a supposition not borne out by the circumstances of the case. The existence, however, of these two cohorts, both designated primary, implies at least one second cohort, *Cohors II. Britannica*, composed at least of five hundred men, or else the Romans would not have departed from their established custom, and would have styled each of these bodies *cohors* simply, without the addition of *Prima*.

To these three exclusively native British cohorts we must now add those recruited amongst the Roman citizens

Ractorum, quæ sunt in Pannonia sub T. Atilio Rufo, quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis, dimissis honesta missione. Item iis qui militavit in aliis duabus I. Civium Romanorum et II. Arracorum et cohorte VIII. Ractorum, et sunt sub eodem, emeritis quinis et vicenis stipendiis, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis, liberis posterisque eorum, civitatem dedit et connubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut si qui codices essent cum eis, quas postea ducissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas.

Idibus Junii L. Lamio Plantio Aeliano,

C. Mario Marcello Octaviano Publico Cluvio Rufo Cos.

Arneth, Zwölf Römische militär—Diplome, Wien 1843, in 4to. p. 33. The above diploma of the Emperor Titus was dug up in fragments, on the 23 July, 1838, at Kloster-Neuburg near Vienna.

¹ Gibbon (i, p. 4) quotes Herodotus and Julian in the *Cæsars* for the statement that the Dacians were the most warlike of men, while to the strength and fierceness of barbarians they added a contempt of life derived from their belief in the immortality and transmigration of the soul.

in Britain, whether British born or not. In a diploma of Trajan, under date A.D. 110, we have mention of a Cohors I. Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum, which must have been enrolled at the latest A.D. 84. But from this cohort's being styled I. miliaria civium Romanorum, there is every reason to believe that there must have been another, enrolled later, of at least five hundred men, also entitled to the appellation of Roman citizens. To suppose the contrary would be in violation of the acknowledged custom by which they refrained from assigning any number to a cohort or to an ala if it was the only one formed of a given race. Thus are we authorized in supposing the existence during the first age of the Roman empire of at least five British cohorts of which the memory has only accidentally been preserved, and indeed only tardily, that is to say, within the last forty years, made known to us by the casual discovery of single, fragmentary and oftentimes mutilated inscriptions.

How utterly inadequate and inconsistent it would be to suppose that during the whole Roman occupation there was but one cohort styled Britannica will appear from a comparison of the number of cohorts raised by the Romans from amongst other subject nations.¹ Not to mention other auxiliary bodies of men, whether of horse or of foot, enrolled in regiments bearing names which became multiplied inordinately towards the end of the empire, and confining our attention to the original and more regular designation of cohort, we find record, sparse and incoherent as it sometimes is, of numerous levies from other tribes (and some of them but little known) enlisted in the service of their conquerors. For instance, there were in the Roman auxiliary army nine cohorts of Alemanni, five of Germans, twelve of Alpines, eight of Aquitanians, three of Arabians, seven of Batavians, eleven of a German race called Chamavi, the same number of Dalmatians, fourteen of Rhaetians, eighteen of Thracians, seven of Portuguese, twenty of Spaniards, and fourteen of Spanish Asturians. In some cases the names of the intermediate cohorts, between the first and the highest number, have been lost, while others every day are coming to light to fill up lacunæ and augment the total. But if

¹ Vegetius in a well known passage says expressly that the northern levies

were preferred by the Romans to those made in less temperate Zones.

the above enumeration, based upon each actual occurrence of a separate name for a cohort, be too ample, Latin epigraphy bears witness to at least a Cohors IX. *Alemannorum*, a Cohors XII. *Alpinorum*, a Cohors VIII. *Breucorum*, a Cohors VII. *Gallorum*, a Cohors X. *Hispanorum*, a Cohors VI. *Nerviorum*, a Cohors VI. *Pannoniorum*, a Cohors VI. *Pelignorum*, a Cohors V. *Petreorum*, a Cohors IIII. *Phrygum*, a Cohors VIII. *Raetorum*, a Cohors XIV. *Rauracorum*, a Cohors IX. *Thracum*, a Cohors IX. *Tzanorum*, a Cohors XIV. *Valeria Zabdenorum*, a Cohors IIII. *Vindelicorum*, and a Cohors III. *Paflagonum*. Nowhere, however, do we read of any nation furnishing anything like twenty-six cohorts, the numerical designations just given being the highest on record, with the exception of the cohorts of Roman volunteers, of whom we have a Cohors XXXII. *Voluntariorum Civium Romanorum*. When Lingard,¹ then, speaking of the British auxiliaries, asserts "What their number might be, is uncertain; but there exists evidence to show, that they amounted to at least six-and-twenty cohorts," he was evidently led into error by Camden, the origin of whose mistake, as it concerns the Brittones, I must defer to a subsequent paper.²

Besides the five regular British cohorts there is also mention made in the last-named diploma of Trajan, of a body of picked British foot-soldiers, called *Pedites singu-*

¹ History of England, ch. I. page 33, ed. 1837.

² A glance at De Vit's *ONOMASTICON sub voce* Cohors may give a clue as to how some of these numbers may have been attained, without the existence in all cases of the intermediate numerals in regular succession. For instance, the *Alpini* are thus enumerated:—

Cohors I. *Alpensium* ped.
Cohors I. *Alpinorum*.
Cohors I. *Alpinorum* equitata.
Cohors I. et I. *Alpinorum* (*h.e.* peditata et equitata. V. *ALPINUS* §. 5.)
Cohors I. *Alpinorum* peditata.
Cohors II. *Alpinorum*.
Cohors II. *Alpinorum* equitata.
Cohors III. *Alpinorum*.
Cohors III. *Alpinorum* pia fidelis.
Cohors III. *Alpinorum* Dardanorum.
Cohors IIII. *Alpinorum* vexillariorum equitata.
Cohors XII. *Alpinorum*.

Here we have twelve or thirteen cohorts of mountaineers, of what nation-

ality is not always certain, a number sufficiently authorised by the Cohors XII. A., though the actual numbers from V. to XI. inclusive, which may in the case of other tribes have been in use, do not in this instance seem to have been recorded, the distinctive designations given above having of themselves sufficed to denote each of the twelve several cohorts.

The same may be said of the *Commageni*, of whom we have the following list:—

Cohors I. *Commagenorum*.
Cohors I. *Flavia Commagenorum*.
Cohors II. *Commagenorum*.
Cohors. II. *Flavia Commagenorum*.
Cohors III. *Commagenorum*.
Cohors VI. *Commagenorum*.

Of these Syrian auxiliaries, from a country near the Euphrates, which was first made into a Roman province by Vespasian, we have in like manner a sixth cohort without passing through the regular enumeration of a fourth and a fifth.

lares Britannici. Perhaps the very existence of this crack corps would point to a greater number than one British cohort, from which a selection could be made. The full title of this body, as appears from the Bulletin of the German Institute in Rome, for 1855, page 38, is *Cohors peditata singularium Britannicorum*. Whether these or any other cohort formed what is called *Cohors III Britanorum* or *Britanninorum*, of which there is mention in a diploma granted by M. Aurelius and L. Verus, A.D. 166, I cannot tell. Only once are the *cohortes Britannorum* expressly mentioned by Tacitus in the books preserved to us (*Hist.* i, 70), and these probably belong to the Brittones. When then he states that three cohorts with a British wing of horse were sent by Vitellius from the Rhine, whence they were marched into Italy, where they joined arms with Vespasian, he means three British cohorts from Britain Proper: *venere tres cohortes cum ala Britannica* (*ib.* iii. 41).¹ To the bodies of horse, however, raised in Britain proper it is now time to turn.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, he found that ancient people, like the Greeks in the Trojan war, ignorant of the use of cavalry, though very dexterous in the management of their chariots.² Before the end of the first century, however, the British horse recruited by the Romans

¹ Only on one other occasion does Tacitus mention the *Cohortes Britannice*, when he has to mention a certain Sulpicius Florus who belonged to them. The seven cohorts of Brittones of which we have record were all recruited, and can be proved to have been contemporaneous with the army of insular Britons, as specified above, namely during the reign of Domitian A.D. 81-96. Though the official distinction, however, between the two designations dates from the time of Claudius, each people continued to pass under the name of *Britanni*, so that it is not surprising that when Tacitus wrote he should adopt the designation of *cohortes Britannorum* mentioned in the above diploma, although in a diploma of Trajan granted A.D. 107 the honourable dismissal for twenty-five years' service is granted to perhaps the same third cohort, this time correctly styled *Brittones*, a fact which places the formation of the corps A.D. 81 or 82.

² Summes and some other authors speak not only of chariots, but of the exist-

ence of cavalry amongst the ancient Britons, no doubt on the authority of Cæsar (*de B. G.* iv., 24, 26, 34) and Tacitus (*Agricola* c. 35 and 36). Had the Britons, however, had cavalry, Cæsar and Tacitus would scarcely have omitted to record the fact in more express terms than can be gathered from the above citations. Individual leaders may have appeared on horseback, but by way of exception, just as though in Homer, we read of no one at the time of Agamemnon riding on horseback, we do read of Diomed's being mounted when with Ulysses he made prize of the horses of Rhesus.

The existence of cavalry amongst the ancient Britons may, therefore be left a moot point, like that of the metal scythes said to have been attached to their chariot wheels. My venerated friend, Mr. Bloxam, tells me, that a similar uncertainty exists as to whether the ancient Britons in their conflict with the Romans made use of bows and arrows.

obtained a high degree of efficiency, and ranked among the most splendid regiments in the service. For whilst a wing of Indian horse (*ala Indiana*, whatever that may mean), a body of Syrian troopers, and many a squadron of Gallic, Spanish, Hungarian, Polish and Thracian cavalry, were, riders and their mounts, brought over into our little isle to crush revolt, keep up communications, and defend the western and northern frontiers; the natives themselves, equipped as Roman cavalry, were hurled in troops against the Parthians, the most dreaded foemen of the empire, on the far-off plains of Asia.

Camden, in his list, mentions an *Ala Britannica miliaria*, while Mr. Sadler admits, likewise, but one squadron of British horse, which bore various titles in succession, together with a *Britannic vexillation* attached to the thirtieth legion. A reference, however, to the authorities given in my article on the Existence of the Continental Britons will show that there were at least three wings of British horse, though whether the first wing of native Britons raised in the island was, after it had obtained the rights of Roman citizenship by twenty-five years' service, recruited from native Britons now become veterans (though this name of *veteran* does not appear in the inscriptions known), and thus continued in the service or began to form a veteran first wing of British Roman citizens, cannot, perhaps, now be ascertained. The fact, however, of there being no number attached to the only squadron of native British horse known to have been in existence, and of our having to admit a second *miliary* wing of British horse composed of Roman citizens, would make it more likely to infer, from the probable estimate we may form by a comparison with the number of levies of horse made by the Romans in other countries, that the recruiting of the natives simple, and of the citizens in the island, was conducted contemporaneously. Anyhow, the evidence in hand goes to shew that there were from very early times, (1) an *Ala Britannica*, five hundred strong, without number, and therefore the only one raised; (2) an *Ala Britannica miliaria*, apparently the same as the preceding, raised to a thousand men, whence it remained under the same commander as the first-mentioned; (3) an *Ala I Flavia Augustæ Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum*, formed under

Domitian, A.D. 88 or 89 ; (4) an Ala II Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum.

It may be mentioned, that judging from inscriptions alone, we have mention, on the inner side of a bronze inscription (generally the most authoritative) granted by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, under date A.D. 167, of an Ala I Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum, a denomination which would lead us to suppose there were two *milliary* British squadrons of Roman citizens and two others bearing the title of Flavius Augustus. On the summary given on the outside of this diploma, however, instead of a First Ala, we read II BRITT ∞ CR. If the former were the authentic reading, we should have to reckon an Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum, an Ala II ditto, an Ala I Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum, and an Ala II ditto, or else suppose that the former two bodies had lost the title Flavia Augusta, a supposition which is not probable.

On another diploma, granted by Antoninus Pius A.D. 145 or 146 (for, if later, Marcus Aurelius would have been mentioned, as he was assumed by Antoninus as his colleague in the Empire A.D. 147), we have the double record of an Ala Britannica civium Romanorum (*v.* Corpus Inscript. Lat. III, Dipl. xlvii, xlii and xliii). Standing as it is, this latter inscription would give us another wing of British horse different from the preceding ; the mutilated state, however, of the metal, and the probable carelessness on the part of the engraver, warn us from drawing any conclusions from these two particular inscriptions.

As regards the vexillation of British horse quartered in the second century on the banks of the Rhine, the expansion is doubtful ; and it may be either vexillatio Britannica or Brittonum. In admitting this body, Mr. Sadler had, I presume, no other authority than the various tiles stamped with the abbreviations VEX. BRIT. which have been found in Germany, and which have been published by Brambach in his *Corpus Inscript. Rhen.* (c. xxvi, nn. 4, 128 o, and 139 h). A vexillation was used either for flanking a legion or for separate service ; and though not always composed of an equal number, may be set down, generally speaking, at a strength of 500 sabres.

Perhaps it will enable us to form some idea of the

probable amount of auxiliary cavalry furnished by Britain to the Romans, if I subjoin a list of the contingents of some other nations. There were at one time or another enlisted under the Roman colours, the following corps of 1000 or of 500 men each : eight squadrons of Egyptians, ten of Arabians, three of Asturians, perhaps ten of Thracians, eight of Franks, some seven or eight of Spaniards, seven of Phrygians and the same number of Sarmatians. It must however be observed that towards the end of the empire, the same regularity of enumeration as existed in earlier times was not strictly adhered to, in spite of the efforts made in the fourth century to bring back the auxiliary and regular forces to their former order, and to restore to the legions of Rome their lost prestige. It is not improbable, that at the time the *Notitia* was compiled, new numbers were given to military bodies without sufficient care being taken to bring up the already existing bodies to their former efficiency, so that in course of time (such was the confusion of administration then predominant) whole regiments disappeared from the ranks, a state of things which finds its parallel in modern times in the difference between a paper army, and one actually under arms, or on a war footing.

The only troops left in Camden's list, that come within the compass of the present paper, are his three bodies of Britannici mentioned by the *Notitia*. This official catalogue of the double empire informs us, (ch. v.) that amongst the thirty-two legions on active service in the various provinces on the outskirts of the western empire, there was one, the second, stationed in Britain. This legion is here called *Britannica*—*Legio Secunda Britannica sive Secundani*¹—for the very reason that it was stationed in Britain ; just as the Roman legion stationed in Germany was called *Germanica*, and that in Gaul *Gallica*. The *Notitia* next informs us that amongst the *Numeri* told off for the defence of Britain, and to act as auxiliaries of the same legion, there was one called *Victores Juniores Britannici*. The question now arises, are these Britannici, as Camden and Sadler suppose, native British troops or not.

¹ These Secundani, if the name is not as Böcking supposes a later addition, are not the same as two other bodies of troops

stationed at that time in Britain, and called respectively *Primani Juniores* and *Secundani Juniores*.

The word *Britanniciani* is altogether new in the Roman army. In an inscription belonging perhaps to the first years of the fifth century, which records a revolt of the inhabitants of Bretagne, called *Armorici*, we have mention of a certain *Artorius* being despatched against them, who amongst his other titles had that of Prefect of the sixth legion, and of some cavalry bearing the name in question; *PRAEF LEG VI VICTRICIS DVCI LEG Cohort alarum BRITANNICINIARVM ADVERSVS ARMORICANOS*. According to De Vit, this cavalry was thus called, because drawn from the Roman military establishment in Britain, *Britannicianus* meaning not a native of Britain, but one belonging to, or connected with, Britain. For instance, in the inscription which records that a certain M. Secund. Silvanus, who carried his merchandise in ships across the German ocean into Holland, (*Reines. ch. i, n. 177*) was a *negotiator cretarius Britannicianus*, a British exporter of marl, this term means not a native Briton but a native of some other country *qui in Britannia cretifodinas exercebat*. Indeed his name and cognomen, Secundus Silvanus, show him to have been a true born Roman citizen, while the absence of the prenomens shows that he belonged to a late period, when this new kind of name derived from the adjective name of the province, such as *Britannicianus* and *Britannicinus* from *Britannicus*, began to gain currency.¹

As for the name *Victores* we have both legions and cohorts called by Ammianus and others under this single name without addition. For instance the *Notitia* of the eastern empire numbers under the "honourable duke of Syria," a *Cohors Prima Victorum*. These *Victores*, thus simply styled, were discriminated from others, by the distinctive title of young and old; hence we have *Victores Juniores* numbered amongst the Palatine Cohorts, (*Not. Imp., oc. c. v.*) and shortly after (*c. vii*) amongst the troops that formed the Roman garrison in Spain, and the *Victores seniores (ib.)* recorded amongst the troops having fixed residence in Italy. It is evident from these names which were unknown in the military nomenclature of the first ages of the empire, that the bodies of troops designated by them, being no longer discriminated from

¹ De Vit ONOMASTICON s. h. v.; *Britanni* pp. 144-6.

one another by the name of the nation from which they were taken, must have been gathered together indifferently from cohorts of various nationalities ; when, from want of regular communication and necessary reinforcement, the latter were falling to pieces. That this intermingling of nationalities sometimes took place even at an earlier date may be seen from what was done in a time of emergency by Probus (276-282), who, according to the author of his life, (ch. xiv,) took 16,000 recruits from Germany, whom he scattered in fifties and sixties amongst the various cohorts of the provinces.

These Victores—whether Juniores or Seniores—sometimes received a further distinctive title, and thus we come to the Victores Juniores Britannici, who being placed under the command of the count of Britain, (cum comite Britanniarum) received that name not because they were natives of Britain, (for in that case they would not have been stationed in Britain¹) but because they belonged as auxiliaries to the second legion, itself styled Britannica, because it was in permanent garrison in Britain. In the very same way the soldiers of the Legio Germanica were called *Germanici*, and those of the Legio Pannonica *Pannonici*, as is affirmed amongst others by Böcking in his commentary on the eastern *Notitia*, page 225.²

What has been said of the Victores, the first of Camden's Britannici, may now be applied to the Invicti Seniores Britannici, and to the Exculcatores Juniores

¹ The danger of leaving British troops in Britain may be judged from the fact mentioned by historians, that in the reign of Constantius (A.D. 360), the Picts and Scots were in the habit of maintaining spies and emissaries in the Roman army of occupation, in order to tempt the fidelity of the garrisons and seduce the foreign auxiliaries to join them in the pursuit of plunder. Native British troops could be more easily tampered with, and would form more serviceable allies than strangers from Mauritania, Syria or the Danube. Theodosius had to bring over to Britain the flower of the Gallic army in order to defeat the barbarian marauders, and induce deserters to rejoin their standards (A.D. 367). At that time one pretender or another was ever bidding for the support of the Roman troops in Britain, and under Honorius the natives, left without a sufficient military

force to keep them in check, deposed the Roman magistrates and proclaimed their independence (A. D. 410).

"There were districts of South Britain," says Hughes in his *Horæ Britannicæ* (vol. ii, p. 130), "that were ready enough to coalesce in any attempt to oppose the Roman power"..... Indeed, "it is difficult for us to conceive how so large a territory should so easily be laid waste and overrun [by the Picts and Scots], without the supposition that the great majority of the inhabitants were not well-affected to the Roman government ; and if they were become a dispirited people that felt they had no country of their own to defend, we can easily account for their pusillanimity" (p. 131).

² Germanici a legione Germanica nomen habuerunt, ut ab Italia Italiani, a Britannica Britannici, a Pannonica Pannonici, alique,

Britanniciani mentioned among the Palatine cohorts, or household troops, in the fifth chapter of the western *Notitia*. If not then stationed in Britain, they must have been formed of men living for some time in Britain or of their descendants, as of the children of the Roman legionaries stationed in Britain. If these Britanniciani were native Britons born, they would have had their proper native appellation like the other troops recorded amongst the Palatine auxiliaries mentioned in that same fifth chapter, the *Batavi*, the *Bructeri*, the *Ampsivarii*, the *Rhaeti*, the *Sequani*, etc.

Native British soldiers enrolled by the Romans, and formed into regular bodies, no longer appear in the records of the fourth and fifth century ; and indeed if we consider well the state of the island of Britain at that time, this circumstance will not appear surprising. The same cannot be said of the continental Britons, of whom we have proof that they furnished auxiliaries of both foot and horse to the Roman legions, during an uninterrupted period of four centuries. The use indeed of barbarian cohorts was maintained in the Roman empire till the beginning of the sixth century, as is shewn by a latin epigram referring to the patrician Liberius, sometime prefect of Gaul, who died in the reign of Justinian, and of whom it is said

Ausoniis populis *gentiles* rite *cohortes*
Disposuit, sanxit fœdera, jura dedit.

To sum up then the native levies raised by the Romans in Britain, we can ascertain with certainty the existence of the following bodies :—

First Britannie cohort of 500 men.

First milliary Britannie cohort, 1000 strong.

Second Britannie cohort, 500 strong.

First milliary Britannie cohort of Roman citizens, 1000 strong.

Second Britannie cohort of Roman citizens, 500 or 1000 strong.

A body of picked British foot-soldiers, (*garde d'élite*) perhaps 500 strong.

Britannie milliary squadron, 1000 horse.

First Britannie milliary squadron, styled Flavian Augustan of Roman citizens, 1000 horse.

Second Britannie milliary squadron of Roman citizens, 1000 horse.

These various levies of horse and foot, consisting in all of some 8000 men, can be proved to have existed contemporaneously before the close of the first century.¹

¹ According to Vegetius *De re Militari*, ii, 6, the legionary cohort consisted, when milliary, of 1105 foot soldiers, and 132 armoured horsemen ; and when *quingen-*

aria, of 555 foot soldiers, and 66 horse. Whether or not the auxiliary cohorts had the same strength is not known.

From the notices left us by classical authors, it would appear that the Romans made use of every art and blandishment that policy and experience could suggest to win over the native Britons from their state of barbarism and independence; and according to all accounts they succeeded only too well. No doubt in this determined scheme of the Roman rulers they were favoured in no ordinary degree by the insular position of this out-lying province, for Britain ever remained in more senses than one, true to the description given of it by Virgil, *penitus toto orbe divisus*, a "little world by itself." The student of history cannot but observe this seeming anomaly, which is as apparent as is the extraordinary importance of the part played by Britain during the last century of the Roman occupation, in the history of the world at large, a part altogether out of keeping with its size and population. But when Britain reacted so powerfully on the centre of Roman authority and on the fortunes of the empire, the native element in its armies had reached its lowest ebb. The native Britons in the island, whether for protection or through motives of indolence and pleasure, had flocked within the circuit of the Roman colonies and towns, where they came to enjoy the rights of Roman citizenship, or the *Jus Latium*, by which they obtained a certain amount of local government, so that as historians tell us the country was quite deserted. Here they enjoyed the baths and theatres and all the luxuries of social intercourse, and by imitating the pastimes and vices of their victors soon became effeminate and demoralised. As Romanised Britons they would be drafted in ordinary course into the various corps which, as we have seen, were formed at this period of the empire without regard to nationality. If enlisted in defence of their own country, they may, perhaps, have formed part of the equites Honoriani seniores, or of the Juniores Primani and Secundani, or of the various bodies of marines, both horse and foot, which are known to have done duty in Britain. Besides the *classiarii Britannici*, there was a cohort of marines named after the emperor Hadrian, and a squadron of horse-marines who were Roman citizens, and a company of barge-men, *numerus Barcariorum*, perhaps 500 strong. Instead of cohorts formed exclusively of the wild and untrained Britons,

whom the Romans were glad to remove from their native homes, in the first ages of the empire, we now read of various bodies of Atacotti, or Scots, who were captured or induced to enlist, in the northern parts of Britain, and who thus took their place in the military annals of the period.¹ When the *Notitia* was compiled from the matriculae or registers existing about the end of the fourth century, six or seven thousand of these are recorded to have been under arms.

We shall now, perhaps, be in a position to test the truth of an assertion, which has been handed down from one historian to another, that when the tyrant Maximus prepared his expedition against the emperor Gratian, he enlisted seventy thousand Britons in his service, and with them embarked for Gaul.² This expedition was magnified by some authors into a first invasion of Armorica. Suffice it to say, that no trustworthy record remains of any such settlement of insular Britons in the future Bretagne. Gildas, who mentions the rebellion of Maximus, says nothing whatever of any British migration to Brittany. The British army brought by Maximus into Gaul, and which followed him afterwards into Italy, was, no doubt, the Roman army of occupation reinforced perhaps with a multitude of civil functionaries anxious to leave the country, of adventurers eager for foreign service, and perhaps of some natives. The flower of the army may have been the Roman youth born in Britain. That the native levies never reached the number of seventy thousand is apparent from all that has been hitherto said; the army of Roman soldiers, however, and their foreign auxiliaries, stationed in Britain, may oftentimes have

¹ As to the Caledonians whom Mr. Sadler thinks were in the Roman service, a reference to De Vit's *ONOMASTICON* will shew that the inscription, on which his supposition is based, is capable of a different interpretation. Under the word *Caletes* or *Calcti* he exhibits to us a people placed by Cæsar and Ptolemy in Belgic Gaul, and by Strabo at the mouth of the Seine. If inhabiting the modern Pays de Caux they would not be far from the Gallie Britanni, mentioned by Pliny, whose existence is fully admitted by Guest in his *Origines Celticæ*, by Rhys in *Celtic Britain*, and Long in his *Early Geography*. As a tribe of that nation they would

correspond to the title signified by the inscription found at Ohrlingen in the modern kingdom of Würtemberg, and given by Brambach (n. 1563) thus :—

N·BR+·CAL

That the inscription cannot refer to the Caledonians is evident from the fact that though defeated several times by the Romans, these hardy warriors of the north were never subdued by them or laid under tribute. The Atacotti recruited by the Romans were inhabitants of the western lowlands of Scotland.

² Long, *Early Geography of Western Europe*, page 51.

reached that number. When Gildas describes the departure of the Romans from the island, he says there went forth from the island the armoured warrior, the military forces, the harsh and hated rulers, and a multitude of young men—*armatus miles, militares copiae, rectores immanes, et ingens juvenus* (*De excidio Brit.*, c. xiv); he makes no mention of native levies. If there were any natives liable to foreign service, they would already have been despatched out of the island. Perhaps the laments of the Saxon Chronicler, repeated by Camden and Horsley, have no other foundation than this misconception.

William of Malmesbury¹ is, however, surpassed by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his *British History* (ch. xiii, xiv) says that Maximian² with the aid of British soldiers took the city of Rennes, and defeated the Armoricans, whose country he peopled with a hundred thousand of the common people of Britain, while thirty thousand soldiers were appointed to defend them. The antagonism existing between the native Britons and their Roman masters is better set forth by Nennius in his *History of the Britons*, written in the ninth century, who says that the native Britons, after being ruled over by the Romans for 409 years, cast down their power, and refused to pay them tribute. *Hucusque regnaverunt Romani apud Brittones quadragentis et novem annis. Brittones autem dejecerunt regnum Romanorum, neque census dederunt illis, neque reges eorum acceperunt ut regnarent super eos, neque Romani ausi sunt ut venirent Britanniam ad regnandum amplius, quia duces illorum Brittones occiderant Tribus vicibus occisi sunt duces Romanorum a Britannis Brittones autem propter gravitatem imperii occidebant duces Romanorum, et auxilia postea petebant.* (Ed. Stevenson, p. 20, § 28, 30.)

¹ *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. Hardy, p. 6-7.

² Mistaken by Nennius and others for Maximus.

RECENT DISCOVERIES MADE IN BATH ON THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT ROMAN BATHS.¹

By the REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.

On the occasion of a visit of the Archæological Institute to a northern city, and a neighbourhood so famed for its relics of Roman conquest and Roman power, it may not be inappropriate to bring before the meeting an account of recent discoveries in the south west of Britain, not indeed, of camps or fortified stations, or of a barrier such as the north can boast, extending from sea to sea, but of Roman refinement and Roman culture, as well as of Roman luxury and the art of healing.

The baths of Bath, the Roman “*Aquæ Solis*,” have long been known for their efficacy, and their high temperature and abundant supply of water, and they have continued ever since the Roman period to diffuse health and relief to human ailments so that the description of them by Solinus has been proved to be true by their use for well nigh 2,000 years; but it remained for modern, and I may add very recent discovery, to unfold in some degree what an extent of ground they covered, and the grandeur of their structure.

It is not more than 125 years ago, that in the construction of public buildings for the convenience and accommodation of visitors and invalids, who came to Bath for recreation or for health, at a depth of from sixteen to twenty feet below the level of the present city, remains of the substructure of Roman buildings were found, which gave some intimation of the extent and magnificent arrangement of the ancient city. Happily these remains were planned and recorded, and the fragments of sculpture or inscribed stones preserved. Dr. Lucas (1755) and Dr. Sutherland (1763) have left accounts of the discoveries then made.

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Carlisle Meeting, August 3rd, 1882.

The form of the baths was at that time laid down conjecturally from measurement of the portions opened, and by comparison with the plans of continental Roman baths, and it was supposed that the building had consisted of two rectangular wings with a large central bath placed between. This is the plan given in Collinson's History of Somerset, and other works on the Roman Baths of Bath, and one portion is correct, but recent discoveries have shewn that the plan of the western portion, where the dotted lines are laid down conjecturally, is quite the reverse of true.

The mineral springs belong to the Corporation of Bath, and every care has of late been taken to prevent the source of the supply being injured by the accumulation of waste water, or by imperfect drainage. In order to effect this more completely, it occurred to the architect and engineer, Major Davis, that the old Roman drains might be utilized, and it was in clearing out and adapting these to modern use, that the recent discovery took place. The Roman drain, which is a solid structure of Bath stone, and of the best workmanship, and the height, such as to enable a man to stand upright, has been traced inward from near its outlet at the river, and it was in following this drain in the direction of the Roman baths, that the sources of the Roman spring were discovered. This drain was found to pass two feet below the floor of the structure now called the King's Bath, and in following it the large Roman reservoir for the reception of the thermal water was found to be immediately underneath that building.

The form of this tank or reservoir when cleared was discovered to be octagonal, but not regular in form, some portions being somewhat circular. It took this form probably from the desire to enclose all the springs which forced themselves up through the earth, or, it may be, that the Romans found a rude basin already constructed, and were unwilling to alter the traditional form. The whole area of the tank was found covered with sheet lead half an inch thick, and the water bubbled up at many points; within were found squared and circular bases, as if of pedestals for supporting figures, near the sides. The diameter of the tank is 50 feet, and the sides constructed of good Roman masonry. There is a perfect Roman arch in one part. Cut in the masonry of this chamber, built by the

Romans to protect the springs, was an overflow channel filled with a piece of oak, and lower down another outlet also plugged with oak, and still lower down a third.¹ This lower outlet seems to have been found insufficient in Roman times to prevent the rise of the river in floods from interfering with the contents of the tank, it was therefore plugged, and the sides of the tank heightened. The level of the highest plug is eleven feet below the bottom of the present bath, called the King's. The builders of that bath, seem to have known nothing of what was underneath when they erected it and the Grand Pump Room.

The wall of separation between the King's and Queen's baths rests upon the line of wall of the Roman reservoir, but the builders of the wall were unaware of what was below, and had put in baulks of timber to support their wall. The Roman buildings appear, after their disuse, to have been levelled to the surface of the ground, and left in a swamp, caused by the drain being choked, for earth to accumulate, which it did for centuries after the superstructure was ruined, and the materials carried away for building purposes.

The chief destruction probably took place when the Saxon nunnery was erected ; and still later, in Norman times, when the abbey and its noble church were built. The Norman drains of the abbey have, in places, been carried through the Roman work. The enclosure of the springs in the reservoir seems to have been the earliest Roman work in Bath, and preliminary to forming the elaborate system of baths which afterwards arose adjacent to the springs.

In the course of the examination of the ancient drains conducted by Major Davis, he found that the Roman baths were, from the first, built below the natural surface of the ground, so as to be filled by gravitation, instead of by pumping, as in the case of the modern baths.

The debris of the Roman city had completely filled up the ancient baths, and new baths were built above them, in entire ignorance of what was underneath ; therefore, by excavating, it will be possible to recover the whole plan of the original structure. A committee has been formed for this purpose, and a fund raised,

¹ See account in proceedings of ' Bath Field Club,' vol. iv., p. 307, 1881.

and a considerable sum already expended, as it has been needful to purchase and to remove a house which stood upon a portion of the *Large Bath*. Another house still remains encumbering the site, but the committee confidently rely upon public spirit to enable them to remove this obstruction and so carry on a work which is of great public interest. If the large Roman bath can be cleared of buildings, and can be brought into its original condition, it is purposed again to restore it to its former use.

In the course of clearing the tank and following the drains, some articles of interest have been found. Two jugs of white metal like tin,¹ earthenware vessels and dishes; also an inscribed tablet or plate of metal, which has been variously read, but appears to be the attestation of a recovery by the use of the waters;² and another covered with markings and signs as yet undeciphered. A small sculpture, representing Minerva, helmeted, and with the Gorgon's head upon the breast, leaning upon a spear, has also been found; and a mutilated sculpture of a nymph reposing upon a couch, through the body of which a pipe has been carried for conveying water to a cistern, on the south side of the large bath into which the water was probably poured from an urn held by the figure.

Large masses of masonry containing hollow tiles, some formed in wedge-shape for constructing arches, have been found within and around the great bath, and these seem to have formed the roof of the ambulatory which surrounded it, and which has circular recesses or seats on three sides, and also a square one.

The fragments of sculptured stone which have been preserved from former excavations, as well as those lately discovered, give evidence of the best period of Roman art, and are very superior to those found in the north of England. They may probably be referred to the age of the Emperor Titus, or soon after.

It was in the time of Claudius, that the western portion of Britain was brought under Roman rule; and the earliest remains are found among the lead workings of the

¹ Similar to those carved on the sides of Roman altars.

² See *Academy*, March 12th, 1881, No. 462.

Mendip Hills, from whence the lead which covered the Roman baths at *Aquæ Solis* may have been obtained. One pig, with the name of *Britannicus* inscribed, found some years since, and another, not long ago, with the name of *Vespasian*, before *Titus* was associated with his father in the empire, show the antiquity of the workings. It will be recollected that *Vespasian* had the command of the Second Legion, which conquered this part of Britain; so that perhaps we may fix the completion of the building of the Roman bath to the government of *Agricola*.

It may not be out of place here, to mention some remains of Roman baths that have been found in the more northern provinces of the empire. Many of us have seen the vast thermal structures in Rome, and all the accompaniments of health and pleasure, luxury and refinement, which they disclose; and this was imitated in the provinces, though in a humbler manner. In plan and arrangement, they have a general agreement. Here in Britain, the Romans seem to have found a supply of water, and a spot quite suited to their tastes and habits, and, therefore, to have made the most of it, and to have used all their science and skill in making their buildings grand and attractive.

Perhaps the best-preserved specimen of a provincial Roman bath, and one the structure and arrangement of which seems to present some analogy to the remains at Bath, is the bath at *Baden Weiler*, in the Black Forest, the ancient *Mons Arnobie*.¹

There is, at *Pod'-Weiler*, a mineral spring of a tepid degree of warmth, not so great as those at Bath, but approaching nearer to that of the Hot Wells at Bristol. These waters are, like those of Bath, used for drinking as well as for bathing; and the entire arrangement of the building has been accurately made out. They were divided into two portions, one for males, the other for females; and these quite correspond in their arrangement. They front the south, and at the extremities, east and west, there are courts for various exercises and games. They had a vestibule and two entrances; two porticos, which communicated, on the south front. There were passages from the outer courts, where seats were placed, and niches or recesses. There were hypocausts on each side of the

¹ See Pownall's *Antiquities*, Appendix, p. 183. London, J. Nichols, 1788.

building. *Piscinæ* also are found, one on each side, which received the waters from the hot spring. Two more parallel to the above, where the water was heated by hypocausts. They were all of them four feet in depth, and the marble seats remain on opposite sides; four steps led down into each bath, the sides of which had been covered with stucco. There were two circular *laconica*, or sudatories, with their domes, and valves for regulating the temperature.

There were also two cooling chambers and rooms for anointing as well as single baths, and places for storing wood and fuel, and outer stoves for heating the coppers.

On a pedestal, which had once supported a statue, were inscribed the words *DIANÆ ARNOBLÆ*,—To Diana of the Black Forest. Arrangements of a similar kind will probably be discovered at Bath.

The Pantheon at Rome is now ascertained to be only the circular *Laconicam* or *Sudatorium*, with niches, in the thickness of the wall, used for heated chambers, the heating apparatus being placed outside. This is proved from a comparison with the remains of a similar building at the Baths of Caracalla, but such a chamber and its accessories were rendered unnecessary in Bath by reason of the great natural heat of the waters. The quantity of hot water which rises from the hot springs in Bath is calculated at 385,000 gallons daily, but late improvements have brought the supply up to 50 gallons per minute more, and this, it is believed, may yet be considerably increased.¹

¹ See the "Mineral Baths of Bath," by C. E. Davis, F.S.A., &c., City Architect, Bath, 1883, p. 80. Major Davis gives the area of the bath discovered by him, including the surrounding ambulatory, as 111ft.

4in., by 22ft. 10in. The form is rectangular, but there are recesses. The bath in the centre is complete, with steps into it all round, the length being 83ft. 10in. by 40ft. 8in. in width.

POTTERY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.¹

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

On such a familiar subject as pottery, it might be supposed that there would not have been much left to be said, after the various explorers who have studied the antiquities of Egypt. But owing probably to the richness of the more attractive objects, temples, statues, paintings, and jewellery, which abound in that country, the question of the age of pottery has hardly been touched.

There is scarcely any pottery with an assigned date in the British Museum; and the date of one of the examples is certainly in error. Dr. Birch particularly requested that I would take every opportunity of collecting and studying the pottery that I might meet with; and I had excellent opportunities at Gizeh, owing to living continuously there for months together, and walking daily over the ground that the Arabs were excavating. Every piece collected was immediately marked with its locality. The great importance of pottery in historical and other enquiries is manifest to any visitor to Egypt. Large sites of villages are strewn, or rather heaped up, with potsherds. No one who has not wandered over the enormous heaps of broken pottery, could realise the gigantic quantities that accumulated around dwellings in which metal is scarcely used, and where red pot served for all purposes.

Around Cairo the heaps are such that to any one visiting them for the first time, they are more astonishing than anything else in that city; the magnificent Arab architecture, and even the unrivalled museum of Bulak, do not strike the visitor as so completely beyond all experience and reason, as do the rubbish mounds that seem to wall in

¹ Read before the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, February 1st, 1883.

the city on two sides. Yet these heaps, extending about four miles in length, half a mile in breadth, and from about twenty to sixty feet in thickness, are entirely the accumulation of Arab times. Out at old Cairo, the oldest part of all the heaps, which has been entirely deserted for many centuries, the earliest rubbish of all is late Roman ; where the heaps are cut through, for quarrying the rock beneath, a band of a few feet thick may be seen, at the bottom, belonging to the latest Roman or the Byzantine period.

The whole amount is probably about equal to a depth of twenty feet over the whole inhabited area of the city ; but a remarkable point is that the inhabitants must have continually climbed a mound about fifty feet high to throw away their broken pot, instead of carrying it out to the outer side of the heaps.

Now the process of accumulation that we see so strikingly in the case of Cairo, has been going on in all ages in Egypt ; and in every part of the country we meet with sites of towns that are buried beneath their own pottery. At Tehneh, for instance, the mounds of pottery are about one-third a mile across, and twenty to sixty feet high, the whole of the surface of it of Roman date, as far as could be observed. This constant presence of large quantities of pottery, makes it all the more desirable to ascertain as far as possible the age of each class that can be distinguished ; as by this guide we may be able to settle the date of various villages and remains that are met with. Yet as far as I know there is no collective description of the varieties of Egyptian pottery, in different periods, to be found in any publication ; and it is with the view of giving some general ideas that I have been able to glean, that I venture on the present paper, hoping that it may be of use to any who have opportunities of examining the ancient sites, as well as of interest in the history of pottery.

The three plates accompanying this paper shew the various types of form, from the earliest to late Roman times ; each section has its axis, or the central line of the vessel, marked by a broken vertical line ; many of the sections are merely of fragments, which, nevertheless, shew the type of lip, neck, or base, of the different forms. The full horizontal lines, joining the axis and the section, shew

the position of the original top or bottom of the vessel. The sections are only given for one half of each form, the symmetrical and opposite half being omitted; this not only diminishes the space, and brings the curves closer together for comparison, but it gives the great advantage that all lines running to the left approach the axis, *i.e.* shew a diminution of diameter, and conversely lines running to the right shew an increase of diameter. Hence the meaning of a slope is always evident, without even seeing where the axis is. Sections like these are of far more value for comparing pottery than perspective drawings, which do not shew the thickness of the vessel, and which modify the curves.

Probably the oldest pieces of pottery that I have found, are two bits from Medum. These I picked up near the tombs of the third dynasty; and as they are more like the pottery of the fourth dynasty than that of any later date, they are probably contemporary with the last king of the third dynasty, Seneferu. The main source of dated pottery of the early period is in the ancient masons' waste heaps around the pyramids of Gizéh. Every scrap obtained from the undisturbed parts of these mounds is certainly of the age of the pyramid builders, Khufu and Khafra, the successors of Seneferu. The most striking feature of this pottery is the fine quality of the better pieces of it; most of it is naturally rough, as it was merely the food vessels and water jars of the lowest class of the population; but among it are pieces almost indistinguishable from fine Roman pottery, and which might readily be mistaken for imitation Samian. The varieties of this earliest pottery may be classified as follows, the dimensions and thickness of the vessels being shewn in the plates one quarter actual size :—

Bright Indian-red, polished surface, red throughout. Form 1, form 2, bowl. Usually wheel made, sometimes hand-made with scraped surface. From Medum and Great Pyramid heaps.

Brown red, varying to light and dark brown; rough surface; black in middle if thick. Form 3 and 4, and large spherical (?) jars, about a foot diameter, generally hand made, and scraped over on surface in all directions. Medum and Pyramid heaps at Gizéh.

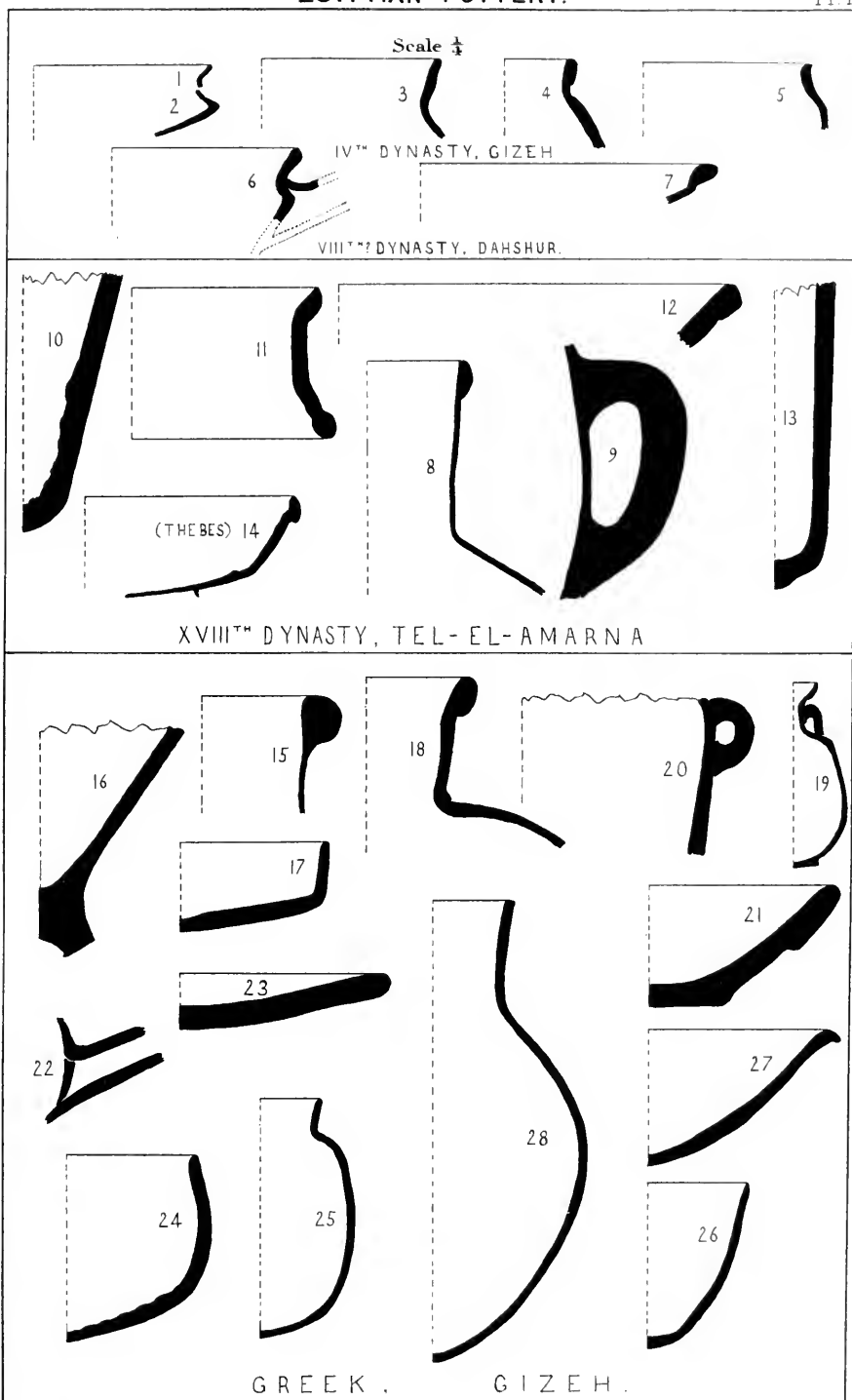
Yellow washed over a brown base, rough surface. Form 5, and spherical jars ten inches diam. Both wheel and hand-made. Pyramid heaps at Gizeh.

The hand-made pottery is often smoothed *around* in the inside with a slip of wood, and wiped *downwards* on the outside by the hands. I have met with scarcely any other hand-made pottery in Egypt, a few pieces of much coarser quality occurring in Roman times. Certain little vases that have been attributed to the fourth dynasty are probably of Roman period, and will be found described later on.

The next pottery to which any period can be assigned, is some that I obtained out of the mud bricks of the south brick pyramid of Dahshur. Quantities of pieces may be picked up in the ruins of this pyramid, but the pieces selected were each picked out of unbroken bricks, and are hence certainly older than the pyramid. The age of this pyramid is not exactly known; I should say it is most likely of the eighth dynasty, but certainly of the old kingdom. The pottery is of much the same range of quality, as that of the fourth dynasty. The varieties are: Scarlet red, smooth, red throughout, .13 thick. Red-faced brown, smooth. Form 6, bowl with spout; form 7, coarse soft, dark brown, .5 thick.

Of the middle kingdom, of which the twelfth dynasty is the brightest period, I have not obtained any certain pottery. A great deal of blue glazed ware and red pot is lying near the ruins of the labyrinth and pyramid of Amememhat iii; but as the large village of brick there is probably Roman, (by the pottery found in it, and the size of bricks) nothing can be decided about the other stray remains found there, and the blue glazed ware is far more like that of Romano-Greek, than that of Ramesside times.

Of the Empire,—the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties,—the pottery is very characteristic, more so than that of any period until late Roman times. The great site for obtaining pottery and other remains of certainly the eighteenth dynasty, is at Tel-el-Amarna; the ruins of this town built by the sun worshipper Khuenateu, and only maintained during a few brief reigns after him, are heaped over with broken potsherds; but there are no great mounds betokening a long occupation of the site, and not a fragment of pottery of any other age



did I meet with in walking over the town. The most characteristic feature of the pots of this age is the prevalence of painting; the ground was a warm pale red on the brown red pot, on this were bands of bright blue, and patterns picked out in brown and indian red. This painting is quite unmistakeable, and apparently belongs to the Empire in particular. Another special characteristic is a pale brown ware, with a brightly polished white face; and a dark brown ware, with polished red facing. The varieties found may be catalogued thus:—

White face, polished; pale brown paste, with white specks, hard; Form 8; and large handles, form 9.

Same ware unpolished; form 8; form 10, jar bottoms.

Ring shaped stands to hold round bottomed jars.

Red faced, polished; red or grey paste; .2 to .3 thick, large vessels.

Same, unpolished; .5 to .8 thick; bowls about 20 inches diam., form 12, with rope pattern.

Brown with white specks, coarse and rough; .3 thick; cylindrical jars, .1.6 diam. inside, form 13.

The blue glaze ware of this period is remarkably brilliant; fragments of jars and of tiles are common, beside the trinkets and rings, which are conspicuous not only for their brightness, but their variety of colour; blue, green, purple grey, lavender, red, yellow and white, and very usually two or more colours in one piece.

Pottery precisely similar to that of Tel-el-Amarna, may be found at Memphis, by the ruins of the great three-storied houses on the extreme N.W. of the mounds; and trinkets of this period are found at Gizeh. At Thebes, on the edge of the desert, between the Ramesseum and Gurneh, are sites of pottery which may be attributed to the nineteenth dynasty. Its colouring and decoration is generally like that of the eighteenth, but it has just the difference perceptible between the other work of these two dynasties; it is coarser, poorer in colour, more mechanical and less flowing in painting, and altogether of a deteriorated type. Similar pottery may be found at Karnak. The same polished red-faced ware may be found also at Thebes as at Tel-el-Amarna, see form 14; both at Memphis and Thebes, pieces of the pots may be found in

which the blue paint was fritted in the furnace ; with the half melted remains sticking in them.

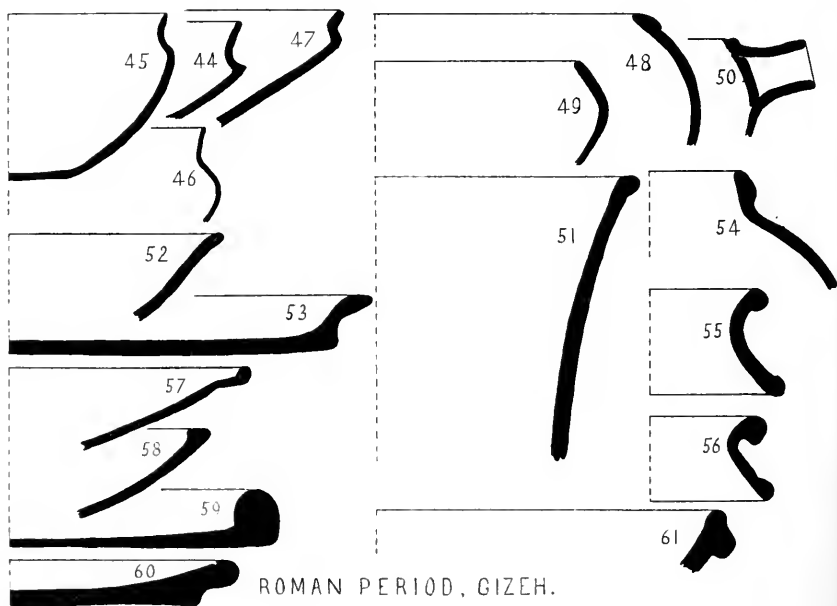
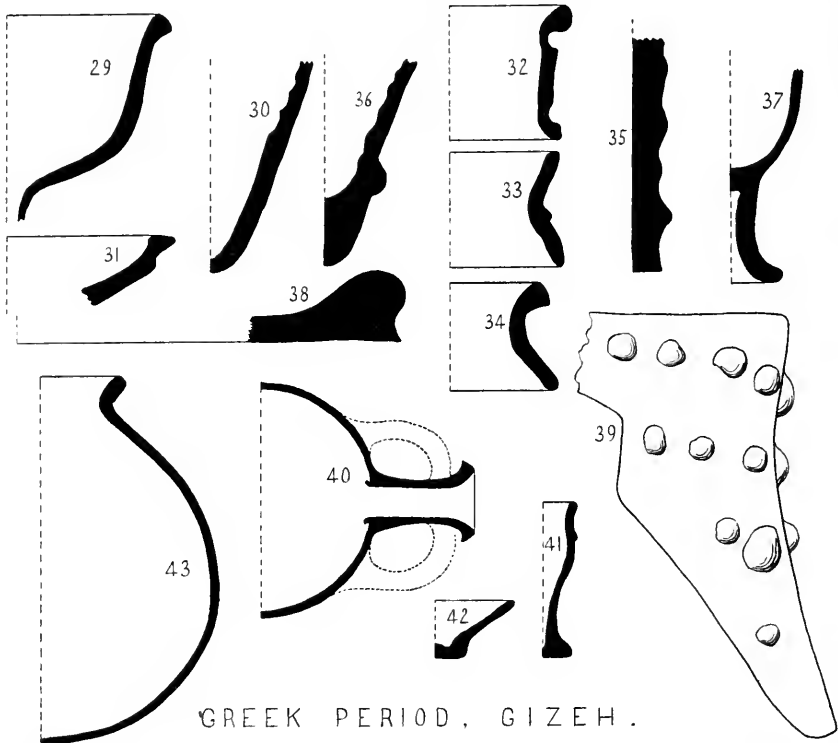
A valuable example of dated pottery of the nineteenth dynasty is found at the Ramesseum. Here wine jars with inscriptions are met with, bearing the name of Ramessu II ; a fine example of these, may be seen in the British Museum. The ware is like that of Tel-el-Amarna, pale brown paste with white specks, with a thick drab-white face ; thickness .1 to .3. Form, pointed amphora with handles.

After this nothing can be dated of the common ware, though of course blue glazed ware of dated periods is easily met with. The funereal statuettes give the best examples of dated glazes ; under the twenty-first dynasty the dark blue with brilliant purple patterns was fashionable ; and later, in the twenty-sixth dynasty, the style of figures was much neater, like the rest of the Renaissance work, and glazed with pale blue and blue-green. Among the Memphis mounds, pottery that looks like a very late deterioration of the eighteenth dynasty style may be met with ; it perhaps belongs to the Assyrian period or the Renaissance.

We next have two separate classes of pottery before we come to the late Roman. One of these two is mingled with Greek ware, and is found in a village at Gizeh, built on the ruins of a temple which was erected about 1000, B.C. ; and yet the village was deserted before the cessation of burial in well tombs. This can hardly therefore be placed to any but the Greek period, probably between 500 and 100 B.C. The other class of pottery joins on to this in many of its forms ; but it is coarser, and farther in its style from the Ramesside pottery ; and it has with it, in all its sites, a mixture of fine red-faced ware, like imitation Samian. Beside this, in three cases, green beads, such as were introduced in 1200 to 600 B.C., have been found baked in the pottery ; evidently having been mere waste at the time of its manufacture. From these considerations, it seems almost certain that the second class belongs to a period after the first, and may be roughly described as of Roman date.

Of the first, or Greek period, there is a great variety of forms and also of material. But though there is such a

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$



wide difference between the characters of much of it, it is certainly all contemporaneous ; as I have picked out pottery in many places from the stratified rubbish of the village at Gizeh, of the most different qualities, though in the same stratum. The coarsest blackish brown ware of an inch thick, was used along with fair red brown a quarter of an inch thick and of refined forms ; and also with fine red ware, with a polished bright red face. This great difference may be attributed to the coarse ware being local, and made by unskilled hands ; while the finer qualities were imported from other parts of the country ; and the abundance of the coarse ware renders this the more likely. The principal site of this ware is the large village on the east of the great pyramid, described with a plan in my first paper, and the different qualities may be described thus :—

Light red-brown ; very fine and hard, with brown bands.

Forms 15 and 16, some $\cdot 5$ thick. Vases with rude face of Bes, and painted black in lines. Painted all black, and with micaceous surface.

Red brown, with fine reddish white facing ; form 17. Pale brown facing ; form 18. Sometimes painted with red bands.

Grey-drab or greenish grey ; forms 17, 19, 20. Some painted all black. Some with finely smoothed surface, form 21.

Light-red, fine ; polished crimson-red facing. Spout, form 22.

Red brown, polished crimson facing. Flat dish, form 23.

Bowl, form 24, but larger, 10 in. diam. and $\cdot 5$ thick.

Light brown, hard. Form 25.

Medium brown red, half hard. Forms 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31. This often has a purple tint in the middle.

Reddish brown, coarser black in middle. Forms 23, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37, (rather finer with black painting). Rudely modelled animals of this ware are also found, and funnels without a tube.

Brown, very coarse ; flat dishes, form 38.

Black, hard ; from $\cdot 3$ to $\cdot 7$ thick.

Among the peculiarities of this period are cooking stands, to support round-bottom pots over a fire. These

are five and eight and half inches high, with the top plate 1·2 thick, with two round holes to rest the pots in, and supported on four legs; only fragments have been found, and the leg of one stand is shewn in form 39. The ware is coarse red brown, sometimes painted thickly with whiting, and ornamented with knobs. Pieces of similar ware pierced with holes may be parts of fire baskets.

Large handles are also found in this period; a piece of an unusual one is two inches diameter, and must have been ten inches or a foot high, ware coarse, light red brown.

Another peculiar form was made by turning the vase in two parts, like pans, on the wheel; joining their edges, and then piercing a hole in the circumference and inserting a neck, usually with two small handles. This form first came into fashion for superior ware in the twenty-sixth dynasty apparently; and it is therefore just in agreement with the Greek age we have assigned to this class of pottery, to find this form in common use on this site. The ware is usually of medium and fair red, faced with a smooth coat. The diameter of the vessels were generally only about four inches, the largest found being eight inches; see form 40. One unique mode of forming it was observed, where the clay had been moulded on a bag of sand or bran, which was shaken out after it was baked; the inside has thus a perfect impression of the cloth, and even the seam of the bag.

A curious example of rough red ware is a pan with a row of little craters or receptacles, about one inch diameter, stuck on around the inside. Dr. Birch has suggested that it might have been to hold the stems of a row of lotus flowers.

Draughtmen, formed of waste scraps of pottery chipped round, are very common in this period; varying from ·8 to three inches across; weaving weights of pottery are also found, worn in grooves by the thread running through them, sometimes made of a broken jug neck.

Lastly there is a class of vessels found sparingly in this period, but extremely abundantly in the next. These are the little vases and saucers of brown ware, forms 41 and 42, which have been attributed to the tombs of the most ancient times of the pyramid builders. Against this

attribution it should be noted :—(1) That they are never found except associated with domestic pottery. (2) That they are extremely abundant in sites of villages, where there are but few early tombs. (3) That all the pottery with which they are constantly associated is of late date ; absolutely proved to be such, by its overlying ruined tombs, by having blue beads baked in it, and by having Greek letters marked on it. (4) That the ware is not like any of the pyramid period, as we now know it from the masons' heaps. Lepsius also does not figure any of it in his plate of pottery of the old kingdom. These reasons seem to be quite conclusive ; and though I have been told that these little vases have been found in early tombs, yet as all the early tombs have been ransacked in old times, some proof should be given that these vessels were not left there by a tomb-dweller, or were not thrown in with rubbish. Some of the old tomb wells were used as rubbish pits, and filled with broken pottery in late times. What the use of thousands of these small vessels can have been it is difficult to say ; but perhaps it will not be far wrong to suppose that they were for offerings of oil and corn to the household gods, and that there was some religious reason against their repeated use.

Another vase that probably belongs to this period, was found near the Sphinx. It is of form 43, of a hard, red ware, with a white wash over it, very much like the Pyramid masons' pottery ; yet as it is marked IX on the neck, it must be of Greek or Roman times.

Of the next, or Roman, period, there are many sites at Gizeh. These will be here distinguished by letters, as follows : A, site north-west of Great Pyramid, partly over ruined tombs, partly on rock ; G, site in the ruins of the second pyramid temple ; H, site south-west of the Great Pyramid ; K, site at foot of the cliff on which the Great Pyramid stands ; these are probably the rubbish heaps of the next site ; L, on the top of the cliff, north of pyramid, above K ; P, site south-east of the Third Pyramid ; T, site by the ruins of the pyramid at Abu Roash. In nearly all of these sites, walls or fragments of crude bricks may be seen, showing that they were actual dwelling places.

The various qualities are as follows :—

Red, with bright polished red surface. Bowls of forms

44, K and L; 45, A, G, T, and Abusir; 46, G, K, and P; 47, P; 48, A; 49, T; 50, P; 51, A.

Red, poorer body, but smooth. 52, G. Same, $20\frac{1}{2}$ diam., '6 thick, P; 53, H.

Red, whitish facing, rough. 54, K; 55, 56, ring stands, A.

Red, medium. 57, H; 58, T; 59, H; 60, T; 61, G, rope pattern.

Red, coarse. 61, A; 63, P.

Black brown. 64, T, ring stands.

Brown and red brown. Saucers and vases. 65, 74, 82, 83, A; 66, 73, 79, 80, H; 67, 77, 81, K; 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, P; 75, 78, T; 76, L.

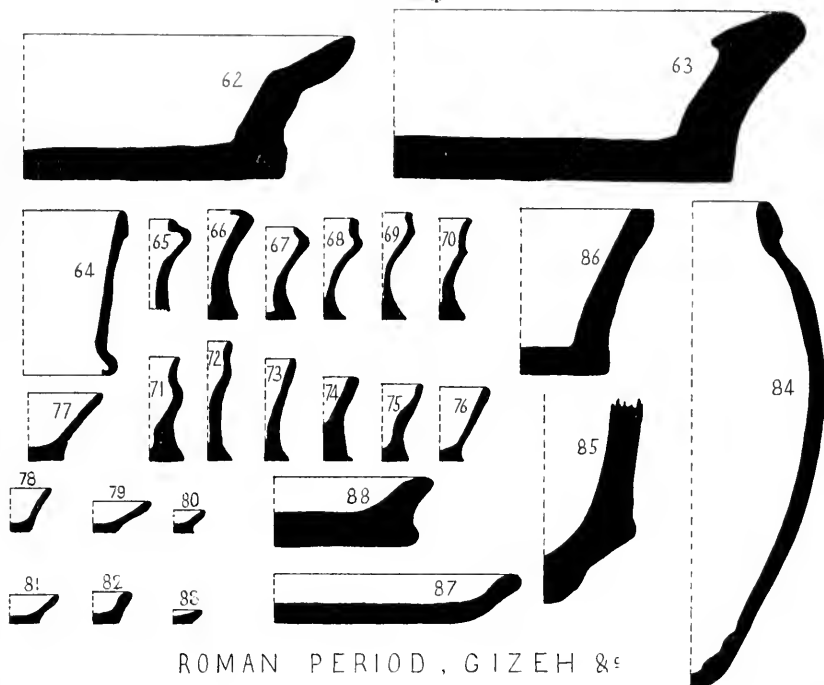
Very coarse brown and red brown. 84, A, H, K, L, P, T (the commonest form in these sites, varying to double the size and thickness, sometimes handmade); 85, K; 86, G, K, L, P, T (often larger); 87, P; 88, H, K, T.

There is also some pale red, drab-faced, and fine drab ware at H, like the Greek ware. Fragments, apparently of large stands for trays or jars, trumpet-mouthed at each end, are found at H, K, P, T. Fine and perfect examples of these are in the British Museum, of similar fine red-faced ware. The examples of blue beads found accidentally baked in the pottery were from K, P and T.

The next period of pottery shows a great change, in the universal adoption of ribbed outsides. Some of the ribbing is as fine as if made with a comb; other patterns are over an inch wide in the spaces; but it is a peculiarity almost essential to the pottery of the fourth century A.D. and onward; and it was continued down to a few centuries ago, even after the introduction of tobacco, as pipe bowls may be found, along with ribbed pots, in the Cairo heaps. Another speciality of this period is a dark yellow-brown ware, and also a salmon-coloured ware of a fine uniform paste, varying from almost white to full pink, but seldom with a polish or facing. Very fine, hard, polished, red ware, universally recognised in all countries as Roman, often called imitation Samian, is also found in this period. Painting is also common on the coarse ware.

The principal sites from which I have collected the pottery of this period are a series of Roman camps along the edge of the Nile valley near Gizeh, mentioned in my

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.



ROMAN PERIOD, GIZEH &c



LATE ROMAN. GIZEH &c.

first paper. In these camps, the pottery is always associated with pieces of glass vessels, often with the beautiful hollow rims; small brass of the Constantine family I have also picked up, showing the period; and another evidence of the age of this class of ware is that the Coptic letters in the British Museum are written on ribbed pottery, showing that it was commonly used in the fourth and fifth centuries; whereas, the earlier accounts and letters, down to the Antonines or further, are always written on fragments of smooth vessels, like the still earlier demotic inscriptions.

Denoting the sites, Ah., for Kom-el-Ahmar; Ki., for Gebel Kibli; and Gi., for a small patch overlying the Greek remains, just on the brow of the hill east of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh; the varieties of ware may be described thus:—

Bright red, very fine and hard, polished; “imitation Samian”; 89, Gi.; 90, Sakkara.

Salmon-colour, very fine and hard. 91, Sakkara; 92, Deir, near Abu Roash.

Salmon-colour, faced with red wash. 93, Sakkara.

Pale salmon-colour, fine and hard. 94, Ki. and Ah.; 95, Ki.; 96, Gi.

Red-brown, ordinary rough. 97, Ki.; 98, Gi.; 99, Gi.; 100, Ki.

Drab, or olive-grey. 101, Ah.; 102, Ah.

Brown, varying from ordinary to dark yellow-brown; not hard, and very liable to decompose. 103, Ki., Gi., Ah.; 104, Ki.; 105, Ah.; 106, Ki.; 107, Ki.

Black, rather hard. 108, Ki.

A profusion of large handles (109), often streaked down with the fingers, is also a characteristic of this period. These occur in salmon, rough red, and browns. Strainers are also often met with in the necks of jars. The characteristic ribbing is shown in forms 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106. It usually occurs on the dark-brown and drab; less constantly on the salmon, and never on the fine red. Another characteristic is repeated impressed patterns, marked by a bit of stick, or the finger-nail; and these marks are usually put on diagonally. This is not seen except in this period; and it is not very common even here.

At Memphis, a large part of the heaps belong to this period, and rather later ; and show various debased and altered forms of these types. But at Cairo, examples of every mediæval period may be met with ; the earlier at Old Cairo, and the later forms nearer to the present city. Among the Arab pottery, even of the last three centuries, many of the old forms survived ; and examples, closely like the forms, Nos. 34, 63, 77, 88, 95 and 107, may be met with.

It is remarkable how the same type continually recurs in Egypt. The bowls with recurved rims and spouts are found in the old kingdom before 2000 B.C. ; also in Greek and in Roman times. The ring stands for holding round-bottomed jars are found in the eighteenth dynasty, Greek, Roman, and Arab times, scarcely varied at all in shape. The character of the ware is also remarkably the same in different periods ; some of the fine red Pyramid pottery can scarcely be distinguished from Roman ware ; and the brown paste with a yellow wash, found in the pyramid waste heaps, is exactly like vases with Greek letters upon them, also found at Gizeh.

This persistence of a type is very confusing, and it is necessary in exploring, to fix the attention on characteristic forms not found in more than one period. The characteristics of the eighteenth dynasty pottery are the blue and chocolate painting, and the polished white surface. The Greek period has its own light-brown ware, of very fine and hard texture ; and the vases of pilgrim-bottle shape, with the neck in the circumference. And the late Roman has its ribbed surface, and salmon-coloured ware.

When the Egyptian antiquities obtain more room at the British Museum, there will, I hope, be a chronological arrangement of the dated types of pottery, which I have collected, and here described.

ON SOME LARGE COLLECTIONS OF SHALLOW PITS IN NORFOLK AND ELSEWHERE.¹

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

For a distance of eight miles along the hills which overlook the sea on the North Coast of Norfolk, from Roughton heath, near Cromer, westward, exists a multitude of shallow pits. The area occupied by them now and formerly cannot have covered less than a thousand acres of ground.

Taken generally they appear much alike, there are however slight differences. The diameters of these pits vary from six to twenty feet, with an average of ten feet, and the depth three feet. At the present time they have various outlines, but the ordinary shape is round, as it was originally; some are oval, but these are in situations where a peculiarity of soil or the proximity to the edge of a valley or a another pit sufficiently accounts for the variation. The site is a narrow table land which is drained by the sea on the north, and the tributaries of the Bure on the south, and the elevation, between 200 and 300 feet above the sea makes it very bleak. No tree would grow on the hills naturally, though careful planting has now produced some fine woods, in the rearing of which advantage has been largely taken of the pits to plant the young trees in, partly for the shelter they afford against the wind, and partly for the sake of the peat soil in their bottoms. This and agricultural clearing has destroyed or obscured many of these remains; many have been filled in, and are visible now only in certain seasons. I have been shewn considerable stretches of land which old woodmen remember as covered with them, and this is corroborated by the appearance of the soil and vegetation over and around them in spring and autumn.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, February 2nd, 1882.

The pits closely gathered together and crowded at the extreme edges of the hills spread irregularly landwards, without obvious boundaries, except where they meet with valleys which are avoided; the crowding of the pits to the seaward edge of the hill has, so to speak, forced a few over the lip a few feet, and down some of the valleys a few paces, but pits are rarely found in the deep valleys, and the latter suggest from their position a peculiar purpose. They are collected more thickly here and there, and walking between them is sometimes difficult, so slight is the space between them.

They lie in batches, sometimes the cause of separation is clearly a valley, and sometimes there is no obvious cause; some of the batches are smaller than others, and there are many single pits; a solitary pit is generally found at the head of the little valleys, and in this situation is often deeper than the others. Mr. Bolding told me of one nearly seven feet deep, which contained a quantity of wood ashes; perhaps these solitary pits and those in the valleys were sentry holes, and the ashes may have represented the fire thrown down to warm the watcher and prevent his sleeping from cold.

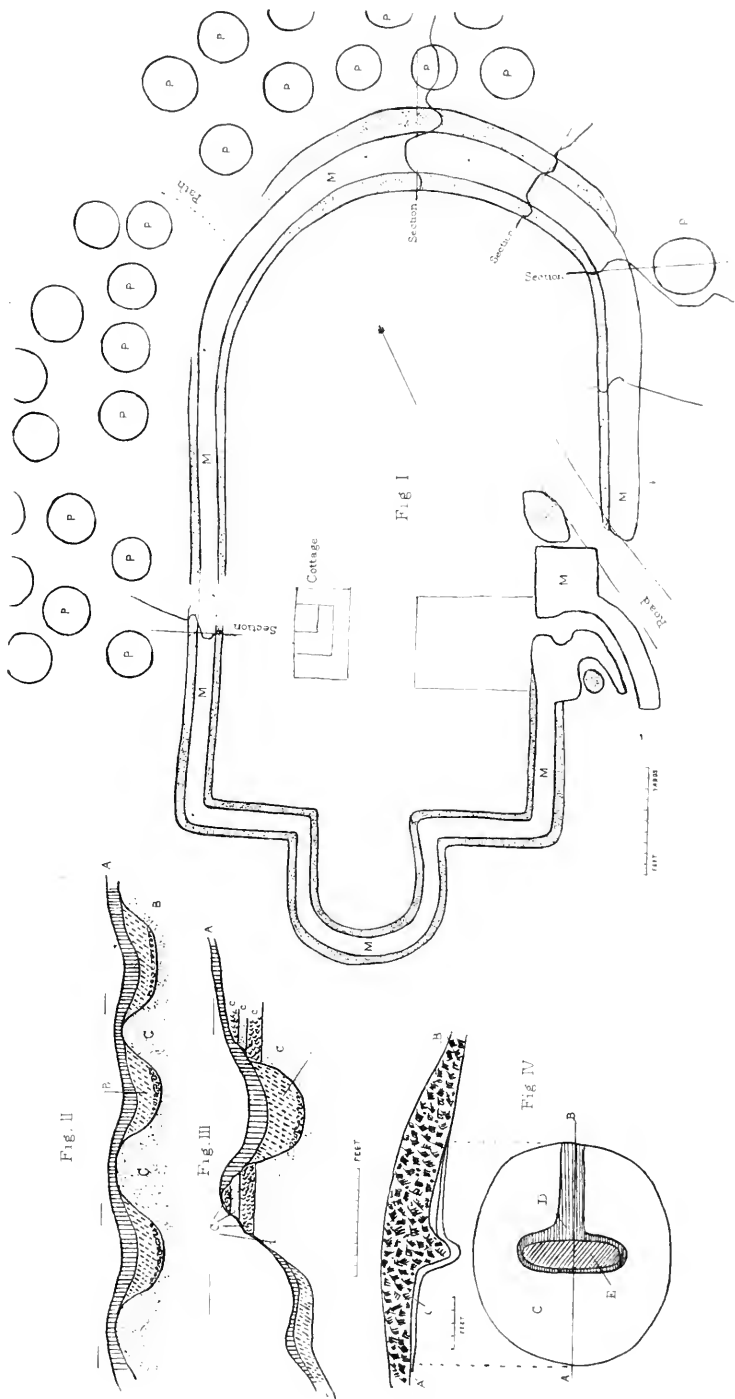
In examining the outline of the ground occupied by the pits, it is easy to detect, by the abruptness of the borders of some clumps, that many have been levelled. There is no difficulty, however, in perceiving that an almost continuous belt runs from near Roughton heath to Sherringham, where there is a slight interval;¹ and they are found in plenty on Weybourne heath and Kelling heath, though they are not so numerous on the latter spot.

Many exist, or existed, on Holt and Edgefield heaths, and a few at Baconsthorpe and Bessingham, a few miles inland.

The sandy soil in which they are dug yields no hard and useful rock, but limited layers of ferruginous conglomerate now and then occur. The upper stratum is gravel, with sand and layers of large stones, consisting of many kinds of hard northern rocks and flint (it is the middle glacial of Mr. S. V. Wood). These stones con-

¹ Their absence at Sherringham is perhaps explained by their having been placed forward toward the sea on hills

now washed away, but of which Skelding and the Beeston hills are some remains.



stitute a large proportion of the pebbles on the beach near by. The soil is very uncertain; a single pace will frequently separate an area of stony gravel from one of shifting sand. (Plate, figs. II and III).

Some years ago, Mr. Harrod described some of these holes at Weybourne, and made some remarks which were very interesting. He treated, however, of a limited number of pits, and left much to be said about them. During many years I have gone about among them, trying to discover order or regularity in their disposition, but neither I nor Mr. Bolding have done so. They are arranged higgledy-piggledy. Paths are not traceable amongst them, though here and there small patches of unoccupied ground lie amongst them.

In excavating at Beeston I cleared out twelve pits, and made sections through others—in all, I dug through 37. I saw none which shewed any signs of stones used as walling, nor in the bottom of any of them what resembled an intentional pavement or accidental falling in of picked stones. In two pits at Weybourn heath, which I opened, I found no stones at all. I also used a pointed steel rod, and probed many a hundred as I walked for signs of this feature, but found none.

Mr. H. Harrod says of them:¹—"They all appear to have been excavated on one uniform plan, a ridge of stones having been firmly placed on the outer side of a circular excavation, the soil from the interior was thrown out, the circle of stones preventing it from again falling into the pit. At the bottom of each pit is a large quantity of stones, many of them from the beach nearly two miles distant, and of considerable size. Some of these stones may have served to line the sides and have subsequently fallen to the bottom." He also says:—"In many instances two of these pits were joined together by a narrow trench, which, in those I examined, was carefully lined with stones." Again, "Aylmerton Heath is about five miles south of Weybourne on the same range of hills as Weybourne, and about a like distance from the sea, the pits were precisely similar in form and arranged in the same manner."

¹ Norfolk Archaeological papers, III., 232, with map by Mr. Bolding of Weybourne.

Mr. Harrod gives a section in illustration of one. Without disputing the case of the pit as seen in section, for such arrangements may occur and, indeed, do occur elsewhere, I have no support to give the observation, nor was Mr. Bolding able to assist me. Nor have I seen along the whole line any pits which were joined together by a narrow trench; where it has occasionally happened that two pits appear to join, I have always found it to be a breakdown in the partition, and the result of weathering.

The map published by Mr. Harrod, from a survey made with great care by Mr. Bolding, whose faithfulness I have proved by actual comparison, also contains no sign of a double pit with a connecting trench. Such inaccuracies on Mr. Harrod's part fully excuse my re-examination of the subject, and while rejecting the stone wall theory, I would suggest a possible explanation, viz:—that the layers of boulder stones occasionally met with, and cut through in digging the pits, deceived Mr. Harrod, closely resembling as they do those on the beach, which last indeed have been derived from the hills washed by the sea.

The earth from each pit was thrown around the edge and part fell back; in this is found an occasional flint chip or a scraper, but they are rare. On Skelding Hill, at Sherringham, Mr. Clement Reid, F.G.S., found several good arrow heads lying on the surface.

There are to be seen in the collections of a few persons and frequently worked up in garden rockeries in the neighbourhood, stone querns of various types and sizes, mostly of Roman form. But, besides these, there is no lack along the stretch of country of querns or hand rubbers of a rude type, being merely the flatter sand stones obtained from the local gravels, and rounder stones, both having the marks of rubbing and pounding upon them. I have frequently found small pieces of very rough pottery of imperfect manufacture amongst the pits; Mr. Clement Reid has done the same.

Fires were indicated by charcoal in the pits, but it appeared to be mixed with the fallen in rubbish; and in these pits none appear large enough to have contained a fire place, and yet have been habitable.

A few ditches appear to be connected with the pits; one

starting from the edge of the hill, about one mile due south of Runton church, runs SSW. for a short distance (it is lost in the fields) having (sentinel ?) pits at regular intervals outside on the west.

Several tumuli are situated in the rear, or landward, in the immediate locality of the pits; still further inland are many more. Those on Weybourne heath are called by Mr. Bolding in his map, "Sand hills." One has been opened; the other, about four feet high and forty paces long, has not.

There is a curious camp (see Plate, fig. 1) or fort on the Beacon Bell. Perhaps the older or north part of the camp may belong to the age of some of the pits, from their apparent conformity to its outline. On the other hand, there is a greater probability that this feeble earthwork was placed on this little spur of the hill where it stands, because just there fewer pits had been dug and level ground lay behind it, permitting easy access. Whatever its original form, it is partly round and partly rectangular in plan. On either side of the rounded end the slopes of the hill are steep. The rectangular parts are on the south and are clearly of different dates, but the banks and ditches run continuously all round; the slight inner ditch is evidently the latest addition—there is a complicated entrance to the east. Iron slag is found as a component of all the walls. Unless surmounted by a strong palisade, the walls could scarcely have served a military purpose at their best. The name Black (bleak) Beacon Hill and Beacon Bell points to an early use of the situation as a look-out. There are foundations of two buildings in the square part; these belonged, I believe, to the telegraph station established there at the time of Napoleon's expected invasion. Mr. Bolding has preserved the memory of the site of a circular camp about 200 yards north-west of Beeston Regis Church. There are now no other important works in the near neighbourhood, but numerous Roman and Teutonic remains around Weybourne attest the importance of that point as a landing place.

The whole coast is wearing away very fast, and at its present rate of doing so, we may safely estimate the sea to have been a mile further off now than in the Roman time, and many works to have perished.

Perhaps the age of these pits might not have interested me so much, but that about and amongst them are broad patches strewn with cinders and slag, the refuse of iron working. I have examined these, and, by the kind permission of Mr. Cremer, I have excavated in the area of the Beeston-Aylmerton pits, in every heap of cinder I could find, and Mr. Bolding has done this at Weybourne.

The largest patch of cinder, that due south of Beeston Church on the hill top, is spread out for many yards, but its width is much narrower. The cinder is sprinkled in and about the neighbouring pits, and some of them are filled with this refuse. At one part, where the land slopes somewhat sharply, I trenched through a thick mound of cinder more than five feet in depth. It was hard work, for some of the fan-like slags were three feet in length. They had a very elegant appearance; for the slag had trickled in very thin streams through the small apertures of the furnace, which were the size of a man's finger, as shown by casts of them. From portions of the clay and residuum of one furnace I made out that the bottom inside was somewhat less than two feet, and possibly it was from two to three feet high; one at Weybourne was three feet wide. (Plate, fig. iv).

The ore was obtained from the neighbouring shore, and consisted of nodules and clay ironstone of the forest bed there exposed. Plenty of this was obtained, both raw and roasted; no other ore was perceptible.

Mixed with the slag were coarse bits of pottery, some much burnt; other pieces were Roman, and looked like the ware of Durobrivæ. The scoræ are very heavy, and rich in iron. After clearing away the cinder, I found a layer of much burned sand of an oval shape. It had a shallow trench in the middle, with a shallower outlet on one side. The area of this was about eighteen feet in diameter. Mr. J. A. Phillips, F.R.S., has suggested to me that it was the floor of the kiln for roasting the ore, and doubtless he is right, though the trench is a curious feature. Other patches occur in several places some way down the valley slopes, and a large one is near the Cromer Lodge gate of Felbrigg park. The collections of pits show, therefore, that some are certainly older than the local iron manufacture.

I cannot entertain the idea that these pits were mines; for there is nothing to mine; and none that I examined contained soil containing nodules of iron ore.

They could not be pitfalls for protecting a fortress, as they are thickest where no such purpose could be served by them. As a matter of fact, the only camp among them is placed on a blank spot, with a stretch of clear level ground stretching far behind it.

For my own part, there appears to be no doubt that they have served as dwellings; every gradation between well-ascertained hut foundations and those under consideration having been found.

For a long time the great collection of circular hollows, called the Pen pits, was considered unique, which, however, is now open to doubt. But they have been computed as 20,000 in number covering an area of 700 acres. The Pen pits are wholly inland. They are situated on the spurs of hills which constitute the south eastern step to the high chalk land of Salisbury plain, midway between the Bristol and English Channels at the sources of the river Stour, and at the junction of the counties, Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts. They are much alike in form, being more or less round—four to six feet in depth, and in width ten to twelve feet, sometimes to 25 ft. or even more. The larger ones differ chiefly in their length, being oval, and the depth is occasionally greater.

Their arrangement is irregular, and their proximity to one another mostly very close, sometimes there is barely room for a path between, though the pits are clearly defined. Where they are large there is greater space between them. They are placed commonly on hill tops. Some slopes, however, are thickly covered with them; in the intervening valleys they are few and scattered.

Geologically speaking, they lie on the lower Greensand, the rock being chert. Greensand rubble and gravel, containing angular flints with sand, covers the surface. In these sands and gravels the holes are dug, and to them they are confined, all observers being agreed that the hard rock was "unmoved" in shaping them.

In and near them have been found a few flint flakes and stone querns, or portions of querns, and a bronze torque, but the history of these things is not so clearly

ascertained as to be of much value at present in classifying the pits. Close to Penselwood I found a few pieces of iron slag among some pits.

Much information was left by Sir R. C. Hoare, concerning these pits, which is the more valuable from the early period at which he examined them, and which enabled him in the opinion of some to speak of their original number with greater precision than we do now. But his estimate must have been a rough one, for in his map he has only indicated those patches which were very marked, and he has omitted many areas where large numbers still perfect exist, and others where they may easily be seen to have existed by the signs which remain in fields, orchards, and even in the cottage gardens of the country side; while the isolated patches shewn in Hoare's map are indications of their wider spread.

They have been much quarried amongst, by which their symmetry is destroyed, and this affords a comparison between the quarrying, and the round, pits, and the difference is great.

Sir R. C. Hoare describes them in his "Ancient Wilts," i, 35; "Modern Wilts," p. 91, and in other works. Other writers as Gough, Collinson mention them, of which a good list is given by Mr. T. Kerslake in his pamphlets: "A Primæval British Metropolis" and "Caerpensauelcoit." Mr. Kerslake and Mr. Cunningham¹ and others have recently brought the subject forward again, and the Somerset Archæological Society (Proceedings, vii, 55, and xxv, (1879) Report of Excavations) has been lately stimulated to look into the matter and to excavate. The report of the Excavation Committee of this Society, which states that, "these pits were never intended for the purpose of dwellings," and that they were the work of people who had dug in search of a rock called Penstone²; is a curious document, which with an admirable assurance, while claiming "finally" to have settled the whole matter, betrays undue haste in drawing general conclusions from a very limited examination, and this is emphatically noticed

¹ Wilts Mag. vii, 212.

² Were the pits the scene of stone working as a trade, the numerous unbroken and used querns found by Hoare and

others would scarcely have been left, but carried away for barter, but they *are* left among the ruins.

by riders to the report from three members of the Committee—with whose caution most persons will concur.

It may be remarked that Sir R. C. Hoare and most writers speak of them as foundations for huts, and that with due consideration for the other purposes which they may have served, while those who think differently have not considered where the miners' huts were placed. They do not appear to me to be, except in some instances, stone quarries or iron mines, but where I have seen them well displayed, they are so much like the generality of hut-circles, and especially those found on the same formation elsewhere, that I have little doubt that *most* of them were foundations for cabins.

I would point out as a cause of difficulty in their examination, that complications, of varied types of excavations in the immediate neighbourhood of Prehistoric and Roman Camps, early Saxon occupation, a Norman Castle and Churches, and villages, are to be expected; and that the spot chosen to dig, Orchard Castle,¹ is just the place to meet with such complications. Supposing, however, that Orchard Castle has been satisfactorily explored, I see very little in the report to assist us in an enquiry on the Pen Pits proper, which certainly are worthy of the labour.

In several parts of the Blackdown hills, Mr. P. O. Hutchinson says,² and he has long paid attention to the subject, "there are groups of pits strikingly similar in form, fashion, and arrangement, as those at Penselwood," "from 10 to 50 feet in diameter, and from 5 to 10 feet at bottom, as Camden described the Pen pits. The smaller diameters are the most common over Kentisbear. On the flat top of the hill between Punchey down and Upcott Pen there is a labyrinth of such hollows. Near Church Stanton they have been described by Mr. Blackmore as being in thousands. About three miles north of Honiton and Wolford Lodge there is a grand group on the Wild Moor. About fifty yards to the west of the road are some pretty large, for at one of my visits we led both gig and horse down the sloping sides of one, and while working in the next were wholly invisible from the road." Besides numerous other detached groups in this neighbourhood,

¹ This tongue of land appears from Hoare's map to have been *in tillage* when surveyed by him!

² See paper "Iron Pits" in Devonshire Association Report, 1872.

they occur further south at the point of Ottery East hill, near Gittisham, and on the waste of Lincombe farm. About four miles north of Sidmouth there is another patch. They extend into Devonshire on the Great as well as Little Haldon. They are all placed in gravels and sands overlying the Greensand, or in close proximity to it. Mr. P. Hutchinson says that on the strata of the formation, which covers all these hills, Penselwood, Blackdown, Haldon, &c., considerable quantities of iron is found, whether as hæmatite, iron pan, or bog iron ore, pieces of this hæmatite frequently fall down from exposed cliffs, and it is met with in lumps and pockets and detached veins. The finding of masses of scoria, cinders, or clinkers scattered over the fields or lying in by-places is frequent, as at Northcott, Tadborough, Bowerhayes farm, and at Church Stanton, and finally Mr. Hutchinson gives his opinion that "the cluster of pits were the scenes of iron hunting."

The Blackdown pits, Lysons observes, are called "Iron pits, and by some supposed a British Village." To suppose them exclusively Iron pits, or mere quarries limited to the digging of stone, appear in either case too one-sided not to suggest of themselves that Mr. Hutchinson and the authors of the Pen Pits Report have over estimated their observations.

In Yorkshire these hut foundations are common, especially in the East; the valley of the Esk is covered with hut holes in great number; in general, as in those which are found on the summit of Rosebury Topping, they are circular hollows; at Egton Grange, where is a group of from 200 to 300, they range from eight to eighteen feet in diameter, and from three to six feet in depth, and have a raised border of earth and stones with usually an opening on one side, while some have been built round within. The Killing pits on a hill one mile south of Godeland, and others at Ugthorpe and Danby Beacon are well known.

In the area of the Derwent, they are more abundant than in that of the Esk. There are some at Westerdale known as the Ref holes, and on Skipwith common¹ which

¹ See John Phillips, *Yorkshire*, p. 109. W. D. Saull, *Notitia Britannicæ*. 202, Dr. Geo. Young, *Hist. of Whitby*.

Phillips speaks of as turf or log houses, and as having marks of fire within them, chiefly at one end.

In the Berwickshire Naturalist Club Papers is an account of hut circles in considerable numbers, and the author says:—"Slag heaps seen in the wild moorlands have excited wonder, one such heap there is on the Eglington moors and another on the Harehope moors, and both are in the midst of ancient British camps and dwellings.

Hewitt,¹ who quotes Sir R. C. Hoare, mentions that not only in the area of Perborough Castle, but over the whole of Cowdown is covered with circular pits, and that ashes and clinkers are found in abundance all about. These ashes and clinkers were not understood, but they are the refuse of iron working. Cowdown is on the chalk close to the Greensand and Gault, whence it is likely that the ore was obtained and carried to the settlement on the down.

Two miles due north of Hythe church in Kent is Tolsford² Hill, presenting for three-quarters of a mile a sharp crest to the sea. It is of chalk covered with clay, with flints and surface gravel. The hill is almost isolated from the main mass of chalk on the north side by a valley, but no stream runs near the hill, the whole of the precipitous ridge overlooking the sea is lined with small depressions; these extend back about 300 yards. At the western end of the hill they can barely be detected, having been levelled for pasture; at the eastern end they have for the most part well marked circular outlines, but near the centre of the hill they have been much interfered with by flint diggers; flint digging is carried on now on the hill, the excavations for which however being straggling and irregular in no way resemble the pits, and the workmen know well when they come upon the "Soldiers' pits" as they are called. They roughly measure from 10 to 15 feet across, are individually separate, and having little or no passage room between them are really contiguous. Some of these shallow pits have been dug into, and one of the flint diggers described them as being from four to six feet deep. He described two or three as having what he termed fire places at the bottom, made with slabs of chalk (the tough

¹ History of Compton, Berks., p. 71. ² Query, Tol, ppr. name, feord, or fyrd, an army.

lower chalk) which was burnt; these were represented as somewhat square, and about two feet in diameter internally; a layer of three or four inches thick of an unctuous black soil covered the bottom. The pits crowd up to the precipitous edge, their northern limit being irregular, some of them extend down the gentle slope a short way; two deeper pits (of from ten to twenty feet) were shown me and conjectured to be wells! On the southern edge of the hill among the pits stand three tumuli or "mounts;" these consist of stones without clay for the core, the clay being placed above all. Another tumulus separated from the pits stands three or four hundred yards back to the north of the others, a depression in the soil adjacent, commensurate with its cubic measurement, still shows whence the mound was derived.

Other collections of pits and tumuli occur close by above Postling, and in Westwood in Lyminge, and early iron clinkers have been found near, notably at Stowting Roughs. I am informed that these pits are found in several places on the North downs Ridge, &c.

A very ancient road, here and there impassable, and disused, may be traced due north of Hythe, by Saltwood Castle; it climbs up the steep edge of Tolsford hill, where it is very narrow and hollow, and paved with sandstone slabs, passing through the pit settlement it runs towards Broad Street, just before reaching which however, the paving stones (of Kentish rag) still mark clearly the extremely narrow way; from thence it continues in the line of the Newer or Broad Street to Lyminge. I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Mackeson for assistance in the examination of these pits, and especially for drawing attention to the old road.¹ Mr. Mackeson first drew attention to these hut holes, and in calling them dwellings he appears to be right.

It is certain that iron in the earliest times was worked near this spot. Stukely² mentions the digging up of anchors near Saltwood castle, which he ascribed to the former presence of a Roman forge, while a charter of Oswin in 689, speaks of an iron mine in Lyminge.³ I found no iron

¹ See paper by Mr. J. G. Waller, in *Journal of this Society*, vol. xxx, p. 281, in which they are incidentally spoken of.

² *Iter Curios.*, p. 124.

³ Perhaps the mine alluded to was at Westwood in Lyminge, in the clay-with-flints, where are abundant traces of its manufacture.

ore here in the clay, but picked up some pieces on the old road over the hill.

The names associated with these collections are curious. The words *Rose*, *Rough*, *Row*, and *Rue*, with such differences as the spelling permits, are common, and suggestive to the field archaeologist of excavations. It may be that the Celtic *Rhos*, a waste land, is a sufficient explanation in some instances, but in others it is not so.

Rosebury is the name of a collection of hut holes in Cleveland; and between Scarborough and Whitby, a clearly marked collection of hut holes is called the *Roses* (*Roases*)—Saul, *Not. Brit.*

Phillips says that the *ref-holes* at Westerdale mean *roof* holes; but it must not be forgotten that the Saxons, while using *Hrof* for the cover, had also the word *Hruss* for a hill. The name of Killing pits, near Whitby, and Shrieking pits at Beeston in Norfolk, are suggestive of settlements ravaged.

The following remarks by Dr. F. Keller¹ are of much interest. He describes a number of *Kessel gruben*, situated on the Rhine, opposite Rheinfelden, near Carlsruhe, thus:—

“The host of these mysterious contrivances extends over a large piece of low land, a terrace of old river gravel, on the west side of an earthwork, and occupies the whole space between the slope, at the foot of which the work lies, and the immediate bank of the Rhine. They are found here, not as in many other places arranged in rows, but without any fixed order, as though scattered over the plain, so that one hole is sometimes five feet from the next, and sometimes their edges touch. Also with regard to their breadth and depth, the holes are quite different; for their diameter varies from seven to twelve feet, and their (present) depth from two to three feet. In these *Kesselgruben*, the remarkable circumstance is to be noticed, that the rubbish arising from the digging out of the ground has been carried away from the vicinity of the holes, and so strewn over the environs that no mound is anywhere observable. The number of *Kesselgruben*, from which the neighbourhood has acquired the name of

¹ “Keltische Vesten,” in *Mittelheilungen* vol. vii, p. 175. and plate iii of that paper *der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*,

in *gruben*, amounts to nearly 700 ; but it must have been much more considerable formerly, before a part of the wood was cut down and the land cultivated."

Dr. Keller did not neglect to notice in the *gruben*, charcoal, fragments of iron and bronze, potsherds, tiles and logs of wood. The earthwork consists of seven long mounds, more or less parallel to the river, surrounded on three sides by a horseshoe-shaped ditch, the ends abutting on the water. As this work stretches from the river to the hills, the remark of Dr. Keller, as to their not being pitfalls, and their situation in connexion with the earthwork as its protection, is borne out. Dr. Keller adds:—

"The shape and size of the *Kesselgruben* forbids their being taken for wolf holes, of which there are many existing in the country under the original name ; [*Wolfsgruben* are round holes, which decrease conically into the earth, and lie in numerous rows like a chess board, and were used as a hindrance to the approach to the forts ; in the sand they are an unimportant obstruction ; in hard earth, however, difficult to pass] ; and their regularity, besides their breadth and depth, forbids their being considered as holes caused by the uprooting of trees."¹

It appears to me, from the above remarks, that the holes are hut foundations, and the earthwork a kind of *tête du pont* ; the whole being a settlement for the protection of an important ferry or passage of the Rhine.

In considering these *larger collections of shallow pits* as a whole, it is observable that the soil in which they are dug is light and swiftly drained, excellent qualities in the matter of dwelling sites. There is always evidence that people have lived amongst them, and there is always tradition that they were habitations. And lastly, there is a great similarity between the larger collections and the smaller, and also between them and single pits ; thus passing through a gradual series. The belief so freely expressed with respect to the small groups may equally be extended to the large, viz., that they were hut holes. I find, up to the present, that some of the largest collections of shallows pits are intimately connected with the early manufacture of iron throughout England ; and it is likely that the existence of workable ore determined the

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 189 and 193.

congregation of some of them, though this is not common; for I entirely agree with Mr. L. C. Miall,¹ when he says that proximity to the source of the ore does not appear to have been so serious a consideration as we might suppose; and more, for as the day holes and workings were often flooded in winter, the permanent habitations of the community would necessarily be elsewhere, I think on high land. For such slight earthworks as they are, the numerous holes are very conspicuous still.

These reasons indicate a late date, and point to a great increase in the population as compared with the earlier stone age hut-holes. In many instances, the few remains of waste material found in them seem to point to their temporary occupation. Perhaps some of them, being in very bleak spots, were only used in summer, perhaps every summer. They may have been the mustering places of warlike tribes. It appears likely, too, in the case of those which are much out of the way, as in Norfolk, that they may have been the refuge of a crowded population driven from their homes by an invader, even to the sea.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

All the figures are drawn to natural scales.

Fig. I. Plan of Camp or Enclosure on Black Beacon Hill at Beeston. The wall marked M is accompanied by shallow ditches, which are shaded by dots. The sections are taken along the straight lines, which latter serve also for true horizons. The pits in immediate proximity to the camp on the north, east and west (there are none southward) are shewn to the same scale as the camp. A road from Cromer enters the camp on the east side. The small enclosures within mark the site of a cottage and perhaps its garden.

Fig. II. A section of three pits about half a mile west of Fig. I. A, represents the covering of the general surface. B, the peat of the holes with pebbly rubble at the bottom. C, is the untouched gravel and sand. Figs. I and II are to the same scale.

Fig. III. Section taken on the hill edge a quarter of a mile west of the last. The lettering is the same, with the exception that some of the gravel is lightly cemented into a ferruginous conglomerate in horizontal layers.

Fig. IV. This represents part of the great mass of cinders on Beeston Hill. The large circle C, represents the outline of burnt surface soil. D, is a depression with a horizontal outlet. E, an inner depression without an outlet. A'-B' to the same scale is a section shewing the thickness of slag covering the whole.

¹ Ancient Bloomeries in Yorks., *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, i, 110.

ON KIRKSTEAD ABBEY, LINCOLNSHIRE, KIRKSTEAD
CHAPEL, AND A REMARKABLE MONUMENTAL EFFIGY
THERE PRESERVED.

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

The Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstead, a great religious house on the eastern bank of the Witham, was founded by Brito, son of Eudo, one of the companions of the Conqueror. Brito endowed it with extensive possessions as appears from the "Taxatio" of Bishop Nicholas (1291). Some of the charters, patents and grants are set forth in Dugdale's "Monasticon."

According to Stukeley's plan, taken early in the last century, the abbey buildings were very extensive, the entire area being enclosed by a broad and deep moat, with a wall of enceinte on the inner side.

But Stukeley's plan is somewhat vague, and the ancient and modern plans are so mixed up that the church is also marked "garden," and a summer house appears in the north transept. Foundations can be traced every where at the present day, and a fine and lofty ruin, apparently the north-east angle of the south transept, still remains. The architectural details are clearly Transition work, probably about 1160, and there is no sign of any buildings of Brito's foundation of 1139 which would, of course, have been late and florid Norman or Romanesque; the whole of this transept end was standing in Stukeley's time.

It is well known that the Cistercians were a branch of the great order of St. Benedict, and that they were first constituted at Citeaux, in 1098, by a small band of monks who desired to conform more strictly to the rules of their great founder. How rapidly they spread over the whole of western Christendom, and what an important influence they had upon the religion and politics of the twelfth

century, is as remarkable as the general severity and piety of their mode of life at that early period. It is therefore not surprising, but quite in accordance with the feeling of the age, that one of the lords of the district should be brought under their influence at Kirkstead, and should add to their splendour by building and placing under their protection, in expiation of his own offences, a chapel where the monks should for ever pray for the repose of his soul after his death.

But the attractions of the outer world they affected to despise soon became too strong for the Cistercians, and, already in the latter part of the thirteenth century they gave signs of worldly laxity. It was so at Kirkstead when abbot Simon ruled the house.

In 1273 he was accused of divers encroachments and usurpations. He prevented the navigation of the Witham by any vessels save his own; he alone exercised the privilege of hunting, fowling, and fishing, and took waif and stray over Wildmore Fen, a tract of 45,000 acres, and he claimed similar rights over other districts. He set up a gallows at Thimbleby, and executed criminals thereon,—for which, in one sense, it might be thought he was to be commended,—but he did what was probably then thought much worse, he appropriated the assize of bread and beer there, and at Horncastle. He omitted to pay sheriff's aid for some of his large estates and refused to do suit and service for his lands within the royal courts, or in those of the Bishop of Carlisle at Horncastle. This lax Cistercian, Abbot Simon, was accused at Lincoln, in 1276, of smuggling wool and manufactured goods and defrauding the Crown of its tronage, and the citizens their tolls. Traffic of any kind being forbidden to the order, it is somewhat startling to find from this presentment that by unclerical and unlawful jobbery the citizens of Lincoln alone were thus robbed of tolls to the value of £2000 a year. When means of this kind and extent are added to their other vast possessions, some idea may be formed of the income of the Kirkstead Cistercians.

But fully fifty years before the unpleasant questions arose regarding the conduct of Abbot Simon, and during the abbacy of Abbot William, the very beautiful chapel of Kirkstead was set up, hard by the great abbey but quite

distinct from it, and without its encircling wall of enceinte.

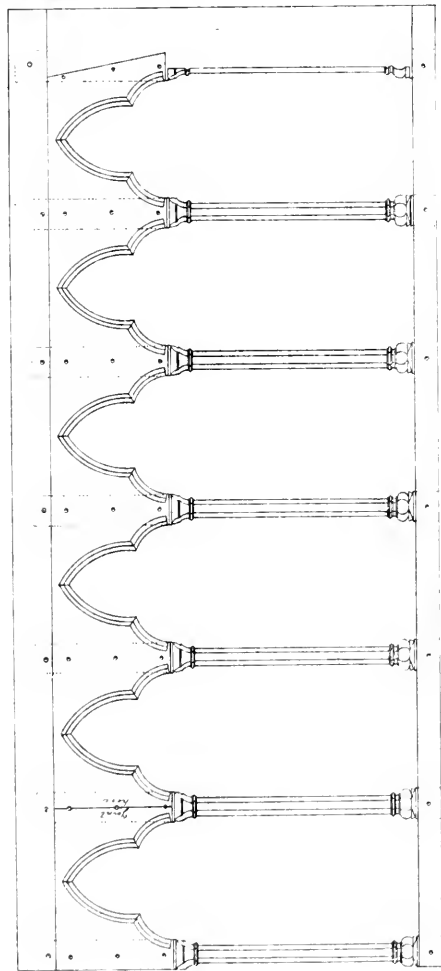
Built under the influence of the Cistercians to whom the rise and rapid development of pure Gothic owes so much, we naturally find here a work of the highest order. It consists of an unbroken oblong, divided into three bays by slight buttresses which sustain, inadequately indeed, the pressure of the heavy vaulted roof. The chapel is lighted at the sides by pairs of lancets, at the west end by an oval, and at the east end by a triplet. The exterior is singularly plain, with the exception of the west front, which presents a design of great beauty. The inside is very striking, whether we consider the perfection of the caps supporting the vaulting, or the exquisite beauty of the east window, where, as has been well said, the foliage seems ready to expand and yield to the breeze.

Reared up against the wall at the west end is a monumental effigy in Forest marble, larger than life, of a man in the military costume of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. He wears a cylindrical helm, a hauberk, apparently hooded, a short surcote and a broad cingulum. The left arm is covered by a ponderous shield, and he draws a sword from a scabbard. He wears breeches of mail, but the legs from the knees downwards are missing. The head rests upon a cushion supported by conventional foliage.

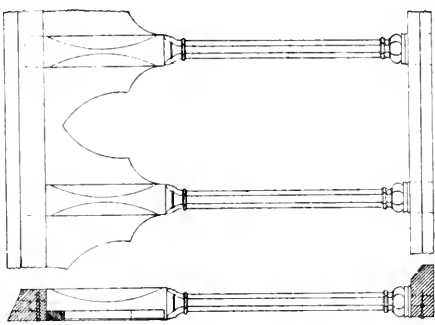
The occurrence of a cylindrical flat-topped helm in monumental sculpture is, of itself, sufficiently rare to merit notice. There are two examples at Furness, two at Chester-le-Street, one at Staindrop, and one at Walkern,—seven only in all, as far as appears to be known. They occur in the seals of Henry III, Edward I, Alexander II of Scotland, and Hugh de Vere. Actual examples of such head pieces are certainly of the utmost rarity. There is a very genuine one in the Tower, and another at Warwick Castle. Some sham ones were in the Helmet and Mail Exhibition held in the rooms of the Institute in 1880, and are suitably exposed in the Illustrated Catalogue of that interesting collection.

It is perhaps now well known that one of the archaeological troubles of the past and present generations is "Banded Mail," and it will be within the recollection of the members of the Institute how much care the late Mr.

KIRKSTEAD CHAPEL, NEAR HORNCastle, LINCOLNSHIRE.

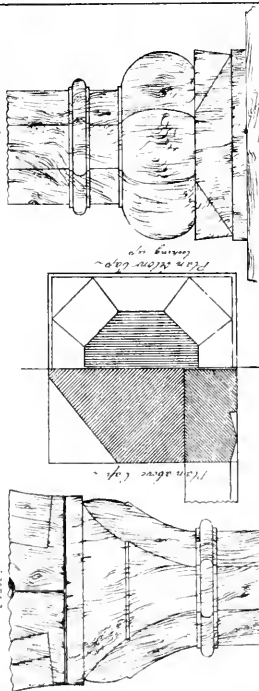


PART OF OAK SCREEN, FRONT.

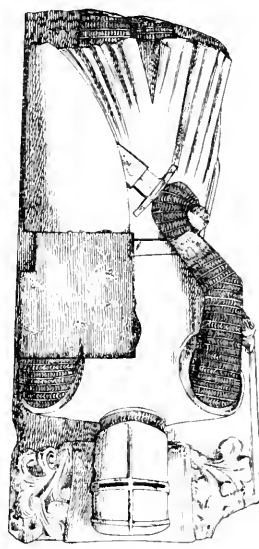


SECTION. BACK.

There is another portion of sex and a half boys in length. Both portions are now worked up into the modern local style. The former is made as it is into the superphic and semibly market one.



8.016 inches



EFFICY IN PURBECK MARBLE, CIRCA 1225.

S. alb.

General Scale for Screen

General Scale for Screen.

Burges took to endeavour to unravel the mystery of its construction. At the time of the Helmet and Mail Exhibition he went to the trouble of having casts made from the only four then known sculptured representations of this defence, namely from effigies at Tewkesbury, Tollard-Royal, Dodford, and Newton Solney respectively, with the view of endeavouring to throw some certain and clear light upon its construction. On this occasion Mr. W. G. B. Lewis and Mr. C. E. M. Holmes contributed examples of defenses of leather and rings of various kinds, approaching as closely as possible to the forms and appearance of the four above mentioned varieties of this armour, and Mr. Burges subsequently brought his rare abilities to bear upon the question in the printed Catalogue of the Exhibition, and even he had to confess in the end that he could make nothing satisfactory of it.

Here, now, at Kirkstead is the fifth known sculptured example of Banded Mail in this kingdom. It is the first time that attention has been called to it, as such, although this effigy has been described more than once, and this is the earliest example of all. It will be seen from the illustration that the figure affords no indication whatever of the method of the construction of this kind of mail armour. On comparing it with the casts of the other four examples, now preserved in the Burges bequest in the British Museum, it appears that the Banded Mail at Kirkstead resembles most the Newton Solney type, but I can throw no light upon its construction, though I have long considered the subject, and I reluctantly leave the matter as I found it, twenty years ago,—a mystery.

If we are to suppose, as the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham has suggested, that a local lord built Kirkstead Chapel, then I am disposed to think with him that that lord was Robert de Tattershall and Kirkstead, who died in 1212. The date of the chapel may certainly be of about the same period, namely, a little after the time of St. Hugh, and coeval with the Early English work of the second period in Lincoln Cathedral. The effigy may very well have been set up to the memory of Robert de Tattershall a few years after his death.

At the west end of the chapel are two separate portions of arcading in oak. These apparently formed part of a

screen, and are of the highest value and rarity as early examples of wood work. There are very few objects of the sort so early, and they are probably cotemporary with the chapel itself.¹

To return to the abbey. The end came in 1537, when the monastic buildings were found to be in a wretched state of dilapidation. In answer to a series of questions, craftily drawn up by the commissioners, the last abbot, Harryson, confessed that the monks had, "under shadow of their rule vainly, detestably, and ungodlily devoured their yearly revenues in continual egurgitations of their carrion bodies and in support of their over voluptuous and carnal appetites, with other vain and unholy expenses, enormities and abuses; and that they had defiled their bodies with feigned devotions and devilish persuasions."

The monastic estate in Kirkstead was first granted to Charles Brandon. On his death it was given to Clinton, Earl of Lincoln. It passed by marriage to Daniel Disney, a zealous Presbyterian who, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, established dissenting worship in the chapel.² Kirkstead being a donative, dissenting service was permanently established by endowment in 1730, and so continued until 1812, when, after certain lawsuits, the state religion was established.

In the meantime, the effigy had been placed face downwards in the floor, and the chapel brought much to its present appearance.

In 1843, certain so-called improvements were effected;³ and in 1846, the Lincolnshire Architectural Society published an illustrated monograph upon the chapel, to which I am indebted for some of the foregoing historical details.

¹ Mr. Micklethwaite is kind enough to tell me that the earliest example of wooden screen work in this country is at Compton in Surrey; this is of the Transition period.

The early screen work in Rochester Cathedral is of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and of precisely the same character as that at Kirkstead. The screen at Thurstaston, Lancashire (engraved in Bloxam's "Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture," new edit., vol. ii, p. 36) belongs also to the same time.

² We are probably indebted to Mr

Disney for the picturesque canopied pulpit, which still remains in the chapel.

³ A part of these works consisted in removing "the unsightly beams by which the side walls were held together," with a view to the "preservation of the building from destruction." This singular proceeding has naturally had the result of causing the walls to lean still further outwards. Doubtless, the "unsightly beams" were introduced soon after the building was erected, and were themselves the sole cause that the chapel has been preserved to our own time.

At that time, namely in 1846, it was hoped that this publication would help forward the complete restoration of this choice building.

I am far from scoffing, as many do, at any idea of rules for setting out the proportions of mediæval churches.¹ If any body of men had them it was certainly the Cistercians; but it would be a nice question to say where science ends and rule of eye or thumb comes in; and it will not be convenient now to go into the ingenious manner in which, in 1846, the "mystic" figures—circle, oval, and triangle—were found to be combined in the form of the ground plan of Kirkstead Chapel, further than to notice that upon varieties of these mutable figures a "restoration" of the east and west gables was projected and accepted by the Lincolnshire Architectural Society of that day, who further recommended a bell gable at the west end, for which there was not a shred or shadow of original authority. Fortunately, the funds were not forthcoming for these vagaries, and the chapel passed unscathed through that most dangerous period of English architectural history. And so it has remained to the present day, as it was described 150 years since, "out of the sight and hearing of anything that is vicious;" and this is the more remarkable, because it must have been a singularly tempting thing for the typical restorer of forty years ago, and a sore trial to him to let it alone.

It must be added, that the time has certainly now come when something must be done to save this beautiful building from ruin. Six years ago its state was so dangerous that service therein was abandoned, and it has since been left to the owls and the bats. The heavy vaulted roof has pushed out the walls to such an extent that probably nothing short of partial rebuilding can be

¹ The subject has been ably treated by Mr. Kerrich in the "*Archæologia*," vol. xix, p. 353; by Professor Cockerell in the Winchester volume of the "*Archæological Journal*," "the Architectural Works of William of Wykeham"; and by Mr. Penrose in the Lincoln volume, "An Inquiry into the System of Proportions which prevail in the Nave of Lincoln Cathedral."

Persons who desire to follow further this intricate and difficult question should have their attention directed to "Fac-

simile of the Sketch-Book of Wilars de Honecourt, an Architect of the Thirteenth Century," edited by Professor Willis, and doubtless the most important volume in the world upon Gothic architecture. Nor should the enquirer overlook "Rules for constructing a Pinnacle, as given by Mathias Roriczer in 1486," printed in the "*Archæological Journal*," vol. iv, p. 21, and which shows upon what strictly geometrical principles the architects of a later period went to work.

thought of. It has been reported on by an architect whose name is a guarantee of careful treatment ; but now, as in 1846, the funds are not forthcoming. Another church has arisen on a more convenient site ; and I believe that, practically, this little chapel can be dispensed with ; but I think it would be a sort of scandal to the body antiquarian, or to societies like the Institute, if no attempt were made to save such a masterpiece. Having been spared at the Dissolution, and having escaped Civil War, Revolution and "Restoration," it would certainly be a melancholy ending if, for want of a little timely support which a few wooden props would give, it should, in our own day, be supinely suffered to perish. I know not whether even such slight aid as this will be forthcoming ; but of two things, I am quite certain, if nothing is done, the chapel must collapse, and that very soon ; and when it does so fall, it will become such an utter ruin that it would be quite impossible to put it up again.

THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF BEDFORDSHIRE.¹

By the Rev. H. ADDINGTON.²

The county of Bedford contains a series of 109 monumental brasses : with a very few exceptions they cannot be said to be of eminent interest to those who find in other districts the stately memorials of the Edwardian knights, the sumptuous productions of Flemish art portraying the great Abbot at St. Albans, the less magnificent, but still most rich engravings to priests at Wensley or North Mimms, or of the great works by the same masterly hands to the princely civilians at Lynn. There are no noble ladies to claim our interest during the whole of the fourteenth century, no historical personages, no Shakesperian characters ; nay, we must add that the idea of their having once existed in the church of St. Paul at Bedford, the earliest specimen of a monumental Brass, must be ruthlessly dispelled. The person to whom this suppositious honour was ascribed was Simon de Beauchamp, whose mother Roisia, wife to Paganus de Beauchamp, translated a college of canons irregular, from the church of St. Paul to Newenham, a college of canons regular, and a short distance from Bedford. Dugdale,³ quoting Leland,⁴ tells us "He lieth afore the high altar of S. Paul's church in Bedeford, with this epitaphie graven in brass, and set on a flat stone, 'De Bello campo jacet hic sub Marmore Simon fundator de Neweham.'"

We here observe, no mention is made of any portraiture or effigy, but simply a border fillet or inscription, probably in what we are accustomed to call Lombardic characters ; yet we find even such a distinguished antiquary, as the late Mr. Hartshorne, recording this as the earliest instance of a Sepulchral Brass that can be quoted.⁵ Next, the same error is perpetuated by Mr. Boutell, in his admirable work on Monumental Brasses and Slabs (p. 5), and after him in the Oxford Manual of Monumental Brasses by the late Mr. Haines, (p. 14) as well as in the more extended and most valuable work of the same author, p. 43.

The slab now shown as the grave stone of Simon de Beauchamp is out of all character with the above description. On it exists the matrix of a large and somewhat heavy engrailed cross, with a small shield above each of the arms, but without traces of any inscription. Had there been a cross on the stone, the above quoted authorities would surely have remarked it, but

¹ Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Bedford Meeting, July 28th, 1881.

² Numerous members of the Institute will learn with deep regret that since the following paper was in type, and before it could receive the final touches from his own hand, the accomplished author was

suddenly removed from among us by death.—ED.

³ *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 374

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, fol. 116.

⁵ *Sepulchral Monuments of Northamptonshire*, p. 24.

those who are familiar with the stone crosses and coffin lids of the early part of the thirteenth century would scarcely ascribe the present memorial to a date anterior.

Here, then, we are thrown forward to nearly the end of the reign of Richard the Second, in which only two examples occur, the first of a small and demi figure at Barton in the Clay commemorating Richard Brey, Rector, who is vested in the amice and chasuble, of a character so frequently found at this period. The other is an elegant and interesting memorial of John Curteys, and Albreda his wife, at Wymington; well known from the engravings of the brass, and the church containing it in the Bedfordshire portion of Lysons's *Magna Britannia*. The figures are those of a civilian and his wife, represented under canopies encircled by a border fillet, with the evangelistic emblems set in quatrefoils at the angles. The inscription in Latin tells us that John Curteys was Lord of the manor, rebuilder of the church, and Mayor of the woolstaple of Calais, and that he died A.D. 1391. The figures are well designed, that of the man shews him bare headed, with cropped hair and a small forked beard; he wears pointed shoes, a long straight tunic, trimmed at the bottom with fur, with close sleeves, loose round the wrist, and edged likewise with fur. Over the tunic is a mantle, open in front, thrown over the left shoulder, and gathered up under the arms, and buttoned by three buttons over the right shoulder; this conceals the girdle, from which depends the anelace or short sword. The costume is completed by a hood worn round the neck, and mittens on the hands, with a row of buttons at the edge. The feet rest on a greyhound, whose head is looking upwards as at his master. The lady, who in this case occupies the dexter side of the slab, wears a long flowing kirtle, a gown, and a wimple round the throat and neck, and over all is a long mantle, confined by a cord passing through metal studs over the breast and hanging down in front terminated by tassels. Two dogs are seen at the feet, with collars and bells, as in the other effigy. The heads of both figures repose on richly diapered and tasselled cushions set diagonally on others which are square with ornamental borders and also tasselled.

It is pleasing to observe the altar tomb, on which the above composition is placed, still in the same site as that selected by the re-founder of the church, and it is interesting to contemplate him in this remote and retired spot, amid the turbulence and commotion of the unquiet times around him, peacefully rearing, in perhaps his native village, a shine for holy uses whose surpassing beauty still attracts many a pilgrim from afar, and still charms with its graceful proportions and design.

And now taking leave of the good woolstapler, we enter upon the fifteenth century, with all its changes and revolutions, and in doing so it will perhaps be clearer to divide our subject under the heads of *Civilians, Military, Ladies, and Ecclesiastical Brasses.*

I. The Civilian class presents a series of fourteen in this century, ranging from the earliest specimen at Tilbrook and Eaton Socon, to the latest dated example of this period at Campton; the two former being the only two memorials we find of Civilians, till A.D. 1450. That at Tilbrook presents the design treated in a similar manner to that just noticed at Wymington, except that the hair is not cut short, but flowing, as at Stoke Fleming in Devonshire, and the tunic appears continued high round the throat and buttoned in front, with long flowing sleeves as in later examples, and a capuchon over it.

We leave the small contemporary brass of the same nature at Eaton Socon, and notice a demi-figure at Cople, which I do not think we shall be wrong in considering as a Judge. He is habited in a coif or close skull cap, a long robe, a hood, a tippet and a mantle buttoned on the left shoulder; these were the robes of the judges, and they seem to agree with those on the specimen now under consideration.

We notice next another small figure of a civilian at Luton (Hugo atte Spetyll), to which Mr. Haines assigns the probable date of A.D. 1425, though it differs in no respect from that noticed at Eaton Socon, both wearing the hair quaintly cropped, the tunic with close sleeves, and both apparently engraved by the same hand.

We may now, on entering the latter half of the fifteenth century, collect a small group of five, at Biggleswade, at Ampthill, and at Dunstable, all of which belong to a numerous and familiar class, in which the persons are represented in gowns or tunics slit up the front, with full and deep sleeves, or, in some instances, with closer ones, gathered into loose cuffs, furred round the throat and wrists, with a band round the waist. Five other examples of the same class bring us to the close of the fifteenth century. The first of these at Turvey, is a small well designed figure, which from its great similarity to the well known brass of a notary in the church of St. Mary Tower at Ipswich, we may not inaptly consider to have been executed by the same hand; the countenances, in both alike, are "marked and bear the impress of age," and we may fairly ascribe the date to A.D. 1475, or 1480. Two smaller figures at Biddenham shew the gown with sleeves of a similar, though later character, until at Campton, A.D. 1489, and Liddington c. 1495, we are introduced to the ordinary and well known civilian garb of the fifteenth century, the loose gown with full sleeves, the front and sleeves guarded with fur, and at Campton and at Liddington the gypciere suspended from a belt round the waist. The pointed boots have now disappeared, and in their place are worn large round-toed shoes. The specimen at Liddington is a good example of the civilian dress of the period, and the composition shews us the border legend and the evangelistic symbols at the angles of a period a century later since we observed them on the monument of John Curteys at Wymington.

II. We now turn our attention to the Military brasses of this century. They are eleven in number, and fairly well illustrate the armorial peculiarities of the period embraced by it. We are, of course, in the times when plate armour was exclusively worn, and the use of mail entirely superseded by it.

The first figure in armour is that of Walter Roland at Cople, of the date about A.D. 1410, where we see the knight in bascinet, gorget, a skirt of six taces and a baguette appended. Roundels of a like size and shape protect the armpits and the elbows, brassarts, with over-lapping plates and vambraces defend the arms, the gauntlets have two rows of gallings, the sword on the left side depends from an ornamental belt passing diagonally across the taces, and on the right side is a plain misericorde, the thighs are covered by cuisses, the knees by genouillieres, with a plate beneath them over the jambs, sollerets protect the feet, and prick spurs complete the suit.

At Stevington, A.D. 1422, Thomas Salle is shewn similarly armed.

The year 1430 introduces us to the grand figure of Sir Thomas Brom-

flete at Wymington, cup bearer to King Henry V. Here we have what Mr. Hartshorne, in his wonderfully instructive little book on the Sepulchral Monuments of Northamptonshire, calls "the finest specimen of a knight in plate armour in existence." His bascinet reposes on a tilting helm, on which is his crest, the coudieres are fan-shaped and shield-like pallets protect the arm pits.

The above description will apply, more or less, to figures in armour at Thurleigh and at Cockayne Hatley, c. A.D. 1430. Then, proceeding onwards, we see in the brass of John Launcelyn at Cople, A.D. 1435, two small plates called *tuiles*, from their resembling tiles, buckled to the skirt of the taces, and hanging down over the thighs, and the gauntlets not divided into fingers.

In the next group of three, of two small figures in armour¹ at Meppershall, A.D. 1440-1441, and at Marston Moretaine, A.D. 1451, we see large plates called *demi-placcates* and *pauldrons* worn over the cuirass and protecting the shoulders. At the latter place the knight is bare-headed, a fashion introduced about this period. They were stirring times in which these warriors lived, and our interest in them is heightened when we reflect that they must have been among the heroes who won, with their Sovereign, the glorious day of Agincourt.

But we hasten on the close of this century, and we find a knight of the Guise family at Aspley Guise, c. 1490, and Richard Conquest, A.D. 1493, at Houghton Conquest, in both of which we find a great change has taken place since the middle of the century in the knightly apparel. Both figures at Houghton Conquest are represented bare headed, the hair cropped short, a deep collar of mail is worn round the throat, the *coutes* and *pauldrons* are of large size, the *vambraces* are composed of vandyked plates, and the gauntlets are formed of large overlapping plates longitudinally divided; *tuiles* depend from the skirt of taces, the *genouillieres* are diamond shaped with invecked edges, and similar plates behind them; a sword depends across the body from a strap buckled round the waist, *sollerets* of several plates defend the feet, and plain *pryck-spurs* are worn without roundels.

III. In the next division of our subject, that of the Ladies of the fifteenth century, we notice first, the wife of the civilian at Husbome Crawley, c. A.D. 1400, where we find her wearing a tunic almost identical with that of her husband, with long sleeves loosely confined at the wrists, and shewing the extremities of an under dress, which is made so long as almost to cover the hands. The tunic is tightly buttoned up from the breast to the chin. Her hair is confined by a jewelled band over the forehead, with a braid on either side; and over the head is thrown the *coverchief* so frequently adopted at this period, which appears again in the brass of Margaret Lady Bromflete, A.D. 1407, at Wymington, who was the wife of Sir Thomas Bromflete, whose superb brass we have just noticed above. In this instance, the hair appears confined in a netted caul of a diamond pattern, with a plain band over the forehead, and continued above the ears and under the caul, to which the *coverchief* was attached. The dress of this lady consists of a plain close garment, commencing from the throat, with long and tight sleeves continued, like mittens, over the hands, and

¹ The latter also is a good example of the enormously large *coutes* introduced about this time.

over all is a mantle, reaching to the feet, and confined by a cord across the breast.

The wife of Nicholas Rolond, at Cople, c. A.D. 1410, wears the wimple round the throat and neck; but with this exception, there is nothing to notice until the year A.D. 1427, when we meet with an interesting example at Elstow, to Margaret Argentine, of the same class as the two last mentioned, except that, in this instance, the wimple covers the sides of the face as well as the chin, and a hood is thrown over the head.

From the year A.D. 1435 to A.D. 1451, we meet with six memorials, of which the first, at Cople, the wife of John Lancelyn, shows the lady in a long gown, with loose hanging sleeves confined with a plain band round the waist, and a collar, turned over, round the neck. Here the head-dress presents us with a new variation, the coverchief or veil being supported by a wire frame nearly straight over the head. The wife of John Boteler shows us the dress and head gear identically the same as the preceding, but on a smaller scale. Alice Halsted, at Biggleswade, A.D. 1449, is an indifferent specimen of the same class, with the peculiarity of having the name Alicia engraved on the shoulder. Amphill, A.D. 1450, Agnes Hicheckok, and, at Marston Moretaine, Alice Reynes, show us good representations of the above described costume; and another group of five bring us to the close of the century.

Joan Carbyll, A.D. 1489, at Campton, is habited in the ordinary dress of a lady with which we are so familiar in the next century; the coverchief on the head; a plain gown, cut square across the breast; tight sleeves, with cuffs; and a rosary, terminating in a large ball with a tassel, dependent from the waist.

Agnes Faldo, at Biddenham, A.D. 1490, is an indifferent, but the sole, example of the butterfly head-dress to which we can call attention.

At Luton, c. 1490, we meet with a graceful figure of a lady in a mantle, or long cloak, over her tunic, her wimple plaited, and a hood over her head. This brass is set on an altar tomb in the Wenlock Chapel, and is surmounted by a fine triple canopy. With the mention of Isabella Conquest, at Houghton Conquest, A.D. 1493, and Margaret Goldynton, of about the same date, this series terminates. Both ladies wear the pedimental head-dress so much in vogue in the Tudor times. The cuffs are furred, and an enriched girdle, with ornamental termination, hangs down in front.

IV. We now arrive at the fourth head, under which we proposed to treat the Ecclesiastical brasses of this century; and this is a very small one.

There are but six in the whole county—a demi-figure at Houghton Regis; another at Marston Morteyne, A.D. 1420; a full length figure at Yelden; two at Shillington; and an excellent, but mutilated, composition at Biggleswade. The three first are vested in the Eucharistic robes, the amice, the chasuble, the alb, and the maniple; and do not call for any particular remark. The design at Biggleswade is highly curious. It has been disturbed in old times, and again, some twenty years ago, at the restoration of the church, which, too often, and in this particular case truly, means mutilation, was literally torn in pieces. The memorial was to John Rudyng, who was respectively Archdeacon of Bedford, Northampton, and Lincoln. He died A.D. 1481. The fragments of this brass, at the restoration of the church, were removed from its original slab, and

jumbled and compressed into a small compass, and stuck up against the chancel wall, above the vestry door. It is difficult to arrive at a reason for such wanton destruction, as comparatively few would ever divine the original arrangement; and so all interest is lost.

Of the two examples at Shillington, the first commemorates Matthew de Asscheton, A.D. 1400, who is represented in the alb, with long flowing sleeves; the almuce, shown in white metal; and a cope, with ornamented border; and a large square morse, with a diamond pattern set in it, and foliage at the angles. The border legend, which runs square on the slab, tells us he was Canon of York and Lincoln, as well as Rector of Shillington. A dog is placed at the feet of the figure; a peculiarity not often observed on the monuments of priests.

The second brass at Shillington is of Thomas Polynton, A.D. 1485, Canon of York. It is a small full-length figure of a priest, vested in the cope and stole; but is so much worn as to be nearly indistinct.

In entering upon the sixteenth century, and resuming the style of division before adopted, I do not think it will be necessary to devote much space to the Civilian series. They are a numerous class; in this county we have about twenty examples; but the costume, here and elsewhere, is monotonous, the same dress which was worn at the end of the last century, appearing on brasses as late as A.D. 1540. To describe those in order would be a mere enumeration of names and places.

I. There are fourteen figures who are habited in the usual civilian's gown of the period, sometimes plain, sometimes furred round the neck and sleeves, sometimes slit up in front and furred. The only variations noticeable are as follows:—John Peddlaw, at Salford, A.D. 1505, wears a rosary, not dependent as usual from the girdle, but tucked round it. At Sharnbrook, A.D. 1522, we see the same on the figures of William Cobbe and his son, Thomas; and another, of the same size and pattern, is also worn by Alice, the wife and mother, who is represented between them. At Caddington, A.D. 1505, John Hawt has a gypciere; and at Luton, A.D. 1512, John Lamar, one larger and plainer. At Renhold, A.D. 1518, Edmund Wayte has the waist-belt, either terminating in a large knot, or the latter dependent from it; also a dog at his feet, which we do not otherwise observe in this series. Thomas Perys, A.D. 1535, is a curious specimen of rude engraving; probably the work of a native artist.

The above remarks have brought us down to the year A.D. 1544, and leave us only four examples to notice; the first being of Sir Walter Luke A.D. 1544. He is a Justice of the Pleas; and wears, over his under tunic, the ordinary gown with wide loose sleeves, and a large gypciere from his waist; and over all, an ample scarlet mantle (the traces of colour being still visible), with a hood. A coif on his head completes the costume.

In this, and the four succeeding memorials of civilians, which bring to an end this branch of our subject, we observe the introduction of a new fashion, representing the deceased kneeling before an altar or table, on which an open book is displayed.

Of the same character is the other and next memorial of a Judge also at Cople. Nicholas Luke, A.D. 1563, is a Baron of the Exchequer, and wears an under tunic with tight sleeves, and a waist belt with large

gypciere depending, over the above is a loose flowing gown, and over all a mantle and hood. Similarly treated is the memorial of Antony Newdegate, A.D. 1568, at Hawnes, who wears a doublet with square skirt, and a gown trimmed with a wide border of fur over the shoulder and down the front; but the sleeves are not full and open as in the first group we noticed of civilians of this century, but are long and reach nearly to the ground, after the manner of the modern academical gown of the Masters of Arts, with slits cut through for the passage of the arms.

This is another variety of the civilian dress, and also the first example of it we find in our county. The inscription tells us he was "*curie generalium supervisorum terranem quondam regis Henrici octavi dum steterit auditorum unus.*"

In the last civilian monumental brass of this century, that of William Jackmain, A.D. 1592, and his two sons at Leighton Buzzard, we see another and a novel arrangement, wherein instead of the figures and inscription being cut out and attached separately to the slab, we find the whole composition engraved as a picture on a flat plate, square or oblong, and often fastened to the wall. In this instance, the three figures are represented kneeling, and are of the type with which we are so familiar in the monuments and pictures of the Elizabethan era. The centre of the three figures has the gown open in front, and shews him dressed in trunk hose with full puffed knee breeches, with a doublet and cloak over it, that on the sinister side having a hood attached. They are all bare-headed, and wear ruffs round the throat. The figures kneel on cushions, on a floor marked out with horizontal and perpendicular lines, and the back ground is divided into three compartments by truncated pillars on bases, the space behind being again architecturally marked by lines.

II. In the Military division of the sixteenth century, the county of Bedford presents us with about sixteen examples. In the early part of it the brasses bear a general resemblance to one another, and give us a good idea how the warriors were equipped who fought at Bosworth, A.D. 1485, and A.D. 1513; on them we see a skirt of mail coming down to the thighs, over it the cuirass with taces and tuillets attached to them over the mail skirt, the pauldrons have *passe gardes* protecting the neck, and round-toed *sabbatons* have taken the place of the pointed *sollerets*.

These remarks will apply to a series extending from the year A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1532. The best example is that of John Sylam, A.D. 1513, at Luton, but those at Cockayne Hatley, A.D. 1515 and 1527, and John Fysher at Clifton, A.D. 1528, and Ampthill, A.D. 1528, are all good. The figures are all bare headed, and William Cokyn, A.D. 1527, and John Fysher at Clifton, have their heads resting on their tilting helms. On the figure of Sir Nicholas Harve at Ampthill, A.D. 1532, the *passe gardes* are of large size, and stand up from the pauldrons like high collars. The swords are worn in various modes: at Cople, at Houghton Conquest, at Clifton and at Ampthill they are placed behind, crossing the legs; at Luton and at Cockayne Hatley they are girded on the left side, and at Aspley Guise in front crossing the left leg.

The small figure at Great Barford, of which I took a rubbing about the year 1843, has disappeared.

We now approach one of the most remarkable and interesting objects with which the study of these memorials presents us. Of the year

A.D. 1535 we find an elegant composition in the church of Bromham ; with the exception of that at Luton, it is the only example of that graceful and decorative peculiarity, the crocketed canopy with which we are so familiar in the architecture, the tombs, and the stained glass of every period, ranging from the earliest to the latest times. Here under a triple design we observe a knight in plate armour, and his two wives to which we should assign the probable date of A.D. 1430, the same as that of Sir Thomas Bromflete, at Wymington. The costume of the ladies is that also with which we are familiar in the monuments of the same period, the hair plaited, and the coverchief disposed on a wire frame. They are dressed alike in a gown or tunic, with collars falling on the shoulders, and a belt studded with plain roundels, the sleeves loose open and furred round the edges.

Our remarks already made on the military brasses of this century will have shewn us how the warriors of the time of Henry VIII were equipped, so that we have here an interesting example of the re-adaptation of a monumental brass of the period, c. A.D. 1430, to commemorate a knight of A.D. 1435.

The arms in the pediment of the canopy are those of Dyve, a family who had possessions in Bromham from A.D. 1366, and who only became extinct in the present century. The inscription engraved on an oblong plate beneath the figures tells us that it commemorates a mother and a wife, the centre figure of the man in armour being that of Sir John Dyve, who married Isabel, daughter of Sir Ralfe Hastings who, Mr. J. G. Nichols tells us in the *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i, p. 159, was Lord Chamberlain to King Edward IV, whilst his mother was daughter and heiress of Thomas Wilde, of Bromham, Esq. What Mr. Nichols so aptly calls "the anachronism in point of costume," has given rise to a field of conjecture as to the persons for whom this memorial was originally designed. There was a connection by marriage between the family of Dyve of Bromham, and that of the Woodvilles or Wydvilles of Grafton Regis in Northamptonshire, and therefore it has been, as appears to me, rather hastily surmised that the monument originally represented Thomas Wideville of Grafton, and at the dissolution of monasteries was removed to Bromham, and re-dedicated to the memory of his great great grandson. That the memorial was re-appropriated there is no doubt, but beyond this all is mere supposition. Mr. Albert Way calls attention to it in the *Archeologia*, vol. xxx, p. 124 ; Lysons in the *Bedfordshire volume*, p. 695, alludes to the same idea ; as does also Mr. Haines in the *Oxford Manual of Monumental Brasses*, vol. i, p. 252.

I regret to leave the question of the migration of this brass thus uncertain and undecided, but we must pass on to review the five remaining military brasses of this century, of which the first, Sir William Gascoigne, c. A.D. 1540, is the only example the county presents of a knight in armour wearing the tabard, and it is late in the style. There is here little or no variation from those previously noticed in this century the head reposes on a tilting helm, from which issues his crest, with an ample display of mantling covering the whole. Both the misericorde and the sword have ornamented hilts, the former passing from the left side behind the legs and resting on a dog ; A.D. 1545, we observe a good figure to Harry Gray treated in a similar manner to the above. The first of the three examples remaining to be noticed is one of great interest to the locality in which

it is placed, it is that of the good Sir William Harpur, the great and enlightened benefactor of the town of Bedford, and the founder of the schools there. The head reposes on a morion shaped helmet with vizor, the throat has a plain gorget somewhat resembling the collar of a dog, and there appears a small ruff or collar under it. The body is defended by a cuirass to which three taces are attached, and from these two cuisses or lamoyes of large over-lapping plates with ribbed edges hang over the skirt of mail, reaching nearly to the knees, gussets of mail are seen at the insteps, the sword hangs at the left side from a belt which passes round the waist, and a long misericorde is worn on the right side extending from the hips nearly to the knees. Over all, the knight wears his alderman's gown, disposed in folds behind him, a fashion not often observable, but seen in the headless figure of Ralf Lord Cromwell at Tattersall, in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1455, also in that of Sir William Yelverton, Justice of the King's Bench, who wears it similarly disposed over his armour c. 1470.

We conclude our observations on this section of the sixteenth century with noticing the memorial of Richard Faldo at Maulden, A.D. 1576, and Robert Hatley at Goldington, A.D. 1585, both are examples of what Mr. Waller calls "the decadence" of armour. The former is bare-headed and turned sideways, by which arrangement we perceive the large cuisses attached by wide straps round the thighs, and the genouillieres fastened in the same way. A ruff is worn round the neck, the pauldrons are large and almost meet across the breast, and as well as the cuisses have large scalloped edges; a sword with a handle of late design passes diagonally behind the legs, and there is a large misericorde on the right side. This is a good example of the fashion prevalent at this period of placing an oblong plate over the head of the principal figure, with an achievement engraved with the various quarterings of the family, with mantling and crest, sometimes other shields are also placed at the angles of the slabs.

Goldington presents us with a small kneeling figure of a man in armour attached to the wall within an iron frame. This, as does also the preceding figure, exhibits a ruff of the same style and size as that of the ladies, the steel skirt is worn as before, and an altar table with open book is placed before the kneeling figure. The lower part of the composition affords a good example of the epitaphs in vogue at this period, the plate on which it is engraved is divided into two parts, on the dexter of which are a series of elegaic verses; and the other side contains an English poetical translation. At Cople some forty ago I took a rubbing of William Bulkley, A.D. 1568, who was represented in the armour of the late period to which allusion has just been made; the composition was engraved on a square plate attached to the wall, and shewed two pillars on the sides behind the figures, supporting an arch on the entablature of which was a prayer in Roman characters: *Jesus Nazaren Rex Judiorum Fili Dei Misereri Nostm*. From the mouths of the figures were two similar labels, shewing curious and interesting instance of the employment of the old character of earlier centuries in Jacobean times. This memorial was loose when my impression was obtained, and has since disappeared.

III. The next division of our subject, that of the Ladies of the sixteenth century, we enumerate a goodly array of upwards of thirty examples, but our observations on them will not be extended to any great length, as the

whole may be gathered into a few groups, under which the costume will present little variation.

Thus we may first class together a series of twenty-one ladies, ranging from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1528, from the churches of Houghton Conquest, Cople, Salford, Blunham, Ampthill, Caddington, Luton, Cockayne Hatley, Dunstable, Renhold, Sharnbrook, and Clifton, whose costume exhibits little or no variety; only three, viz.: Alice Teddar at Salford A.D. 1505, Elizabeth and Alys Turvey at Dunstable, and Alice Cobbe at Sharnbrook, wear the coverchief on their heads; the remainder of the same group all wear the pedimental head-dress, nearly all alike, a girdle round the waist hanging down, in some cases, nearly to the feet, and ornamented tight sleeves and furred cuffs. All the above are placed beside their husbands. Alice Cobbe, A.D. 1522, is the only one of this number who is shewn wearing the rosary. Elizabeth Fysher, at Clifton, has her gown drawn up in front over her right arm, and is shewn standing on a floor divided into diamond shaped squares. Agnes, wife of Thomas Perys, A.D. 1535, at Little Barford, presents us with a peculiar specimen of a head-dress, a kind of flat hat or large cap, with the hair disposed in two large bunches on either side of the face, the whole bearing a strong resemblance to a figure at Swaffham Prior in Cambridgeshire, and being probably the work of the same hand.

Only two other specimens remain of ladies of the reign of Henry VIII. the two wives of Sir William Gascoigne in heraldic mantles at Cardington, c. 1540, and Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Waren at Flitton, A.D. 1544. She wears a pedimental head-dress, a gown cut square at the neck, loose hanging sleeves trimmed with a wide border of fur, and thrown back a little below the elbow, and displaying the sleeves of an under dress, plaited and frilled.

Eaton Bray presents us respectively with a good example of the ladies' dress of the time of Queen Mary, as did Jane, wife of William Bulkeley, now lost. At Eaton Bray, A.D. 1558, Jane Lady Bray appears kneeling before an altar with a richly fringed cloth and tasselled cushion, on which lies an open book. She wears the tight-fitting head-dress and veiled dependent behind, called "the Paris hede," with which we are so familiar from our reminiscences of Mary Stuart, the hapless Queen of Scots. The gown is thrown open, with falling collar round the neck, and under it appear the collar and frill of two under dresses. The sleeves are gashed and gathered up above the elbows, so as to shew those of under garments one of which has large frills round the wrists. A large chain passes twice round the neck, the crucifix, or ornament attached to it, being concealed by the uplifted hands. A large group of daughters similarly attired, and kneeling behind their mother, and one son, complete the composition. The ground of the plate is marked out by two cross rows of lines, a large label is placed over the head, between two large heraldic lozenges.

In A.D. 1573, we see the same coiffure worn by Margaret, wife of Sir William Harpur, in St. Paul's church, Bedford. At her neck the finely plaited partlett is visible, which was a kind of habit shirt made of fine materials, and there appears a small ruff round the throat; the collar of the gown is thrown open, the sleeves are tight and striped, and have frills round the waists, a sash confines the gown at the waist, and it is thrown open in front shewing a petticoat richly embroidered with a diapered pattern. The brass of Anna Faldo at Maulden, A.D. 1576, shews

her similarly attired, and kneeling at a faldstool, over which is spread a cloth with an open book upon it.

We close this portion of our subject with noticing what I would call the third work of highest excellency in the range of these memorials for which our county is remarkable; the first having been that of Sir Thomas Bromflete at Wymington, A.D. 1430, and the second, that of the re-appropriated canopy and figures at Bromham, A.D. 1435 and 1535. The brass of Elizabeth Harvey, at Elstow, A.D. 15..., is too well known to all who are interested in our pursuits to require any lengthened description, even if more could be supplied than is already known. She is one of the only two abbesses whom our researches have brought to light, the other being Agnes Jordan, Abbess of Syon, in Denham church, in Buckinghamshire. Our example is the abbess of the House of Benedictine Friars, founded at Elstow by Judith, neice to William the First. She was elected abbess in A.D. 1501. She is represented in her religious habit, which consists of a white gown with long surplice-like sleeves, a plaited barbe, a coverchief over the head, a long mantle, and a pastoral staff resting on her right arm.

"This lady has erroneously been called the last Abbess of Elstow. She was succeeded by Agnes Gascoigne, Elizabeth Starkey, and Agnes Boyville; the last of whom, elected abbess in 1530, surrendered the abbey on the 26th August, 1540, upon a pension of fifty pounds a year."

IV. The Ecclesiastical series consists of eight examples, from A.D. 1501 to A.D. 1524. Some of them are well engraved, but do not call for any lengthened notice.

At Turvey, *c.* A.D. 1500, we have a small figure in the costume of a Bachelor of Divinity, viz. cassock, tippet, hood, and gown with the arm-holes lined with fur. At Dean, A.D. 1501, Thomas Parker, Prebendary of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury; and at Luton, *c.* 1510, Edward Sheffield, canon of Lichfield, &c., are habited in gowns with furred sleeves, a surplice, and an almuce nebulée at the edges. The latter also wears a cap, with a peak. At Houghton Regis, A.D. 1506; at Wymington, A.D. 1510; at Langford, A.D. 1520; at Totternhoe, A.D. 1524; the priests are habited in the Eucharistic vestments; those at Totternhoe and Wymington bearing chalices with the Host.

The year A.D. 1515 presents us with a curious memorial of Thomas Wodehouse, Rector. A chalice is fixed in the slab above the inscription, and at each of the upper corners are set two wild men covered with hair, with huge clubs in their hands, in allusion to the name. This composition is engraved by Mr. J. G. Nichols in the 'Topographer and Genealogist,' vol. i, p. 74.

The memorials of the seventeenth century are eleven Civilians, two Knights, three Ladies, one Ecclesiastic, and one child.

I. Our Civilians range from A.D. 1600 to A.D. 1640, and present us with a good idea of how private gentlemen of the latter days of Elizabeth and of the reigns of James I and Charles I were accustomed to appear.

There seems little necessity to dwell on the costume of an age with which all are so familiar. These effigies, with more or less variety, wear long hose, breeches, trunk hose, doublets, fitting close to the body and long-waisted, a waist-band, ruffs round the neck, ruffles at the wrists instead of the falls or furs of earlier times, and a cloak reaching to the

knees. Sometimes, as at Tingrith, A.D. 1611, and at Leighton Buzzard, they are represented kneeling before a faldstool. The shoes are tied with large knots, and the hose are tied with garters and imposing bows. At Eyworth, A.D. 1624, the curious brass of Richard Gadburye depicts him with a long, bushy pointed beard, and a long gown, ornamented with a long row of large frogs on either front.

The figure at Yelden, A.D. 1628, is remarkably engraved, we should say, by quite a native artist. That at Hilton, A.D. 1628, has a sword on the left side, and a flat cap, with a band like a coronet around it. Robert Hogeson, A.D. 1611 is shewn kneeling at a faldstool, in front of which lie two children, with ruffs and in swaddling clothes; a remarkable instance of the late variety of this form of representation, of children in the chrysom cloth. Totternhoe, A.D. 1621, shews the dress of children; a long robe, or gown, and a collar set square to the neck, the hair curling.

II. We shall soon dispose of our notice of the Military brasses of this century; as we find but two examples, at Toddington, A.D. 1622, and at Cardington, A.D. 1638. The latter is a late specimen of a figure wearing a helmet, which is here shown with a vizor and a plume of feathers. The throat is defended by several over-lapping plates of steel. The pauldrons are large, and almost meet across the breast. The hands are covered with gauntlets with scalloped edges. From the breast-plate depend two large skirts of steel or tassets, and the sword passes diagonally behind the figure.

III. The Ladies of this century are twelve in number, and afford ample illustrations of the ladies costume in vogue until the commencement of the Commonwealth. The figure of Alice Bernard, at Turvey, A.D. 1606, wears a Paris head and veil, an enormous ruff round the throat, a gown with a peaked stomacher, which, as well as the front of the petticoat, is embrodered in a running pattern.

Margaret Gadburye, A.D. 1624, at Eyworth, is another variety of the same costume. At Cardington, A.D. 1638, the wives of Sir William Gascoigne are late examples of ladies in heraldic mantles.

Figures in hats are Agnes, wife of John Carter, at Husborne Crawley; and Magdalenne, daughter of Richard and Margaret Gadburye, at Eyworth; and Elizabeth Fynche, A.D. 1640, at Dunstable.

Biddenham, A.D. 1639, is a not uncommon example of the decline of the monumental brass to a design altogether and utterly unlike the conceptions of earlier times. An oblong plate is affixed to the wall. Two-thirds of it are occupied by the usual adulatory epitaph of the times, the subject of which is a lady, Helen Botoler. On the upper space is engraved an oval frame, in which is depicted the bust, or three-quarter length portraiture of a lady, wearing a large loose cap, probably of silk or velvet, with long flowing hair appearing at the sides under it. A rich dress is worn, with pointed stomacher, ornamented with several rows of frogs, the sleeves puffed and slashed, two large links are fastened to a necklace above, and to a brook-like ornament below. On either side of the oval containing the figure is a curtain, which is twisted round a Corinthian pillar at the outside.

IV. The only memorial of an Ecclesiastic in this century is that of

Thomas Barker, at Yeilden, A.D. 1617. It is a square plate attached to the wall, on which is engraved the figure of a man in a gown, with a ruff round his neck. He kneels on a cushion before a faldstool covered with a cloth, on which is a slanting desk with an open book. The inscription tells us he is rector of Yeilden; but there is nothing else distinguishing him from the ordinary civilians of the period.

There are now only two characteristic varieties of the monumental brass represented in this county; with a brief notice of which, we bring our subject to a conclusion.

I. The first is the remains of the elegant composition at Aspley Guise, where we find two small kneeling figures of a priest, and, probably his patron Saint, St. John the Baptist, kneeling on either side of the matrix of a foliated cross, which was probably open at the head with a representation of the Holy Trinity in the centre, as both heads are turned sideways, and the Baptist points upwards. The priest is vested in a cassock, and tippet and hood, the Saint in a loose robe gathered up under the left arm on which, and supported by the hand, lie his emblems—a book with a lamb and cross with banner. The beard is long, the hair flowing, and a nimbus round the head. The whole bears a close affinity in style to the cross and figures at Hildersham in Cambridgeshire, to Robert Paris and wife, A.D. 1408, and may presumably be ascribed to about the same date. The other divergent idea of employing the form of the cross is shewn at Sutton, a late example, heavy and rude, a plain Latin cross with trefoiled terminations to the arms, raised on three steps, and commemorating Thomas Burgoyne and wife, A.D. 1516.

II. The only other characteristic variety we would observe, is that of the dead figure enveloped in a shroud; a form, not of beauty, but repulsive, copiously adopted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of which we have two examples at Dunstable, A.D. 1516 and 1518; and part of a small figure at Marston, A.D. 1506.

Such, then, is some idea of the Bedfordshire series of monumental brasses; a class, not of the highest order, but sufficient to engage interest and attention. I will only, as one who has devoted the leisure time of more than forty years to the study of this class of memorials, venture to allude to the usefulness and value of such a pursuit; how, when thrown by chance, as we are sometimes, into a new and strange locality, we find something to observe and direct our inquiries, something to interest. Thus do we discover a meaning and a purpose for our railway trip or our village walk; thus does the dull and most unpromising outpost present to us scenes of beauty, and the long-forgotten forms of the noble and the brave rise again before us; and the long dead echoes of the times which moved and stirred our forefathers, and made us what we are, ring again in our ears; and their monuments become very chronicles of the past, teaching us its history, its use, and its truth.

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1882.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Banker's on 1st January, 1882 (after deducting payments in 1882 on account of 1881)	-	-	4 6 6	-	-	-
" Petty Cash on hand	-	-	8 18 1	-	-	-
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments made in advance	-	-	313 15 0	13	4	7
" Entrance Fees	-	-	33 12 0	-	-	-
" Life Compositions	-	-	94 0 0	-	-	-
" Sale of Publications, &c.	-	-	102 6 10	-	-	-
" Subscriptions to Removal Fund	-	-	543 13 10	-	-	-
" Balance of Account of Carlisle Meeting	-	-	170 1 6	-	-	-
" Deduct,—Amounts paid by Treasurer in respect of same	-	-	298 11 4	-	-	-
			39 1 1	259	10	3

£986 10 2

Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Lewes, Aug. 3rd., 1883.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publishing Account—						
Engraving, &c., for Journal	-	-	83 11 3	-	-	-
W. Pollard, Printing Journal	-	-	174 17 6	-	-	-
Editing Journal	-	-	40 0 0	-	-	-
			298 8 9			
" House Expenses—						
Rent of Apartments	-	-	114 7 0	-	-	-
Secretary's Salary	-	-	100 0 0	-	-	-
W. S. Johnson, Printing	-	-	38 0 0	-	-	-
Partridge & Cooper, Stationery	-	-	18 7 6	-	-	-
Bywater Brothers, Repairs	-	-	5 2 1	-	-	-
Housekeeper and Sundries	-	-	12 4 0	-	-	-
			298 0 7			
" Expenses attendant on Removal to Oxford Mansions	-	-		-	-	-
Dilapidations at 16 New Burlington Street	-	-	75 19 0	-	-	-
Dudley, J., Surveyor's Fee, re above	-	-	6 6 0	-	-	-
Downs, W., Account for Alterations at New Rooms	-	-	42 12 0	-	-	-
Bywater Brothers, Removal to, and Fittings at, ditto	-	-	101 12 3	-	-	-
Hughes, A. E., Architect, Fee, superintending above	-	-	3 3 0	-	-	-
Gas Fittings, Repairing Furniture, and Cost of Agreement, and Sundries in connection with removing	-	-	21 5 7	-	-	-
			250 17 10			
" Petty Cash Account	-	-		-	-	-
Office Expenses, Attendant, &c.	-	-	66 13 6	-	-	-
Stamps, Delivery of Journal, &c.	-	-	51 5 0	-	-	-
Cabs, Omnibuses and Portage	-	-	8 5 1	-	-	-
Carriage of, and Booking, Parcels	-	-	5 8 7	-	-	-
Stationery and Office Sundries	-	-	2 6 10	-	-	-
			133 19 0			
" Balance at Banker's and on hand on 31st December, 1882 (after deducting payments in 1883 on account of 1882), as per detail shewn in Cash-book	-	-	8 12 7	-	-	-
" Petty Cash in hand	-	-	6 11 5	-	-	-
			15 4 0			
			£986 10 2			

Audited and found correct, 27th June, 1883.

H. J. BIGGE,
HELLIER GOSSELIN, } Auditors.
(Signed) TALBOT H. B. BAKER, Chairman.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 5, 1883.

General Sir H. LEFROY, K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

MR. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE read a paper on "New examples of Egyptian weights and measures." Many examples of a standard of 200 grains have lately been obtained in Egypt and Syria; this was probably the origin of the Egnetan standard. The glass scarabs are found to be all weights on the Assyro-Persian standard of 128 grains, along with many other Egyptian weights. The whole of the Egyptian glass stamps in the British Museum, of pre-Arab times, have been weighed; but only those of Byzantine period appear to be weights; they agree exactly with the contemporary standard of 68 grains. Nine Egyptian capacity measures lately found have been examined, and give an accurate determination of the standard of 29 cubic inches, otherwise known from vases as the *hennu*. After some remarks by the Chairman as to the uniformity of the shekel and the accuracy of early weights, and by Mr. J. H. Middleton on the dates of glazed measures, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Petrie.

THE REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES read the following "Notes on the Portico of the Roman Basilica in the Bail, Lincoln":—

"It will be in the memory of many members of the Archæological Institute, that five years since, March 1878, an account was before our body of the remains of a large Roman portico that had then been recently excavated in the upper or Roman town of Lincoln. The portion laid bare consisted of the northern half of a hexastyle façade, embracing three inter-columniations. Three bases remained in situ, with fragments of the columns themselves still in their upright position. These broken shafts were found to stand about 4ft. 9in. high, the drums being 2ft. 7in. in diameter. This diameter would make the column when perfect about 20ft. high. The most remarkable feature in the design was a twin, or inosculating column at the northern extremity of the façade, forming the angular pier of the principal colonnade to the East, facing the Roman street. This arrangement appears to be unique. At least, enquiry and investigation has not brought a second example to light. The principal or front column, ranging with the line of the street, is a perfect cylinder, fitting into a moon-shaped cavity in the secondary column, the base mouldings having been so far cut away but the rest of the column being left untouched. Practical men who have examined the group give it as their opinion that the inner column is an after thought, forming no part of the original design, but having been added subsequently in consequence of the failure of the stone lintel or entablature. This view has been confirmed by the fact that in the more recent excavations, of which I am

about to speak, have not been discovered any distinct trace of a similar inosculating group at the corresponding angle at the southern extremity of the façade. It is, however, difficult to speak with absolute certainty on this point, for the line of the modern street (Bailgate), does not run quite parallel with the lines of the Roman *vía*, but trends a little to the S.E., cutting across the southern angle of the portico, and almost obliterating the base.

“The first discovery of these remains was made, as I have said, in 1878. At that time only the northern half of the portico was unearthed. For the disinterment of the southern half, it has been necessary to wait until the cottages covering the site were demolished, with the view of the erection of a better class of dwellings. This work has been deferred much longer than was expected, and has only been accomplished during the last few weeks. The results are somewhat disappointing. The bases of the three remaining pillars of the portico have been discovered, and one of these, the centre one of the three, of which I exhibit a photograph, is in a better state of preservation than any of the others. A deep incision in the base mouldings is observable here, in the central line of the intercolumniation, which occurs also in all the other bases, indicating the place of a railing, or barrier, probably of wood, there being no stain indicating the corrosion of any metal, iron or bronze, guarding the interior of the portico. No portion of the shafts of the columns remains in situ in this southern half, nor has anything been discovered which throws any further light upon the architectural design of the building. It is, however, highly satisfactory to have been able to recover the dimensions of the edifice, which have now been accurately ascertained. The façade towards the street measures 70ft., the length of the building from E. to W. being 240ft. The architecture of the portico is of the depraved classical character common to Roman Britain, the work according to Mr. F. C. Penrose rather of engineer officers, than of professional architects. The base mouldings (of which I give a section taken by the cymograph by Mr. J. J. Smith, Mr. Pearson's clerk of the works at Lincoln cathedral, to whom also I am indebted for the plans and photographs which I now exhibit) do not strictly belong to any recognized classical order. That it was the Doric which the designer endeavoured to imitate has been proved by the discovery of a portion of a capital, which is a rude version of the Roman form of that order. The question which had been mooted, whether the columns supported a horizontal entablature or arches, has also been set at rest by finding one of the lintels among the accumulated rubbish in front of the ruined buildings. Near the same spot were also found two drums of the columns, which with the fragment of the capital have been brought back to the portico to which they originally belonged.

“The large building, of which this portico formed the street front, extended back from the street westwards about 240 feet. It was divided by a cross wall from north to south, about 54 ft. from the front. A fine fragment, 73 ft. 3 in. in length by 20 ft. in height, and 7 ft. thick of the western end of the northern wall is still standing, though much obscured by modern erections. It is known as the “Mint wall.” What ground there is for the tradition indicated by the name, it is impossible to say. The mint of our Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet kings was in the lower part of the city, immediately to the north of the Stone Bar. In Stukeley's time the remains of this building were much more extensive, but consisted

only of rude walling, of common rough stone, with courses of Roman brick to bond the masonry. The dimensions of the bricks were 17 in. by 11 in. wide and 2 in. thick. Dr. Stukeley considered the building to have been the granary of the Roman garrison. This, however, was a mere conjecture, which is refuted by the stately character of its street façade. Its exact destination can never be decided, but I can have little doubt that Mr. Penrose is more correct in his belief that these remains are those of the Basilica of Lindum Colonia. It will be seen from the accompanying plan of the Roman city, that the building occupied a commanding position in the centre of the city, a little to the north of the *via* leading from the point of intersection of the two main avenues to the "*Porta principalis sinistra*," or "West Gate." A little to the south of it was discovered the Roman *Milliare*, bearing the name Marcus Pionius, one of the so-called "thirty tyrants," marking the distance from Lindum to Segelocum now Littleborough on the Trent.

"On the opposite side of the street were discovered eight piers of a rude cruciform shape, resembling early Norman piers, with an attached half cylinder in front. These were formed of layers of thin tiles, and slabs of stone alternately. They may very probably have formed the front of an arcade of *tabernae*, booths or shops, which standing just opposite the *basilica* or hall of justice would doubtless do a good trade, and command a high rent.

"I must not omit to mention the excellently constructed Roman sewer, 2ft. 4in. wide, and 4ft. 6in. high, which ran along the whole length of the street, from north to south, with cross sewers opening into it, and house drains discharging into them. What is now known as a "manhole," *i.e.* an opening to enable a man to descend and cleanse the sewer, was discovered opposite the southern part of the portico.

"It is impossible to conclude this paper without making grateful mention of the zeal displayed by the purchasers of the two properties, Mr. Allis, and subsequently Mr. Blaze, in carrying out the disinterment of these valuable and interesting remains, at considerable inconvenience to themselves, as well as the care with which they have arranged means for their preservation, and their examination by visitors. When we remember the terrible havoc of such remains in former years, and the risks, if not the certainty, that if these had been discovered half, or even a quarter of a century back, they would have been destroyed without scruple, as inconvenient obstructions—which from the builder's point of view they certainly are—we cannot but recognise the growth of archaeological interest in all classes of society, and feel that our own and kindred societies have not existed in vain."

The Rev. J. T. FOWLER made some general observations on the inferences to be drawn from the kind of stone used in the columns described by Precentor Venables, intimating that caution was necessary in drawing special deductions from such sources; and Mr. R. P. Pullan spoke as to the non-finding of a semicircular apse. A vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. Precentor Venables.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.—Examples of Egyptian weights and measures.

By Mr. F. G. HILTON PRICE.—Four Egyptian measures in blue glazed ware, from Thebes.

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.—Plan of the Portico of the Roman Basilica in the Bail, Lincoln, showing the recent discoveries.

By Mr. E. PEACOCK.—Drawing of a Pre-Reformation candle, concerning which Mr. Peacock contributed the following notes, which were read by Mr. Hartshorne :—

“The candle, of which I exhibit a drawing the size of the original, is made of wax, which seems not to have been in any way clarified or bleached ; it belonged to my great-great-grandmother, Elizabeth Woodruffe of Ranskill in Nottinghamshire, who was married to Aaron Scales in 1715. She told her daughter, who told my father, that it was a holy candle, and had been handed down in her family from pre-Reformation days. As it has never been lighted it cannot have been used at baptism. I think it has probably been blessed and reserved for use at extreme unction or holy communion when taken as *viaticum*. The forms of benediction varied in different dioceses.¹



“This candle (here engraved two-thirds linear), has certainly been cast in a mould not made by the process of dipping. It is formed, as will be seen, like a clustered column made up of seven shafts. In the great church at Gouda there is a stained glass window of early sixteenth century date, representing Judith and Holofernes. The table is represented as set for supper. On it are two ordinary candles in brass candlesticks ; beside it, stands a large silver candlestick, probably two feet six inches high containing a columned candle like this one, only it is represented as about three feet long. On the north and south sides of the magnificent tomb of William the Silent at Delft are weeping angels in bronze holding columned candles similar to this ; and it is stated in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries² that a candle of this kind is shewn in the “Celebration of High Mass,” a picture by John van Eyk, in the possession of Earl Dudley, which was numbered 362 in the catalogue of the Exhibition of the Works of Old Masters at Burlington House in 1871.

“I enclose for comparison a rough sketch of the candle in stained glass in the Gouda window. The drawing of which it is a copy was done hurriedly, and it has therefore no pretension to minute accuracy.”

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Peacock.

By the BARON DE COSSON.—Pistol of John Greme or Graham, fourth Earl of Montrose. The Baron de Cosson was kind enough to send the following notes on this interesting weapon, which were read by Mr. Hartshorne :—

“This pistol, which belonged to the father of the celebrated Marquess of Montrose, is a long Scotch pistol, the barrel and stock made of brass, and bearing traces of having been gilt.

“On the barrel is the inscription,

IOANES * GREMVS * COMES * MONTIS *

¹ See Martini de Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus. Antwerpæ, 1764, vol. iii, p. 45.

² Series 2, vol. v, p. 57.

ROSARVM * (John Graham Earl of Montrose) surrounding the arms of Montrose,¹ surmounted by a coronet. Lower down is the date 1615.

"Along the barrel runs some beautiful engraved ornament in which the rose constantly recurs, in allusion to the heraldic device of the family and to the name *Montrose*.

"The muzzle is delicately chased with bands of acanthus leaves, and three similar bands decorate the barrel lower down. The stock is likewise ornamented with chasing and engraving of distinctively Scottish design. The pistol was originally a wheel-lock, but in the last century a flint-lock has been adapted to it, showing that it was then still in use. A rose and some engraving are on the lock-plate. A peculiar feature is that the lock which both in wheel and flint lock pistols is generally on the right hand side of the weapon, is here on the left hand.

"I first saw it at a sale of arms at Paris in 1875, but how it came there I cannot conjecture. It was then described as an Italian pistol! I saw it again a few days later in the possession of a dealer, and having noticed the inscription (which I had not done on the previous occasion) read it, and at once purchased the pistol.² "As it was evidently the Earl's personal weapon, it is indeed probable that his son the great Marquess of Montrose may have owned it and used it."

After some remarks by the CHAIRMAN on the excellence of the make of the pistol and its historical interest, a vote of thanks was passed to the Baron de Cosson for thus contributing for the gratification of the meeting from his extensive store of military equipments.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—Portions of a leather strap, with S's (twenty-nine in number) attached to them; and parts of a leather girdle with other letters. These objects will be illustrated in a future *Journal*.

May 3, 1883.

General SIR H. LEFROY, K.C.B., in the chair.

At this, the first meeting of the Institute since the death of its President, Lord Talbot de Malahide, the chairman spoke feelingly of the great loss which the Institute had sustained, and alluded to Lord Talbot's distinguished archaeological attainments, his long connection with the Institute, and his numerous high qualities which had endeared him to the members during the lengthened period that he filled so worthily the office of President.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. Hartshorne to read the following address of condolence of the Institute with Lord Talbot de Malahide, which had been drawn up under the direction of the Council:—

"To the Right Hon^{ble} Richard Wogan, Baron Talbot de Malahide.

"We the Vice-Presidents, Council, Officers, and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, beg to offer to your Lordship the expression of our warmest condolence on the lamented death of your Lordship's noble father, the honoured President of the Royal

¹ Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Or, on a chief, Sable, three escallop shells of the first (for the name of Graham); 2nd and 3rd, Argent, three roses, Gules, barbed and seeded, proper (for the title Montrose).

² John, 4th Earl of Montrose, who

succeeded to the title in 1608, was Ambassador from King James VI of Scotland to several foreign courts, and after the accession of Charles I was President of the Council of Scotland. He died in 1626.

Archæological Institute for upwards of thirty years, and a valued and accomplished member of the Institute since 1845.

"We recall with affection the numerous qualities of the late Lord Talbot de Malahide, his ripe scholarship, his unwearied zeal in sharing our pursuits, his ready and constant support at the Annual Meetings, his dignity and geniality, and, not least, the unvarying kindness and courtesy which endeared him to the members of the Institute whom he led so ably throughout England for so many years.

"He has passed from us full of years, and to use his own words, he has died, as he wished, "in harness." The memory of his high worth will remain in the hearts of all with whom he was associated, but by none will he be more sincerely regretted than by the members of the Institute which now offers its kindest sympathy to yourself and his family.

"Signed on behalf of the Institute.

"R. H. SODEN SMITH,	}	Vice Presidents.
"G. T. CLARK,		
"J. FULLER RUSSELL,		
"W. V. GUISE,		
"M. H. BLOXAM,		
"H. CARLISLE,		
"ALBERT HARTSHORNE, Secretary."		

The adoption of the address was moved by Mr. H. S. MILMAN, and seconded by Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, who took occasion to read some extracts from the report of the Carlisle meeting, at which the late President spoke of his failing health, and his fears that he might not be present at another meeting.

Mr. S. I. TUCKER (Somerset), added a warm tribute of regret at the loss the Institute had sustained, and spoke of the extreme difficulty in replacing a President who had served the society so long and so well.

Mr. E. WALFORD spoke to the same effect, and the address was then unanimously adopted, and ordered to be transmitted to the proper quarters.

The CHAIRMAN read a paper on a Collection of Flint Weapons and Pottery from Honduras which, he said, should be examined in connection with the history of that region of Central America as a whole, a region that was once the seat of a great, and powerful, and civilized race, and not with special reference to the corner of it from whence the objects happen to come.

That the people who painted the frescoes of Chichenitza, who reared the monuments of the Palenque and Copau, invented the complicated and puzzling hieroglyphics, who excelled in their carvings, and had such knowledge of astronomy, were limited to the use of flint for their tools, seemed impossible; and we were, therefore, driven to the conclusion, either that these weapons were the evidence of an immense decline in the arts since the Spanish Conquest, or that they belonged to a period long anterior to that event. The masterly manner in which the flint weapons had been cleaved and chipped, seemed to imply long practice and progressive improvement, and not the recovery of a lost art in the course of a century or two. Yet it was possible that, side by side with the civilized Aztecs, there existed Charib races who were never reclaimed, or abandoned the use of stone. Such flint-using tribes existed, indeed, in the

interior of Guatemala at the present day, but their weapons did not evince the skill in their manufacture shown by those exhibited to the meeting. Moreover, some of the beads shown were lined in their perforations with copper, showing a forward advance in art, such as a conquered race would hardly have reached. This use of copper appeared very remarkable, and Sir Henry Lefroy supposed it was for the purpose of enhancing the value of the beads, this metal being so rare in Central America, that the Venetian navigator Virrazaro (1524) tells us that the natives "esteemed it more than gold."

With regard more particularly to the flint weapons, they were found at the mouth of the Belize, at a spot now submerged one or two feet below water, and their number, as well as the presence of hammer-stones with them, militated against the accumulation being the result of a casual upsetting of a canoe, and there were many indications that the land had subsided in this quarter, a fact that alone implied considerable antiquity.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL said that the collection of worked stones exhibited by Gen. Lefroy was most interesting, and not the less so from the resemblance which a few of them possessed, as had been remarked, to some European specimens. The situation in which they were described as having been found showed that they were "surface" implements or "neolithic," if the term were applicable in that part of the world. The slight depth of two feet or so beneath the sea water which had not covered them with sand or gravel, and their sharp appearance, together with the presence of oyster shells and delicate 'spat' attached to them, proved that they could not have been long submerged; nor had they travelled at all, for the site was a manufactory. They must be considered as comparatively modern, and their submergence a very recent one, if indeed it were not a question in which periods of high and low tides were involved.

There was no inconsistency, Mr. Spurrell continued, in the supposition that these flint implements might not have been co-existent with the civilisation represented by the great and splendid temples of Palenque and the artistic wall paintings exhibited; but considering that the arts of architecture, painting and metal work had wholly decayed, there was no difficulty in understanding that as flint and obsidian chipping had never been discarded, there may have been a complete revival in the art of making them, and a recurrence, for a period, of stone weapons for general use, under the dire necessity occasioned by poverty and the absence of metals at a later date. Such a survival had occurred in the old world, and notably in the case of Egypt and the Sinaitic Peninsula.

The great breadth and length of some of the flakes showed, he said, great skill in chipping, which was aided by the even consistence of the flint (which was free from large fossils). However, it was noticeable that most of the longer implements were struck off more or less in the direction of lines seemingly of infiltration. The two stones which Gen. Lefroy considered knapping stones appeared somewhat doubtful. They were in size certainly inadequate to produce the great flakes; they were also by no means the sort of tools to produce the very straight edges of the great spearheads, nor were they delicate enough to work the finer arrowheads. The only use they could have served was in smoothing the retreating angles of the great spears and such minor work. They appeared to have had other uses not connected with chipping.

With respect to the quartz and jade-like green beads, they were bored from either end and were very well done. There was evidence that the work was accomplished by a drill and the aid of sand, or the powder perhaps of some very hard stone, and not by the crystalline stone itself; there was no evidence of the use of tube drills in the present specimens. The long yellow beads were made from shells and that of weathered pieces from the shore, partly polished by nature, and marked by holes made by marine animals. Being curved they were necessarily bored in different directions from either end, the holes meeting in the midst. A small tube (folded) of copper or some alloy had been inserted at either end to prevent the string from wearing away the shell, which had become very soft in parts; but in one of them, at the centre of the bead in the angle made by the uniting boreholes, the string had worn its way through the side of the bead, thus showing that the copper tubes did not line the entire length of the bead.

On the motion of Mr. TUCKER (Somerset) a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman for his paper, which will appear in a future *Journal*.

Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By Sir H. LEFROY.—Flint weapons and Pottery from Honduras; large map of Central America, and through the kindness of Mr. Maudesly, two large and artistic pictures by Mr. O'Conner, of the temples of Palenque.

By Mr. E. PEACOCK.—A drawing of a slab of iron, with the following notes:—

“The accompanying sketch represents an iron slab which was discovered some years ago at the village of Blyton, near Gainsburgh, Lincolnshire. It had been laid face downwards and used as a door stone. The house where it served this purpose was being pulled down, and in consequence the slab had to be removed, and the ornamented side was exposed to view. When I became possessed of it, it was so clogged with dirt that little could be made of it. When cleaned it became evident that it had once formed an ornamental fire-back. There can be little doubt that it had originally formed a part of the furniture of the Old Hall at Gainsburgh. A former inhabitant of the house where it had served as a door stone had, I was informed, been a workman in the employ of the Hickman family, who lived there in the 17th century. The arms are those of Hickman—party per pale indented Argent and Azure—impaling what is intended for the coat of Nevil of Mettersey—Gules a saltire Argent—Sir William Hickman of Gainsburgh, the second baronet, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Nevil of Mettersey, Nottinghamshire. (See Pedigree in Stark's Hist. of Gainsburgh, 1817, p. 123). The precise date of the wedding has not been ascertained, but it was certainly either in 1658 or very near to that date. There seems to be no evidence that the Nevils of Mettersey ever bore their saltire coupé. A curious question suggests itself, was the representing the saltire coupé, in this instance a blunder of the artist who made the sketch, or of the founder who run the metal, or was it done intentionally to mark the distinction between Elizabeth Nevil's house, and that of other name-sakes and kindred.”

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Peacock.

By Mr. E. WILMOTT.—A collection of beautifully executed rubbings from the military brasses in Cobham church, Kent. Mr. Wilmott announced that at the next meeting Mr. J. G. Waller would describe the whole of this interesting series of memorials in chronological order.

By Mrs. HENLEY JERVIS.—A copy of the New Testament used by Charles I. at Carisbrook Castle, and other volumes.

By Mr. C. SEIDLER.—A gold ring containing a small agate hatchet. This was found in the department of Meuse et Loire, and is here represented.



By Mrs. L. H. KERR.—Model of an Etruscan tomb, and photographs of paintings inside similar tombs discovered at Bolsena, near Orvieto.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1883.

ON A ROMAN FIRE-BRIGADE IN BRITAIN.

By the REV. JOSEPH HIRST.¹

The Notitia, or Official Register of the Military Establishment of the Eastern and Western Empire, informs us that at the time when it was drawn up, namely, at the beginning of the fifth century, there was a numerus or cohort of night-watchers or fire-men at Greta Bridge in Yorkshire: Praefectus numeri Vigilum Concangios (Not. oc. xl, 24). The Latin term here used is *VIGILES*, and what these *vigiles* were it is the purpose of the present essay to inquire.

The fact of there being a *NUMERUS VIGILUM* stationed in Britain is in itself well-nigh unique in the military annals of ancient times; for the only other instance on record is that mentioned by the Notitia of a detachment or auxiliary force of *vigiles* at Ofen in Hungary: *auxilia vigilum contra Acinco in barbarico* (Valer.), where the word *solo* should be understood (*ib.* xxxiii, 48).

The organized bands of fire-men or night-watchers were in the city of Rome an ancient institution. Suetonius tells us that the emperor Augustus organized them afresh by forming them into seven cohorts, and by assigning one cohort to each two quarters of the imperial city. An altogether fresh interest has been given to the institution by the discovery in 1866, in the Transtiberine region of Rome, of the guard-house or head-quarters (*excubitoria*) of one of these fire-brigades.

¹ Read at the Meeting of the Institute at Lewes, August 3rd, 1883.

At the period of which we are now treating, the ancient constitution of the Roman army had undergone considerable change, so that none of the ancient writers who have treated of Roman military affairs, Polybius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, or even Vegetius can be taken as our guide. The decay of the empire, and the throes of dissolution brought on by internecine struggle for command, conducted in the face of barbaric hordes who were breaking across the borders on every side, may furnish some explanation of the relaxation of discipline and the lapse into desuetude of many time-honoured institutions. The extraordinary nature of military circumstances at this period of the Roman empire may be exemplified by the strange and novel designations given in the *Notitia* to some of the bodies which formed the permanent garrison of Britain. Thus in the fortieth chapter of the *Western Notitia* we have, "Under the disposal of the respectable personage the Duke of Britain," besides the band of night-watchers at *Concangium*, a band of *exploratores* or scouts at *Bowes* on *Stanemore* in *Yorkshire*, a band of *directores* or guides at *Burgh* under *Stanemore* in *Westmoreland*, where, says *Horsley*,¹ they were much needed, and of *defensores*, which he interprets as defenders of passes, at *Brougham*, but whom *Schöll* thinks were a reserve force to support an army pursuing an enemy in rout. Then we have the sea-forces which in an emergency seem to have been used for the defence of the northern stations of the island against the incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*. Besides the fixed stations of the marines or of the galley-men who manned the fleet that kept up communication between *Gaul* and *Britain*, such as may have existed at *Dover* and *Lymne* in *Kent* (*Classiarii Britannici*), we have evidence of Roman marines being established at *Tynelaw*, at the mouth of the *Tyne*, and of a number of bargemen called perhaps from their services in *Asia* on the *Tigris* (*numerus barcariorum Tigrisiensium*) at *Piersebridge*, or, to judge from remains, at some point nearer the mouth of the *Tees*. To add a name that strikes strangely on our ears, we may mention the *Equites Cataphractariorum* stationed by the

¹ *Brit. Rom.* p, 477 note

Notitia at Morbium in Britain (wherever that may be), who may have been Asiatic cavalry armed cap-à-pie.¹

Whether the VIGILES above-mentioned were night-watchers along the river-side, or a body corresponding to our modern fire-men, it may now perhaps be almost impossible for us to determine. As every legion and separate body in the Roman service had an organized system of patrols, sentinels and night-watchers, it would seem superfluous to have a cohort exclusively formed of sentinels or watchmen engaged in garrison at a ford or a bridge of a small Yorkshire river, supposing Concangium to be identical with Greta Bridge. The term VIGILES is not new in the Roman annals; it had long been appropriated to the body of men existing perhaps in every large city, and established primarily to perform the office of a modern fire brigade, to which were added the duties of night-police. These must not be confounded with the sentinels or night-watchers of a Roman camp. The latter as they took the watch by turn could not receive any distinctive appellation making them into a separate arm of the service, just as we have not a regiment of sentinels or a troop of horse called patrols. Sentinel and patrol duty would fall to the lot of all by turn. Festus informs us (*sub voce*) that the light-armed infantry Velites were called *procubitores* because they were employed in out-post duty when the Romans were encamped before an enemy; but we do not read anything similar of the VIGILES.

In the days of Republican Rome the safety of the city was committed to certain Triumviri, on whom devolved the duty of extinguishing any sudden conflagration. From the night-watches they had to keep they received the surname of Nocturnal. The danger and labour of this civic duty was sometimes shared by the Aediles and

¹ To these strange-sounding names, most of which were unknown in the campaigning days of Caesar, Cicero and Horace, we may add the Exculcatores of whom there were young and old, Juniores and Seniores, and some styled in addition British, most probably from their connection with the Roman military establishment in Britain, though they were placed by the Notitia amongst the auxilia Palatina or household troops. These Exculcatores

we can only surmise were the same as Excursatores or pioneers, of whom Ammian says, "Excursatores quingentos et mille sensim praeire disposuit." Other strange terms introduced in those later days of the Roman empire, were the Speculatores, Protectores, Curatores, Scutarii, Scurae, Bucellarii, Parasiti, etc., etc. Cf. Böcking in his notes on the Eastern Notitia, vol. ii, p. 208.

Tribunes of the people. A body of men was stationed near the city-gates, whence they could be quickly summoned in case of need. Alarmed by the growing frequency of conflagrations in the city the Emperor Augustus took the matter into his own hands, increased the number of night-watchers and gave them a regular military organization. Suetonius in the life he wrote of that Emperor (Octav. xxx) says, “*adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est* ;” and Dion Cassius (I.V, 26) sets down the event in the year from the foundation of Rome 759. Zell, in his learned disquisition on the various branches of the Roman army says expressly that Augustus took the fire-men already in existence, equipped them as soldiers, and made them guardians of public safety both as regards persons and property. As we learn from Tacitus (Ann. xi, 35) these *VIGILES* were commanded by a prefect who was of equestrian rank ; but as Dion Cassius observes (LV, 26, LIX, 2) the corps itself in consequence of its being raised from amongst the class of *libertini*, was regarded as holding a position inferior to that of the regular soldiers. Tacitus in his History (iii, 64) calls the Roman fire-men the servants or henchmen of the better classes, and Suetonius (*ib.*, 25) alludes to them with the expression *libertino milite*.¹

Beside the seven cohorts which, as historians tell us, were established by Augustus, and distributed by him in fourteen excubitoria or guard-houses, one for each of the fourteen districts into which ancient Rome was divided, Claudius established similar corps of *VIGILES* at Ostia, and at Pozzuoli, near Naples.² From many passages of the Digest it appears that fire-men were established in other municipia as well, although no monument attesting their existence has been discovered outside the city of Rome, with the exception of Nismes in France, and Cirta, the ancient capital of Numidia, now called Constantine in Algiers.³ As Cassiodorus tells us,

¹ Vide Smith's and De Vit's Dictionaries *sub voce*.

² Suetonius in his life of Claudius says *Puteolis et Ostiæ singulas cohortes ad arceudos incendiis casus collocavit*.

³ Maffei however in his Museum of

Verona (462.2) has an inscription belonging to the town of Turuza in Tunis dedicated to a certain *Cutius Alcinus Felicianus*. *VICE PRAEFECTUS VIGILUM* *OB EXIMIUM AMOREM IN PATRIAM* by the *ORDO TURZETANUS*.

the fire-brigades fallen into disuse were re-established by Theodoric in Rome and in Ravenna. The inscriptions that have been found proving their existence on Monte Celio in Rome have been illustrated in the monograph by Kellerman on the two blocks of marble found in 1820 in the villa Mattei.¹

It seems then but natural to infer that no large Roman town, unprovided with a garrison sufficiently numerous to undertake the office, (and, says Gibbon, instead of being confined within the walls of fortified cities, which the Romans considered as the refuge of weakness or pusillanimity, the legions were encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the frontiers of the barbarians,) would be left without its complement of night-watchers or fire-men, an institution which may then have been well known in such important towns of Britain as York, Verulam, London, Colchester and Richborough. So sparse and desultory is the information accidentally left to us of the inhabitants and functionaries of the hundred cities of Roman Britain, that we cannot be surprised if a small brigade of vigiles existed in each one of them without any record being left to us.

It may not be out of place here to say something on the various duties the Roman fire-men or night-watchers were expected to perform. In 1848 an inscription of five lines was found in Aïn-Beïda cut upon a stone which had been used in the foundations of the house of the Caliph situated between Tebessa and Constantine, which sufficiently sets forth the duties of the Roman as well as the provincial VIGILES. This inscription first published in the *Inscriptions Romaines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1855, fol., and republished in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. viii, (Berolini 1881) under the number 2297, runs as follows:

ERIS SECURITAS SOPORANTION,
MUNIMEN DOMORUM, TUTELA CLAUSTRO-
RUM, DISCOSSOR (sic) OBSCURUS, ARBITER
SILENTIOSUS, CUI FALLERE INSIDIANTES
FAS EST ET DECIPERE GLORIA.

The inscription may be translated as follows: "Thou shalt be the safety of those who sleep, the guardian of houses, the protector of sacred enclosures, watching in

¹ Kellermann, *Vigilum Romanorum latereula duo*, Romæ, 1835, in 4to.

the dark night, and judging without appeal those whom thou mayest apprehend ; thou whose duty it is to overreach the cunning of evil-doers and whose glory is to frustrate the cunning of those who plot mischief."

The words *soporantion* for *soporantium* and *discossor* for *discussor* prove this inscription to belong to a time of decadence. Wilmanns, who re-published the inscription in the *Corpus*, says of it, "Who this person may be who is thus spoken of, I do not know ; it may refer to some animal (*fera*) kept instead of a watch-dog." It was reserved for De Vit in 1868 to shew the identity of this inscription with a passage of the seventh letter, seventh book of Cassiodorus, containing the warrant or formula of the *Praefectus Vigilum* in Rome.

But the chief duty of the Roman fire-men was to make their nightly rounds in the city confided to their care in order to prevent and extinguish fires. Hence the frequent mention in ancient authors of the axe and the bucket which they carried with them. The Roman jurisconsult Paullus says in the *Pandects* (i, 15, 3), *Sciendum est, praefectum Vigilum per totam noctem vigilare debere et coerrare calciatum cum amis et dolabris, etc.* Hence Petronius in the seventy-eighth chapter of his *Satyricon*, where he narrates that as the Roman fire-men were passing near the house of Trimalchio and heard an unusual noise, says they immediately rushed on the scene with buckets of water and axes, and busily began to break down the gate: *Vigiles qui custodiebant vicinam regionem rati ardere Trimalchionis domum effregerunt januam subito et cum AQUA SECURIBUSQUE tumultuari suo jure coeperunt.*

Amongst the means used by the Roman fire-men for extinguishing sudden conflagrations, we read of rags or cloths steeped in vinegar or water, and an instrument called *Sipho*, which may have been an instrument of brass having the nature of a siphon or pump to cast up water, as among the lower officials of the Roman fire-brigade we read of *siponarii*, who had charge of this machine, and *aquarii* who attended to the water supply. Mention is also made of ladders and poles, and some think also of cushions, which were used for saving the lives of those

who were in danger unless such means of escape were provided.

Moreover the Roman VIGILES were called by the common people SPARTEOLI, either on account of the shoes or tunics worn by them, which were made of Esparto grass which grew on the coast of Africa and of Spain,¹ or from the Esparto ropes of which they made use, or still more probably from the vessels made of the same material and smeared with pitch in which they were accustomed to carry water. Hence the Scholiast on Juvenal, at the 305th line of the fourteenth Satire says:—*Per translationem disciplinae militaris Spar-teolorum Romae, quorum cohortes in tutelam urbis cum amis et cum aqua vigilias curare consueverunt vicini.* It is of these Sparteoli that Tertullian says (*Apolog.* 39, *a med.*) that the smoke from a certain supper given in honour of Serapis was so great that on seeing it they thought the kitchen was on fire, and their services would be required. *Ad fumum coenae Serapiacae Sparteoli excitabuntur.* To judge from the text of Juvenal just mentioned, not only soldiers but even the servants of noble families were ready on occasion to perform privately the duties of Roman fire-men.

Dispositis praedives hamis vigilare cohortem
Servorum noctu Licinus jubet, attonitus pro
Electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna
Atque ebore et lata testudine. (v. 305-308.)

The Roman fire-men, then, were a body trained to arms and accustomed to exact and rigid discipline. To explain therefore the existence of a cohort or numerus (for at that time the two terms were used promiscuously) of VIGILES at Greta Bridge in Yorkshire, we may suppose with some foundation that the fire-men scattered through the different cities of Britain may have been gathered together into a separate corps, and thrown forward for the support of the numerous forces engaged in defending the northern frontier against the continual invasions of the Picts and Scots.

It was only after this paper had been written that I

¹In Spain near Carthagera, called by Pliny (xxxi, 43, 2) Espartaria from the Esparto grass which grew in its neighbourhood. Appian (De Rebus Hisp. 12)

calls it *σπαρταγηνς*. Vide De Vit's ONOMASTICON, tom. ii, page 146, *sub voce* Carthago in Hispania.

observed in a note on page 44 of Brady's History of England, vol. i, that this author inclines to the view that the VIGILES at Concanguim were not other than Roman fire-men. I will conclude in the words he there makes use of: "These watchmen were first introduced by Augustus, as a remedy against fire, thieves, and other inconveniences and mischiefs, in the great and populous city of Rome, and had their several circuits appointed for this night-service; they were afterwards soldiers, and distributed into seven cohorts, from whence the name was derived unto the soldiers abroad in the Provinces, whose duty might be somewhat alike."

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SUSSEX.¹

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

Called once more, as I find myself, to the chair of the Historical Section of this Institute, it becomes my duty, as in other years, to open its proceedings with some words as to the general historical position of the borough and the land in which we are met. And surely, among all the historic lands and sites which many of us have trodden together through so many years, we have never yet made our way into a land whose contributions to the general history of England are greater and richer than those of the land in which we now find ourselves. The kingdom of the South-Saxons lies between a great and historic shire on one side, and a kingdom more ancient and famous than itself on the other. To the left—I speak as one whose eyes are fixed northward—lies the land which holds the ancient capital, to the right lies the land which holds the still abiding metropolis, of the English folk. It might be rash to match the seat of earls at Arundel, the seat of bishops at Chichester, against the seat of kings at Winchester, the seat of patriarchs at Canterbury. And yet the land of the South-Saxons may hold its own in historic interest, even against that oldest Wessex which has taken its shire-name from the southern Hampton, even against the first conquest of the Teutonic vanguard, the land which was won for our folk by the warfare of Hengest and for our faith by the teaching of Augustine. Between the land of the Gewisses and the land of the Cantwaru, the Suthseaxe hold their place on at least equal terms. If I carry the comparison into lands further afield, I have, in other years, led many of you to the historic sites which look out on the Taff, the Exe, the Colne, and the

¹Read at the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Lewes, July

31st, 1883, at the Opening of the Historical Section.

Eden. Cardiff can tell its tale of the older folk of the land, conquered indeed but neither cut off nor brought to bondage. Exeter stands as the one great city of the Briton which passed as a great city into the hands of the Englishmen. Colchester can tell its long tale of fights and sieges from the days of Boadicea to the days of Fairfax. Carlisle, alone keeping its unaltered British name, stands as the bulwark which the Norman reared to guard the land which he added to the English realm. All these spots have long and stirring memories; all, be it marked, keep speaking memories of the Briton that was before us. But I cannot hold that any one of them outdoes the tale of this land, a land which may boast itself as more truly English than them all, a land where the only memory of the Briton is the memory of one day of victory and slaughter, when not a Briton was left alive to tell the tale. Another year I weighed in the balance the historic merits of my own *gá* of the Sumorsætan and the great and historic *shire* of the northern Hampton. Stirring is the tale of the land of Cenwealh and of Ælfred, the land that has within it Avalon and Athelney, King Ine's Taunton and Count Robert's Montacute. Stirring too is the tale of the shire where Thomas fought with beasts at Northampton, where Anselm endured rather than strove at Rockingham, the shire which saw the beheading at Fotheringhay and the crowning mercy of Naseby. Yet not even lands like these, not even, as I before said, the land which beheld our two beginnings, the land which saw the two landings at Ebbsfleet, can outdo the historic glories of the South-Saxon land. It might be enough to say that it is the land which holds the hill of Senlac and the hill of Lewes, the spot where England fell with Harold and the spot where she rose again with Simon. If Kent has done more than any other English land for the Making of England, her *Unmaking* and her *Again-making* are the special heirloom of Sussex. And yet the hill of Senlac and the hill of Lewes do but stand forth as historic peaks rising above heights, lower indeed, but which any land might be proud to hold within its borders. Along the endless length of the South-Saxon coast, from Selsey hard by the Jutish island to Rye hard by the Jutish mainland, historic sites

press upon us at every step. Bosham, Chichester, Arundel, Hastings, Winchelsey—the time would fail to tell of all. But here is one spot which may well claim to stand by the side of Lewes, which might almost claim to stand by the side of Senlac. There is the spot which was in sad truth the Norman's path to Senlac, but which we may, in a figure, call the Englishman's path to Lewes. There is perhaps no spot in England of deeper and more varied interest than what is left us of Anderida, than the memories that are called up by all that has happened on that spot since English Pevensey, English West Ham, arose at either end of the forsaken chester. Of that spot I have often written, I have often spoken, on either side of Ocean. But to some the spot itself may be new. To those who know it not, let me tell them that there they will see the history of Britain in a short compass. There, before you make your way to Hastings or to Battle, you will see the landing place of William, the would-be landing place, not of Robert, but of his fleet. It is the spot where one Norman Conquest began and where another Norman Conquest was hindered. But you will see signs of older days than these. There are the abiding memorials of every folk save one that has dwelled or ruled in the land since the beginnings of recorded history. There are the empty walls of the Roman chester; there are the no less empty walls of the Norman castle. There too are the still abiding and not empty homes of Englishmen, the English village, the English borough. The Englishman is there to speak for himself; the Roman and the Norman have left their works to speak for them. The Briton alone gives no sign. There at least he has left no works to speak for him; and Ælle and Cissa took care that he himself should not abide to tell his tale or what they so truly made the Saxon Shore.

Pevensey, Hastings, Battle, Lewes; these are indeed names to hear of, these are indeed spots to see, within the few days that are allowed us to go to and fro in our present gathering. But let us go back to the very beginning, to the first stage of that making of Sussex which was the second stage of the Making of England. Here is a long strip of coast parted off from the inland regions by a vast wooded region, the *Andredes leah*. On the descriptive

province of two whom we have lost, of Dr. Guest and Mr. Green, I will not intrude. I wish only to point out in the most general way that the land which became Sussex was well fitted by its physical structure to become a distinct realm. There was in truth no more truly distinct realm in Britain than this first prize of Saxon conquest. Call up to your thoughts how such a land stood sixty-seven years after the legions had sailed away from Britain. Dim indeed is the picture ; but, as I have often tried to show, it is its very dimness which teaches us. One state of things had passed away ; another state of things had not begun ; the threescore and seven years that lie between them have found no chronicler. But that they have found no chronicler is the surest of all proofs that Teutonic conquest in Britain was quite another thing from Teutonic conquest in Gaul and Spain. When the second band of Saxon invaders, the first band of Saxon conquerors, steered their keels to the shores of Britain, there must still have been aged men who, in their childhood, even in their youth, had been subjects of the Roman Augustus. When the first band of Saxons came, Rome and her Augustus were still a living presence ; when the second band came, they had shrunk into a shadowy memory. The first band found a Theodosius to bar their path and to drive them back from the Roman shore. Then

Madueruant Saxone fuso
Orcades.¹

When the second band came, we know not whom it was that they found to bar their path ; but they found none to drive them back, and it was with the bodies not of slaughtered Saxons, but of slaughtered Britons that the Saxon Shore was heaped.

The tale of South-Saxon settlement is not hard to tell. It is a drama in three acts ; a drama handed down in national songs, lost fellows of the songs of Brunanburh and Maldon, some echoes of which reach us in the prose English of our Chronicles and in the half poetic Latin of Henry of Huntingdon. In 477 the conquest of Kent was over ; the busy life of Hengest was near its end. But Kent stood alone in Britain ; the long coast of the

¹ Claudian, IV Cons. Honor. 31. See Norman Conquest, i, 11.

Regni was untouched ; no Teutonic keel had made its way into the waters which beheld the birth of two of the three Saxon kingdoms. In three ships—the number, like most numbers, may be mythical, but the fact is not—came Ælle and his three sons. Some part of the haven of Chichester, some spot on the peninsula of Selsey, saw this the first Saxon landing, and from one of the sons of Ælle that spot took the name of Cymenes-ora. The Saxon invader came on an errand of conquest ; but it was no easy conquest. So many ingenious men have of late risen up to teach again the old wives' fables that we have cast aside, to tell us once more that we are not ourselves but some other folk, that I must again call on you to weigh the matter in the truest of balances, to compare what we know of the Teutonic conquest of Britain, in its circumstances and in its results, with what we know of the circumstances and the results of Teutonic conquest in the more strictly Roman lands. The Briton was not as the Gaul or the Spaniard ; the Jute, the Saxon, and the Angle, were not as the Goth and the Frank. In Gaul and Spain the tongue, the laws, the creed, of the Roman all lived on ; in Britain they all vanished. The most ingenious champions of the revived theory do not profess to show us in Teutonic Britain more than scraps and survivals of Roman or Celtic Britain. In Gaul and Spain the unbroken Roman life lived on, to form in the end an equal element in a mixed life, neither wholly Teutonic nor wholly Roman. In Roman Gaul the Teutonic invader, already half Christianized, half Romanized, passed step by step into the Christian and Roman land, as much a disciple as a conqueror. He found provincials well-used to the yoke, men who looked to Cæsar's legions to protect them, and who, if Cæsar's legions were not able to protect them, had no thought of striking a blow to protect themselves. There was no temptation to slaughter and destroy in a land which was won so easily. And so Gaul, Celtic and Roman, became part of the Teutonic realm of the Frank without ceasing to be Celtic and Roman. Far otherwise was it in Britain ; far otherwise was it in this part of Britain of whose conquest we have so vivid a picture. The Jute, the Saxon, the Angle, came here by sea, from lands which knew not the law or the faith of

Rome ; they came as unchanged heathens, in the language of the subjects of the Empire, unchanged barbarians. They found, not provincials guarded by foreign swords, but men fighting for their own hearths and disputing every inch of ground against the invader. Circumstances so different led to widely different results ; slaughter and destruction, needless to the Frank in Gaul, were needful to the very being of the Saxon in Britain. He could advance only by slaying or driving out at every step the men who were not fighting for an absent sovereign but for themselves. Therefore, by the very necessity of the case, the Roman cities lived on in Gaul ; they perished in Britain ; the speech of the land, Roman and British, the Roman creed, the Roman or British law, all perished with the folk who, I repeat, were not simply conquered but displaced. Gregory of Tours has to tell of a land in which the Christian Franks settled and ruled among a folk Christian and Roman. Bæda has to tell of a land where the heathen Angles and Saxons slew or drove out the Christian folk in whose land they could settle on no other terms. Ingenious theory, based commonly on examination of one land only, passes away like the Briton before the sword of Ælle, when it is tested by the witness of the most common and everyday facts, as they look by the light of the general history of the world. The Englishman still speaks English ; the Briton still speaks Welsh ; but the man of Gaul speaks the Latin of his earlier conquerors, with no small infusion of the Teutonic of his later conquerors. We, heathen destroyers that we were, needed Augustine and Birinus to lead us to the faith that we had rooted out. The Frank needed not that any missionary should come, years after his settlement, to convert him. It was in the act of conquest that the Frank learned to burn what he had worshipped, to worship what he had burned. Christian worship, Roman speech, never ceased for a moment at Rheims, at Tours, or at Paris. They died out, and had to be called to life again, in Canterbury and in London, at Regnum and at Anderida.

Such are the plain facts, the plain arguments, which have been gone over already a thousand and one times by myself and by others ; but which must be gone over yet

again as often as we are told that the English folk is not the English folk. And never surely does the tale speak for itself more plainly than on the great day of Cymenes-ora, the birthday of Saxon settlement in Britain. On that day Ælle and his sons, Cissa and Wlencing and Cymen, had to do a work such as never fell to the lot of Hlodwig in the land of the Gaul or of Ataulf in the land of the Iberian. The Saxon Ealdorman—it was only on the conquered soil that the leaders of our folk grew into kings—and his sons had to strive on the day of his landing at Cymenes-ora, as the Norman duke had not to strive on the day of his landing at Pevensey. The Briton fought well for his home, but the discipline of Rome had passed away with her legions. The skill of the warrior was now on the side of the barbarian invader. The Saxons, so said the song, holding firm together, were too strong for the greater numbers of the Britons, who came against them rashly and in scattered parties. The end was, as the Chronicler tells us, that the new comers slew many Welsh, and some they drove in flight to the wood that is called Andredes-leah.¹ An English settlement was thus made; part of the coast was occupied and passed away for ever from its British holders, who in that western part of the land which that day's fight began to make Sussex were driven to the shelter of the great wood. Regnum must, as Dr. Guest suggests, have fallen in this first storm, to rise again it would seem, in the days of Ælle's son, as the chester of Cissa.

The work was begun, and it went speedily on; but with steps how different from those with which, in other

¹ Chron. 477. "Her com Ælle on Brettenlond & his iiii suna, Cymen & Wlencing & Cissa mid iiii scipum on þa stowe þe is nemned Cymenes ora & þær of slogon monige Wealas & sume on fleame bedrifon on þone wudu þe is genemned Andredes leage." The ballad preserved by Henry of Huntingdon (ii, 7, 8), is brought in immediately after an extract from Bæda, which accounts for the turn given to the first words, which are doubtless the Archdeacon's own. "Immisit ergo Deus, ex partibus Germaniae, duces plures ferocissimos per successiones temporum, qui gentem Deo invisam delebant; et in primis dux Aelle venit et tres filii sui,

Cymen et Wlencing et Cissa. Igitur dux Aelle cum filiis suis et classe militaribus copiis instructissima, in Britannia ad Cymenesore appulerunt. Eredientibus autem Saxonibus de mari, Britanni clamorem excitarunt, et a circumadjaentibus locis innumeri convolarunt, et statim bellum initum est. Saxones vero statura et vigore maximi, impudenter eos recipiebant; illi vero imprudenter veniebant; nam sparsim et per intervalla venientes a conglomeratis interficiebantur, et ut quique attoniti veniebant, rumores sinistros ex improvise sentiebant. Fugati sunt igitur Britanni usque ad proximum nemus quod vocatur Andredesleige."

lands, the Teutonic conqueror won for himself a kingdom in a day. For nine years the Saxons and their Ealdormen went on advancing inch by inch, but only inch by inch. Every British village was doubtless fought for; so, we may believe, was every Roman villa that was still dwelled in by some British leader. It was not till the ninth year that the invaders risked a raid at any distance from their first settlement, and then the daring attempt was not favoured by fortune. In 485, at Mercedeshurn, something like a pitched battle was fought.¹ The site is unknown. It must lie somewhere between Chichester and Pevensey; if local inquiry has found any signs to fix that fight to any particular spot, say to Arundel or Lewes, we shall welcome this gain to our knowledge. The Britons had learned experience from their day of overthrow at the first landing. It was no longer the irregular attack of scattered and desultory bands; divers kings and tyrants had come together—our gleemen knew not or cared not to hand on their names—and Ælle and his sons, if not defeated, were not victorious. But for an invader, seeking new lands to occupy, not to be victorious is to be defeated. Each host, weakened by heavy losses, went back to its own dwellings. That is to say, the Saxon advance received a check; the attempt to win a large territory by a pitched battle had failed. For six years more, if the Teutonic settlement grew at all, it was only inch by inch, as before.

It was in truth only by a second settlement from the Old-Saxon land that the first Saxon kingdom in Britain was really brought into being. By the year 491, in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, as our Latin informant takes care to tell us, three years after the death of Hengest in Kent, Ælle found himself at the head of so great a force that he took on him the kingly title. His followers had grown from a tribe into a folk; it was fitting that his

¹ Chron., 485. "Her Ælle gefeaht wip Walas neah Mearchedes burnan stæðe." The tale is given more fully in Henry of Huntingdon: "Saxones autem occuparunt littora maris Sudsexe, magis magisque sibi regionis spatia capessentes usque ad nonum annum adventus eorum. Tunc vero cum audacius regionem in lon-

ginquum capesserent, convenerunt reges et tyranni Brittonum apud Mercedeshurne, et pugnauerunt contra Ælle et filios suos, et fere dubia fuit victoria: uterque enim exercitus valde læsus et minoratus, alterius congressum devovens, ad propria remearunt. Misit igitur Ælle ad compatriotas suos auxilium flagitans."

land should grow from a *gê* into a kingdom.¹ And now King Ælle indeed went forth conquering and to conquer. Now comes that famous entry which stirred Gibbon's heart to unusual feeling, and which tells us better than any other record what the English Conquest of Britain really was. "Now Ælle and Cissa beset"—I fear to keep the far more speaking *unset*—"Andredes-ceaster, and slew all that therein dwelled, and henceforth was there not one Bret left.² But we are not forbidden to go beyond these few and pithy words. We have at least the echo of the ancient war-song. Is it too daring to strive to call up something like the lay which the Archdeacon of Huntingdon did into Latin? If my attempt does nothing else, it may at least stir up somebody else to a better.

Forth went Ælle King;
 Mickle was his following;
 Sought he the strong borough,
 Andredes-ceaster.
 Fast the Brets gathered
 Like bees around.
 Snares laid they daily,
 Sallies made they nightly.
 Not a day dawned,
 Not a night followed,
 But fresh bodes and dread
 Stirred the Saxons' hearts.
 Stouter grew their mood,
 Thicker grew the fighting;
 All around the port
 Ne'er the storm halted.
 But while they ever
 Fought against the borough,
 Came the Brets behind,
 Bowmen shooting arrows,
 Slingers with the thong
 Darting their javelins.

¹ The taking of the kingly title by Ælle is not mentioned in the Chronicle, as it is in the case of Hengest in 455, and Cerdic in 519. Henry of Huntingdon dates it minutely. "Regnum Sudsexe incipit, quod Aelle diu et potentissime tenuit: venerant enim ei auxiliares a

patria sua anno tertio post mortem Hengisti, tempore Anastasii imperatoris Romani, qui regnavit xxviii annis."

² Chron. 491. Her Ælle and Cissa ymbsætan Andredes ceaster, and ofslogan ealle þa ðe þær inne wæran, þæt þær ne wearþ furþum an Bryt to lafe.

Then the Saxon fighters
 Turned from the borough ;
 Strode they with their weapons
 'Gainst them that teased them.
 Then the swift Brets,
 Fleeter than Saxons,
 Ran to the mickle wood ;
 But when the warriors
 Sought again the borough,
 Came they swiftly
 Once more behind them.
 Weary then the fight was,
 Cringed many warriors,
 Till in two bands
 Man todealed the host.
 One band fought
 To storm the borough ;
 One band ytrimmed
 Stood in rank behind,
 To meet the Brets
 As they came onwards.
 And now the portmen,
 Worn with long hunger,
 Could no more thole
 The weight of storming.
 With the sword's edge
 All were smitten,
 Wives eke and bairns,
 Not one was left.
 And for that mickle toil
 Men from beyond sea
 There had tholed,
 Harried they the borough,
 That it ne'er again
 To port was timbered.
 Men walk by and see
 Where once stood
 That mickle borough,
 A stow forsaken.¹

¹ Hen. Hunt., ii, 10. ² Fretus igitur copiis ingentibus, obsedit Andredcester urbem munitissimam. Congregati sunt igitur Britanni quasi apes, et die expug-

nabant obsidentes insidiis et nocte incur-sibus. Nulla dies erat, nulla nox erat, quibus sinistri et recentes nuntii Saxo-num animos non acerbarent ; inde tamen

I certainly find it hard to believe that a tale which falls so readily into the shape of an Old-English war-song had really, as some recent critics would have us think, no being at all till it was set down in the Latin of Henry of Huntingdon in the twelfth century. The traces of ancient ballads are, to my mind, far too clear to be mistaken both in his writings and those of William of Malmesbury. The poem has doubtless lost a good deal in the act of being turned into Latin prose; but its essence is there. So is the essence of the song of Brunanburh; though here, where we can compare the original with the translation, we can see that the Archdeacon has stumbled now and then in his renderings. Some perhaps will say that the whole passage in Henry has been somehow evolved out of the few words of the Chronicles; to me it seems far more likely that Henry has given us the Latin version of the whole, or of a large part of an ancient poem of which the Chronicles have preserved to us a few words in the original.

But whatever was the shape of its earliest record, there is no doubt that the taking of Anderida was a great event in the history of the English folk, the greatest of all events in the history of the South-Saxon folk. It was the crowning of the work which had been begun fourteen years before at the first landing. The first Saxon kingdom in Britain was firmly established. We may be sure that Ælle and Cissa were able to win the land between Pevensey and Rye far more speedily than they had won the land between Chichester and Pevensey. They had now only to gather in the spoils. How long any Brets may have lingered in the great wood which gave them so lucky a shelter during the siege, it were vain to guess; but we cannot doubt that, before the end of the fifth century, the whole coast, from the border of Kent to the border of the

ardentiores effecti, continuis insultibus urbem infestabant. Semper vero dum assilirent, instabant eis Britones a tergo cum viris sagittariis et amentatis telorum missilibus. Dimissis igitur moenibus, gressus et arma dirigebant in eos Pagani. Tunc Brittones eis celeritate præstantiores, silvas cursu petebant: tendentibusque ad moenia rursum a tergo aderant. Hac arte Saxones diu fatigati sunt et innumera strages eorum fiebat, donec in duas partes exercitum diviserunt; ut dum una

pars urbem expugnaret, esset eis a tergo contra Brittonum excursus bellatorum acies ordinata. Tunc vero cives diuturna fame contriti, cum jam pondus infestantium perferre nequirent, omnes ore gladii devorati sunt cum mulieribus et parvulis, ita quod nec unus solus evasit: et quia tot ibi damna toleraverant extranei, ita urbem destruxerunt quod nunquam postea reedificata est, locus tantum, quasi nobilissimæ urbis, transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus."

second Saxon settlement which had by that time come into being, had altogether passed from British into English lands.

In a space then, we will say, of less than twenty years, this most south-western part of the Saxon Shore became a Saxon Shore in another sense, the earliest of Saxon kingdoms. As the Old-Saxons in their own land had no kings, Ælle must have been the first man of the Saxon stock who took on himself the kingly name. A Teutonic state was fully formed. It may be that, in a state which was formed so soon, there was less room than in some other parts of Britain for that gradual process by which marks grew together into hundreds, hundreds into *gás* or shires, and *gás* or shires into kingdoms. But in Sussex we have the hundred, and we have the *gá* under another name. At some stage which must have been an early one, the land was, according to a common ancient usage, dealt out by the rope, and the rope has left its name to the groupings of the South-Saxon hundreds. *Rape*, a name unknown in England out of Sussex, is, I need not say, simply the old measuring-rope, keeping nearer both to the ancient sound and the ancient spelling, than the other form of the word.¹

The first conqueror Ælle, first Ealdorman, then King, lived on, we are told, for nearly forty years after his first settlement. All the conquerors seem to be long-lived, and there is nothing wonderful in the fact. The leaders of these dangerous voyages were likely to be vigorous, and as young as the fathers of fighting sons well could be. If no untimely British arrow cut short their course, they might go on conquering and reigning for many years. But as Ælle had grown into something greater than Ealdorman, so he grew into something greater than King. Bæda places him first on his list of seven mighty princes who bore rule beyond the bounds of their own kingdoms. To that list the Chronicler adds an eighth in the person of West-Saxon Ecgberht, and gives him the

¹ So I wrote, following the explanation which I believe has been commonly received; but, on turning to Mr. Skat's Dictionary, I find that he does not seem

to acknowledge any connexion between the rope (See William Rufus, i, 68, ii, 564), and the rapes of Sussex.

special title of Bretwalda or Brytenwælda.¹ As to the history and force of that title, I have said my say long ago,² and I cannot go again through every fact and every argument this evening. I only ask you to grant that the words of Bæda mean something, that he was not talking at random, that his list is a list of princes who really did hold some special preeminence, and that whatever that preeminence consisted in, a King of the South-Saxons was the first to enjoy it. And, though I would not take upon me to deny that Ælle may, on British ground, have learned something of those Cæsars of Rome to whom Britain had been so lately subject, yet I would ask you further not to admit the theory of one of the most learned and ingenious of men, that he who left not a Bret alive in Anderida was chosen by the kings and tyrants of Britain as successor of Aurelius Ambrosius in the Imperial dignity.³ There is really nothing wonderful if, after Hengest was no more, Ælle, now the oldest of the first group of conquerors, was honoured as the chief of their race, if he was even chosen as leader in joint expeditions against the enemy, alike by the younger rulers of Kent and by the newer comers in what we may now call Wessex. Bæda's words might imply a supremacy stretching far wider, and that is possible also. We must remember that, while we know the history of the Kentish, South-Saxon, and West-Saxon settlements, there were other settlements of which we do not know the history. We know when Hengest, when Ælle, and when Cerdic, landed, and we know when they took the kingly title. We know when Ida of Bernicia, when Crida of Mercia, when Offa of East-Anglia, when Eorcenwine of Essex, began to be kings; we know not when any of them landed, and assuredly some of them never landed at all. Those kingdoms were not formed, like Kent, Sussex, and Wessex, by conquerors who founded a considerable power within a single generation. They grew by the union under a single head of various small settlements, of whose beginnings we have no record. Some of these small settlements may have already been in being, and their

¹ Chron. 827. This implies the kingship of Ælle, though it is not directly recorded in the Chronicles.

² See Norman Conquest i. Appendix B.

³ Palgrave, English Commonwealth, i. 398.

ealdormen may have been perfectly willing to acknowledge a certain outward supremacy in the great king who had smitten Anderida. As yet there was only fighting against the Briton; it was not till more than fifty years after the death of Ælle that Wibbandún saw Englishmen for the first time, as far as our records go, draw their swords against one another within the isle of Britain.

Thus the South-Saxon kingdom was founded and grew, and gained, for a moment, the first place in Britain. But it was only for a moment. The geographical position both of the first and second English kingdoms hindered them from growing like those which were founded after them. Sussex was pent in between Wessex, Kent, and its own Andredesweald. Its boundaries were fixed for ever. It seems never to have outstripped them, unless we count the short space during which the South-Saxon Æthelwealh held the western possessions of the Jutes by a grant from Wulfhere of Mercia. Then the South-Saxon king reigned over Wight and over the land of the Meanwaru on the mainland.¹ But what Mercian Wulfhere gave West-Saxon Ceadwalla won back, and we hear of no other enlargement of the South-Saxon realm. The kingdom of Ælle, almost, it would seem, from the moment of Ælle's death, fell into a secondary position among the powers of Britain. At last it passed with the rest under the West-Saxon supremacy, and for some generations it formed part of the subordinate kingdom which served as an appanage for a West-Saxon Ætheling. There is a marked contrast between the splendid beginnings of Kentish and South-Saxon history and the secondary position which the Kentish and South-Saxon kingdoms came to hold in a few generations. They stand opposed in a marked way to the history of the Northumbrian and Mercian realms, which rose to such greatness, though we can say nothing as to their beginnings. It is Wessex alone whose foundation is clearly recorded as that of Kent or Sussex, while in the end it grew to a yet higher pitch of greatness than Northumberland or Mercia.

The birth-place then of the South-Saxon settlement was at Cymenes-ora. The birth-place of the South-Saxon kingdom we may fairly place at Anderida. But it was a

¹ Bæda, iv, 13. Chron., 661. It was a god-parent's gift.

birth-place whose abiding witnesses were mainly witnesses of death. Fallen Regnum indeed rose again. If it rose again during the life-time of the second South-Saxon king, we have an unique instance of an English city which can not only point to a personal founder, but which took the name of its founder as its own abiding name. The Lady of the Mercians did not give her name to the restored City of the Legions, nor did the Red King give his to the city which he called into a fresh being to guard the frontier of northern England. Chester is Chester; Carlisle is Carlisle; Chichester alone is Chichester, Cissanceaster, the chester of Cissa. But truth will not allow me to flatter a South-Saxon audience by putting the place of Chichester in English history on a level with the place of Chester or of Carlisle. That at the time of the Norman Conquest Chichester was one of the chief towns of Sussex is shown by its being chosen as the seat of the bishopric. The city must have grown again into some importance in the days before the Norman Conquest. The Jew in Richard of the Devizes sneers at both Rochester and Chichester as mere villages, which had no claim to be called cities, except that they were the seats of bishops¹. Still there is the fact that, when bishoprics were ordered to be moved from villages to cities, a removal to Chichester was looked on as satisfying the order. Yet one thing is certain, that in the days before the Norman Conquest the name of Chichester is found but once in our national Chronicles, and that simply to record the harryings done by Danish invaders in its neighbourhood.

But if Regnum rose from its ruins, Anderida never rose. Ever since the day when not a Bret was left alive within it, it has remained as the gleeman of the siege has painted it. Ælle and Cissa left it a waste chester; it was a waste chester when William landed beneath its walls; it is as a waste chester that we shall presently see it on our pilgrimage thither. The utter desolation of Anderida itself is forced upon us all the more strongly by the fact that English settlements arose so near to the walls, and yet not within them. One of these names

¹ Ric. Div., 81. "Rovecestria et Cices-
tria viculi sunt, et cur civitates dici

debeant præter sedes flaminum nihil
obtundunt."

speaks for itself. I need not comment on West Ham. But who was Peofen, from whom the borough at the other end has taken its name? Whoever he was, he called the land after his own name; and we should be well pleased to think that he called it so as early as the days of the first conquest. And one thought cannot but come home to us. What treasures must lurk underground within those empty walls. When will the day come when the spade shall be plied as vigorously within the walls of Anderida as it has been plied within the walls of Calleva?

I spoke of the isolation of the South-Saxon kingdom and of its falling off from its momentary greatness under the first Bretwalda. This character of the land comes out nowhere more strongly than in its religious history. Sussex, one of the first English conquests, one of the lands which seems most easy of approach from the European mainland, was, of all parts of the British mainland, that which remained longest in the darkness of heathendom. No Paullinus found his way thither from the Kentish neighbourland: no Birinus found his way thither from the Gaulish land beyond the channel. As we all know, the apostle of Sussex was that same Wilfrith who, among so many other characters, was also the apostle of Friesland. Prelate and builder at York and Ripon, preacher and counsellor in Mercia, pilgrim and suitor at Rome, it fell also to his lot, as it fell to the lot of no other man, to plant the first seeds of the Gospel in two independent lands of the Nether-Dutch folk, in the elder English land and in the newer. You have, I know, among you a local inquirer who has given special heed to the South-Saxon part of Wilfrith's career. I will leave him to tell of that first strange glimpse of the land which the future apostle had when he was so nearly the prey of heathen wreckers.¹ He may enlarge on the

2 ¹ I refer to Mr. Sawyer's paper on Saint Wilfrith's Life in Sussex, reprinted in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xxxiii. I had not noticed the story in Eddius (cap. 13, p. 57, Gale, *Raine Historians of the Church of York*, i, 19). Frídegoda's verses (*Raine*, i, 121) are very fine indeed, and attribute to the South-Saxon wreckers

an unexpected knowledge of Greek mythology:

"Stans volucres augur solitus servare sinistras,

Despumat tumidis oracula sieva labellis.

Eumenides furias vocitat sub murmure

Parcas,

Manibus infernis ut fortis mandat Erinis."

details, curious and somewhat puzzling, of the picture which sets before us the Christian king and queen reigning over heathen folk.¹ He may explain further what has always puzzled me, how it was that the fisher of men needed to teach the men whom he drew to his net how they might become themselves fishers of fish.² The dealings of Wilfrith with Ceadwalla and with the men of Wight I claim as part of West-Saxon history. I have said something about them in past times in their place as bearing on the history of the founder of Taunton. But the little brotherhood of monks at Bosham, who had settled on South-Saxon ground but to whom no South-Saxon listened, them I claim as the tie that binds these earlier times to a later stage of South-Saxon history which concerns me more. And I will make one remark as to the bishopric. In one respect the South-Saxon bishopric is the most English of all bishoprics. It claved more steadily than any other to the insular fashion of describing a see. Some other bishoprics always or nearly always bear, according to continental usage, the name of the city which held the bishopstool. Others fluctuate between the name of the city and the name of the land, or rather of the tribe. But the South-Saxon bishopric is ever the South-Saxon bishopric, and nothing else. The bishopsettle was at Selsey; but, as far as I can see, no one was ever called Bishop of Selsey. "Bishop of the South-Saxons" is the invariable style, both in Latin and English, till the bishopsettle was moved to Chichester. Then, in Norman fashion, the name of the city supplanting the name of the folk of the land in the description of their chief shepherd.

I spoke just now of Bosham. The name of that place with its venerable church at once leads us to the greatest group of events which the history of the South-Saxon land contains. It suggests the names of Godwine and Harold. It leads us to the rich contributions which, from the eleventh century to the thirteenth, Sussex makes to

¹ Bæda, iv, 13.

² *Ib.* Fredegoda (Raine, i, 142) has another poetical portrait of the South-Saxons; but he has nothing to say about Wilfrith teaching them to fish:

"Gens igitur quædam, scopulosis indita
terris,
Saltibus incultis et densis consita dumis
Non facilem propriis aditum præbebat in
arvis."

the general history of England. For it is no longer in strictly local history, but in contributions to general English history, that the historical importance of Sussex now consists. I pointed out the difference when I compared the history of the *gā* of the Sumorsætan with that of the shire of Northampton. Somerset, I then said, besides its contributions to general history, has a strictly local history of its own, a history of its own making. And, even in later times, its contributions to local history keep something of a local impress. Northamptonshire, on the other hand, has not, and hardly could have, any strictly local history, but its contributions to general history, at least in later times, are decidedly richer than those of Somerset. And the great events which happened in Northamptonshire are not specially Northamptonshire events. The famous councils of Rockingham and Northampton might just as well have been summoned to some other part of the kingdom; the battles of Northampton and Naseby might just as well have been fought in some other shire. Now how stands Sussex in this matter, as compared with the other two lands that I have just spoken of? Sussex, like Somerset, has a local history; it has a tale of its own making, and that tale I have just now tried to tell. But when the kingdom and the bishopric are made, that tale is over. For some of the most important centuries in our history, from the eleventh to the thirteenth, the contributions of Sussex to general history surpass those of any other land or shire in the kingdom. But, just as in the case of Northamptonshire, the events which happened on South-Saxon ground are not in any strictness South-Saxon events. The Conqueror, who did land, like Ælle, in Sussex, might have landed, like Hengest, in Kent, or, like Cerdic, in Hampshire. If Robert made his first attempt at South Saxon Pevensey, he made his second attempt at West-Saxon Portchester. There was no reason in the nature of things why the fight that gave England political freedom should have been fought on the downs of Lewes rather than on any other of the downs or plains in our island. The events must have happened somewhere, and they did happen in Sussex. But they are not South-Saxon events in the same sense as the landing at Cymenes-ora, the taking of

Anderida, the coming of Wilfrith. They are not strictly the history of Sussex ; they are that part of the history of England which took place in Sussex. But I do not hesitate to say that, in such contributions to its general history, the land which, as I said, contains the hill of Senlac and the hill of Lewes stands forth before every other land or shire in the kingdom.

And now I am brought to the history of that great house whose history has made so great a part of the work of my life, the house of Godwine the son of Wulfnoth. I know not whether any here will remember that it was just thirty years ago, not indeed in this town but in this shire, at the meeting of the Institute at Chichester, that I first began, publicly at least, to make any minute inquiries into those matters. And some points which I left unsettled then, I must, after thirty years, leave unsettled still. Was the great Earl of the West-Saxons a born son of the South-Saxon land ? Was he the son of "Wulfnoth the South-Saxon child," whatever may be meant by that description ? or was he the son of quite another Wulfnoth, a churl on the borders of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire ? I have elsewhere argued the point at great length ; and I have brought together every scrap of evidence that I could find in the searchings of many years.¹ And the main result now, as it was thirty back, is that there is much to be said on both sides. But if any one else has lighted on some other scrap of evidence unknown to me which will settle the matter either way or in some third way, if he will be good enough to bring it forward when I have done, I shall heartily thank him. I hope it is not going too far in the way of confession or self-quotation to refer you to my last minute examination of the matter. I said there, six years back, that, though I would not take on myself to decide the question, yet, whereas I had once been more inclined to accept the version which made Godwine the son of the churl near Sherstone, I was then more inclined to accept that which made him the son of the South-Saxon child. I should not therefore greatly shrink from giving, for the time at least, the land in which we are met the benefit of the doubt, and,

¹ Norman Conquest, i, Appendix ZZ.

at all events for the purposes of the present meeting, looking on Godwine and Harold as South-Saxon worthies. In any case, they come nearer to you—I speak to my South-Saxon hearers—than the other great worthy of the present work. Earl Godwine and Earl Harold have more to do with the land than Earl Simon has. The Earl of Leicester is the hero of one of the most memorable spots of South-Saxon ground; yet we cannot call him a local hero. His birthplace was in another kingdom; his home was in a distant shire. He came into Sussex to do great deeds; but he was in no sense of Sussex. It is otherwise with the only two men who ever bore the style of Earl of West Saxons. Whether Godwine and Harold were of South-Saxon descent or not, whether either of them was or was not of actual South-Saxon birth, they were at least owners of no small amount of South-Saxon soil, and they were thoroughly at home in the South-Saxon land. And among their many holdings, one specially stands forth, one whose name I have already spoken. Next after the two or three great historic sites of the land, there is no spot of deeper interest than the lordship which stands at the head of the South Saxon Domesday, that lordship of Bosham which had once been held by Earl Godwine, which was then held by King William. The outward and visible interest gathers mainly around the church of the place; the church of which the earliest stage of the Bayeux tapestry might have given us a true likeness, but of which we have to put up with a mere conventional sketch. The monks of Wilfrith's day had then long passed away. The church of Bosham was, at the time of the Survey, as it had been in the days of King Eadwerd, served by secular clerks under the patronage of Osbern the brother of Earl William of Hereford, who had meanwhile risen to the see of Exeter.¹ Did he, the English-minded Norman, who, when the other minsters of England were falling and rising around him, forbore to make any change in his own church of Exeter, build, in native style, the parts that are now oldest in that memorable church? Or may we carry back the tower of Bosham to some earlier date, bearing in

¹ Domesday, 16, 17. "Osbernus episcopus tenet de rege ecclesiam de Bosham et de rege Edwardo tenuit." The college

remained in the patronage of the Bishops of Exeter. Of Bishop Osbern see more Norman Conquest, iv, 373.

mind that Wilfrith himself was no mean builder? In either case, we can hardly doubt that that tower was standing when Harold and his comrades went into Bosham church to pray before he set out on that voyage which, wittingly or unwittingly, became a voyage to Normandy. Bosham too, and Pevensey also, both play an important part in the earlier days of Eadward's reign, when Godwine still lived, when Swegen sinned and repented. But the haven from which Harold sailed does not come within the range of our journeyings, and if it were, it could hardly enter the lists against the haven where William landed. Had he landed in some other spot, and not under the empty walls of Anderida, his landing alone would have made that spot memorable for ever. But far more thrilling is the interest when the first step in what, for a while, seemed to be the Unmaking of England was taken on a spot which had played so great a part in its Making.¹

"Duke William in a great fleet crossed the sea and came to Pevensey." *Peofenesea* had not then lost the force of its last syllable. The sea then covered the whole flat, and it bore the fleet of William where no fleet can come now, to the very foot of the forsaken walls. The English settlements at either end of it were of long standing; Pevensey itself at the eastern end had grown into what, according to the standard of those days, was a considerable borough, an estate from which it has now sadly fallen. But the invaders met with no resistance; the hosts of England were far away with her King, resting for a moment after the toil of the great northern march, after the day of slaughter and victory at Stamfordbridge. What the invaders did at Pevensey and at Hastings you will best see in the tapestry. The landing, the feast, the burning house, the sad figures of the woman and her child coming forth from the burning, the swift ride to Hastings, the digging of the trench, the building of the wooden castle, all live in the stitch-work. But we must not forget that the landing of October 28, 1056, was not the last landing attempted at Pevensey by or on behalf of a Norman duke. There was indeed some difference between the duke by whom the first landing was made and the duke

¹ Bayeux Tapestry, Plate 9. *Willelmo venit ad Pevenesæ, dux in magno navigio mare transivit et*

on whose behalf the second landing was only attempted. By the spring of 1088 things had changed a good deal at Pevensey since the Michaelmas of 1066. The English borough had now a Norman lord, the insatiable half-brother of William, that Count Robert of Mortain who reared his castle as well on the height of Montacute as on the shore of Pevensey. For the ancient walls, which had been left bare of indwellers through the coming of the Saxon, had been to some small extent repeopled through the coming of the Norman. In one corner of the forsaken chester Count Robert had thrown up his mound and reared his fortress, a fortress which was to give way in after times to a castle of a later type, and to become in later times still as forsaken as the rest of the space within the Roman wall. Of the second Norman invasion when that castle was yet new I have told the tale, no less than the tale of the earliest Norman invasion before it was in being. I now only, as I have asked you to carry on your thoughts from Ælle and Cissa to the first William, ask you to carry them on further from the first William to the Second. The throne of the Conqueror is now filled by a Norman king, but a king who is kept on his throne by the loyalty of Englishmen in teeth of the rebellion of the foremost Normans of the land. The Duke of the Normans himself, Robert the Conqueror's eldest born, is coming to assert those fancied rights of elder birth which in English ears were meaningless. But this time at least the coast of Sussex is well kept. The invader from Normandy is not indeed the only enemy that had to be striven against, but now the most dangerous of enemies are not far away in Yorkshire, but on the very shore of Pevensey itself. The two brothers of the Conqueror, the two who had fought beside him on Senlac, Robert and Odo, Count and Bishop, are leaders of the revolt, defending the new-built castle within the Roman wall against the King of the English at the head of his faithful people. For truly, wherever the warrior-prelate of Bayeux had fixed himself, there it most behoved king and people to be ready for the keenest warfare. By land men besiege the castle; by sea they watch for the coming of the Norman duke. At last the Norman fleet comes, but no duke is in it. The sluggish Robert claims a kingdom; but he

comes not to be the first man to tread the soil which he deems his own, and to take seizin of his kingdom with his own hands. And his brother—as to him a strange duty is laid upon me. Last year I had to hold up the Red King to the men of Carlisle as one who in their city at least was entitled to the honours of a founder. This year I have to hold him up to the men of Sussex in the yet stranger light of a defender of their shores against Norman invasion. Yet so it was; on that day William King of the English stood forth the head of the English people. The men of Sussex, the men of England, fought on that day for the Red King, the king of their own choice, as the elder among them had fought for Harold, as the younger of them were to fight for Henry. And well they fought on both the elements which were needed for a fight by Pevensey. The invading navy was driven back; the castle which it came to help was driven to surrender; and the Red King and his people marched on to end at Rochester the work which they had begun at Tunbridge, and which they had so well gone on with at Pevensey.¹

I need not tell any one that the character of an English king, fighting for England at the head of the English people, is one in which William Rufus did not show himself for a much longer time than a few months of a single year. And yet even later than this, warfare within his own realm is the side of him in which we find least to blame; and the strife of Tunbridge, of Pevensey, and of Rochester, was a strife that was not waged in vain. Pevensey indeed has still its own tale to tell; but it is hardly at Pevensey that we again learn any great lesson. We see Pevensey again in the days of anarchy, when King Stephen shrank from attacking the castle raised on a most lofty mound, defended on every side with a most ancient wall, and fenced in against all attacks by the waves of the sea that washed it.² We see it again in Earl Simon's day, when the defeated barons found shelter within its walls, and when the younger Simon in vain besieged the ancient fortress.³ But it was not at Pevensey that men

¹ See History of William Rufus, i, 52-87.

² Gesta Stephani, 127. "Est quidem Penevesel castellum editissimo aggere sublatum, muro venustissimo undique præmunitum, gurgite marino abludente

inexpugnabiliter vallatum, loci difficultate pene inaccessum."

³The Osney Annalist, in recording this, (Ann. Mon., iv, 164), gets wrong in his geography: "Eodem tempore dominus

learned the needful supplement to the teaching of the days of Rufus. In the spring of 1088 men learned the lesson that king and people together were stronger than a foreign baronage. In the spring of 1264, when that foreign baronage had changed into the front rank of the English people, men learned that the people united in all its ranks, barons, churchmen, commons, was stronger than a foreign-hearted king. The earlier teaching is the lesson of Pevensey; the later is the lesson of Lewes.

It is hard to follow at once the laws of geography and of chronology. I have tarried at Pevensey to speak of the third of the events which make the spot memorable, though I grant that the discomfiture of Bishop Odo and Count Robert does not rank either with the landing of their brother or with the elder siege of the fifth century. And we must not for a moment forget that between the great and the small Norman invasions came that great day of all which alone made a second Norman invasion possible. The second invasion began and ended beneath the walls of Pevensey; the first indeed made there its beginning, but only its beginning. The work that began at Pevensey was not ended four years later, at Chester; we should be hardly wrong if we said that it was not fully ended till five years later at Ely. But the way in which it was to end was decided in a few weeks on another spot of South-Saxon ground, a spot the most memorable of all. From the landing-place at Pevensey we must make our way to the camp at Hastings, and from the camp at Hastings we must make our way to the place of slaughter on the hill of Senlac.

To that hill I trust before long to guide you, and to show to many on the spot the still abiding witnesses of the most awful day in the history of our land. As we trace out what is still left of the abbey of the Place of Battle, some one may ask why that roofless building, borne aloft upon the tallest of undercrofts, overhangs the slope of that memorable hill. It is because the will of the Conqueror, a will unbending in this matter as in others, bade that the memorial of his victory should

Symon filius Symonis obsedit castrum de Penneseye in *Kantia* super mare situm, in qua obsidione multum laborabat; sed

parum vel nihil in expugnando proficiebat."

mark the very site on which his victory was won, and that the high altar of Saint Martin's abbey should arise on the very spot where the King of the English had stood between the Dragon and the Standard. That spot could not be swerved from, and, that spot kept to, there was no room on the narrow peninsula of Senlac for the endless buildings of a great monastery, unless some of them were in this way driven to stand as it were between earth and heaven.¹ We thus know the very spot which was the central point of that day's struggle, the spot where Harold fought and Harold fell. Thither would I lead you, and bid you from thence to call up before your minds the long ebb and flow of those nine hours of slaughter. You will stand within the camp of England, within the defences by which the skill of Harold had made the hill into a castle, a castle which could not be taken by dint of arrow or spear or destrier. You will look forth, and see the hosts of the invader marshalling on the hill of Telham, the hill where William made his vow, and where the hauberk, turned about by chance, was deemed an omen that the duke who wore it was about to be turned into a king. You may call up the march of archers and horsemen across the low ground between the hills, the banner of the Apostle floating over the point in that armed gathering where Duke William rode with his brothers at his side. But on the hill-top is another household group to meet them; where William, Odo, and Robert are hasting to attack, Harold, Gyrth, and Leofwine are standing ready to defend. You may see with the eye of fancy the first attack, heralded by the bold jugglery of Taillefer, the first thunderstorm of arrows, the Norman footmen, the Norman chivalry, each forcing their way in turn to the firm barricade, raising in vain the cry of "God help us," as they were driven back or smitten down by the axes of English amid the shouts of "Holy Rood" and "God Almighty." Look to your right, and mark that small outlying hill, a fort thrown out in front of the main castle. Once, perhaps twice, that small hill—its likeness lives in the stitch-work—played no small part in that day's strike. Call up to

¹ See Norman Conquest, iv, 404.

your minds the first real flight, the second pretended flight, of the invaders, when the English right was so rash as to leave its vantage-ground, and when that little knoll became a rallying-point for the over-daring.¹ And yet more, call up the fiercest strife of all, the strife that came between those two baleful sallies, the strife where—the great undercroft must nearly mark the place—the Duke himself fought hand to hand at the barricades, where the spear of Gyrth brought him to the ground, where his mace crushed the man who had overthrown them, where Leofwine died by his brother's side, and where the King stood alone without his brethren. Later on, as the sun turns to westward, we may see by the waning light the last stage of the battle, when the device of the feigned flight had done its work, when the barricade was left defenceless, when the Normans were on the hill, and when each inch of ground was striven for in single combat after single combat. And most of all, at the hour of twilight, we may stand by the same spot where we stood in the freshness of morning; the ranks which then stood so firm are broken and scattered; the dead and dying are heaped around the ensigns of England; but the fight goes on as long as the King's axe is still wielded to cut down horse and rider that come within its sweep. At last comes the fatal shower of shafts from heaven, and that most fatal shaft of all, which came charged with the destiny of England, and laid Harold helpless at the foot of the Standard of the Fighting Men. Yet there is another spot to look on before we leave the hill of Senlac. Behind us, hidden by Battle church and street, is the deep ravine of the Malfosse, where the remnant of the vanquished took, under cover of the darkness, no small vengeance on those who had won the day. The last blow is struck. But we may still call up the return to the hill, the midnight feast among the dead, the sunrise on the place of slaughter, the search among the dead, the mangled body of the hero of England borne to its first unhallowed resting-place on the rocks of Hastings. And we may even let our

¹ My notion as to the part played by the small detached hill, now almost hidden by trees, is founded on a comparison

between the words of William of Malmesbury and the representation in the tapestry. See *Norman Conquest*, iii, 489, 570.

thoughts leap over a space of eight-and-twenty winters. The hill of the hoar appletree is no longer a wilderness, no longer a place of slaughter. The minster of Saint Martin, with its massive columns, its arches broad and round, stands ready for its hallowing. Another William is abiding at Hastings, not waiting for an English enemy, but, by the opposite fate to his father at the Dive, waiting for a wind to bear him from the South-Saxon shore to make prize of his native Normandy. And by his side is a prelate, a stranger indeed in England, but a stranger of another stamp from Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances. By the side of the fiercest and foulest of sinners stands the meekest and most enduring of saints. In that constrained stay at Hastings, a council is held but a synod is forbidden ; bishops are consecrated and deprived ; the king is rebuked for his sins by the holy man who will not stoop to buy his favour with gold gathered by oppression. But on one day the two are seen as fellow-workers. On the hill of Senlac, on another Saturday less fearful than the day of Saint Calixtus, we may see the second William kneeling on the spot where the first William had won his crowning victory ; we may hear Anselm of Aosta singing the mass of dedication on the spot where English Harold had fought and fallen.¹

To all outward seeming England had fallen with her King. Her freedom, her national being, all that the Angle and the Saxon had brought with them from the older English land, all that Ælle and Cissa had stamped in letters of blood on the soil of Regnum and Anderida, seemed to be trampled and crushed for ever under the heel of the Romance-speaking invader. On one South-Saxon hill the life of England might seem to have been cut off for ever. Yet so it was not. Never was martyrs' blood more truly the seed of the cause for which their blood was shed, than when the blood of Harold and Gyrth and Leofwine was poured out for England on the hill of slaughter. It is to the coming of the Norman that we owe the true and abiding life of all that the Norman seemed to overthrow ; it is through that momentary

¹ See William Rufus, i, 442-445.

bondage to the stranger that we have been able to keep up a more unbroken connexion with the elder day than any other Teutonic people. It is in a word because we were overcome by the stranger that England is now more truly a Teutonic land than lands like Germany and Denmark which no stranger ever overcame. And it was on another South-Saxon hill that the proud truth was proclaimed to the world that England was England once again. It was fit indeed that the same land should see the fall of England and her second making, that the shire which saw the overthrow of Harold should see also the victory of Simon. On the heights above us the freedom of England was won for ever. Truly we may say for ever; what was won at Lewes was not lost at Evesham; the slaughtered uncle did but hand on the torch to the nephew who overthrew him. You have seen the spot; you have heard the tale; you have heard somewhat of that wonderful monument of the wisdom of that great age, that setting-forth of the principles of freedom so truly and so clearly that no later age can go beyond it. It is from the heights of Lewes that the voice has gone forth into all lands, teaching that first truth on which is founded every free constitution from the Euxine westward to the Pacific:—

“*Igitur communitas regni consulatur,
Et quid universitas sentiat sciatur.*”¹

The cycle had come round; the wergild of Senlac had been paid; the old freedom of our fathers arose again in a newer and more abiding shape. In a word, on the height above us was born the Parliament of England.

I have spoken of the three great sites, the scene of the three great events which, beyond all others, give the the South-Saxon land its historic place among the lands and shires of England. Yet Sussex contains also many sites full of many memories, memories often striking and precious in themselves, howbeit they attain not unto the first three. Many such we are to see in the course of this

¹ See the great platform of the patriotic party in Wright's Political Songs, Camden Society, p. 110. Every word of this precious document deserves study, and

the vigorous Latin rimes have the true ring of the Saturnians interchanged between Nævius and the Metelli.

busy week ; some we have seen already. This Lewes where we are met has something to tell us in its two-horned castle, in the third mound of its Calvary, in the site of its ruined priory. Your William of Warren, neighbour and lord, but earl in another land, made him a name on both sides of the channel. Of his personality there is no doubt ; but what shall we say of his wife :—

“ Stirps Gundrada ducum, decus ævi, nobile germen ? ”

I will take upon me to say thus much, that the dukes of the epitaph were not dukes of the Normans : I trust that before we part we may have it well sifted and settled what duchy it was that they ruled over.¹ And I would ask another question. How many dwellers in this borough, when they buy and sell within its bounds, remember that there was a time when men were sold in Lewes market, and when the toll on the sale of a man was fixed by the same rule and in the same sentence which fixed the toll on the sale of an ox ? Here to be sure there was nothing peculiar to Lewes ; the evil custom against which Wulfstan preached and against which Anselm legislated was but the common custom of England and of the world ; only I do not remember any other entry in the great Survey which brings the prevalence of slavery before us in such a living way as its record of the slave-market of Lewes.² Arundel too has its tale—Arundel, one of the few spots of English ground which boasted, if boast it was, of a castle before King William came into England³—Arundel, with its mound, its keep, the seat of Earl Roger of Montgomery, and, till the Lion of Justice and the English people smote him down, the seat, the prison-house, the torture-chamber, of the more terrible Robert of Bellême⁴—Arundel, the landing-place of the Empress⁵—Arundel, with its long line of earls, whose ancient earldom is, I trust, not forgotten beneath a loftier but more modern title—Arundel, with

¹ A paper on this subject by Mr. E. C. Waters was read later in the meeting. It may be remembered that some controversy arose on the subject earlier in the year in the pages of the Academy. I await conviction one way or another.

² Domesday, 26. “ Qui in burgo vendit equum dat preposito nummum, et que emit alium de bove obolum, de homini

li.ii. denarios quocunque loco emit infra rapum.”

³ Domesday, 23.

⁴ See William Rufus, i, 58 ; ii, 428. For the general picture of his doings, whether at Arundel or anywhere else see Orderic, 675, C.D ; 707, C.D.

⁵ See Gesta Stephani, p. 56.

its church of many destinies, type of a class which so many fail to understand, but whose nature, it is to be hoped, the law has at last made clear to them. And while we speak of Earls of Arundel, let me throw out, as a question for our discussion, a point once raised by an honoured local antiquary of Arundel, whether of a truth the title of Earl of Arundel, like that of Earl Warren, is anything more than a familiar misnomer, and whether the holder of that first of earldoms is not in very truth the direct successor in name and office of the ancient ealdormen of the South-Saxons.¹ Then there is Hastings, second only to Pevensey and Senlac in the tale of William's coming. Hastings, of which I have already spoken as holding its place in the tale of the second William—Hastings, whose own tale begins long before the first William and goes on long after the second. I trust that no patriotic inhabitant of Hastings believes, as the author and reviewer of a book noticed in the *Edinburgh Review* believed no long time back, that the Conqueror's landing was made at Hastings, and the exploits of Taillefer were wrought on the shore the moment after his landing. But I will throw out a point for a Hastings antiquary. How is it that in the *Chronicles* for the year 1011, the year that records the martyrdom of Ælfheah, Hastings appears in a list of shires as a shire distinct from Sussex.² I do not see Bramber and Steyning on our list; but I see Rye and Winchelsey, Broadwater and Sompting and Shoreham. These last are chiefly memorable for their churches. In Sompting tower, though it can tell no such tale as that of Bosham, we have, as a matter of building, more than its fellow. We have no other tower of the Primitive Romanesque at once so elaborate in its detail and still keeping the ancient finish, the four-gabled spire, a finish common in Germany, but which has so universally vanished in England. And will some one, in the course of this meeting, solve for us the problem of New

¹ This point was raised long ago by Mr. Timney of Arundel. I cannot help thinking that "Earl of Arundel" was simply a colloquial way of speaking of the Earl of the South-Saxons whose seat was at Arundel, just as the Earls of Surrey were more commonly called Earls Warren.

² *Chron.*, 1011. In the list of shires harried by the Danes we find: "Be suðan Temese ealle Centingas and Suðseaxe and Hastings and Suðrige and Bearroescire and Hamtunseire and micel on Wiltunscire."

Shoreham? How is it that a parish church comes to show all the main features of a minster, and that a minster of one special type? For I cannot find that the church of New Shoreham ever was anything but a parish church; I cannot find that it was ever the church of any monastic or collegiate body. I need hardly say that the foundation of a priory of Carmelite friars by a certain Sir John Mowbray as late as 1368 has nothing whatever to do with this far older building. But for a parish church to show all the features of a considerable minster is in England a thing altogether unique, or one that has its parallel only in the church of Saint Mary Redcliff at Bristol. In France it would be less wonderful; there parish churches, some of them on a much smaller scale than New Shoreham, not uncommonly take the shape of miniature minsters. And not only this, but any one who looks at New Shoreham in its present state would be tempted to say that its story must be the same as the story of Boxgrove. And the story of Boxgrove, different as the appearances are, is, when rightly understood, only another version of the story of Arundel. One cannot doubt that Boxgrove was a divided church; the parishioners by some means obtained possession of the monastic church, and then forsook their most likely humbler parish church to the west of it. But this cannot be at New Shoreham, unless some one can show that it was the church of some unknown monastery or college of which the industry of Dugdale was not able to find a single trace in records or chronicles.

We reach Rye, our furthest point, and here I have another question to ask, another point to suggest for local enquiry. There seems no reason to doubt that whatever happened between King John and the subdeacon Pandulf in the first half of 1213—I speak warily, so as not to confound what was done with Pandulf with what was done with the Legate Nicolas later in the year—happened, as Roger of Wendover tells us, at Dover. But one chronicle, the Annals of Winchester, places the dealings between the king and the subdeacon at Rye.¹ The Winchester Annals are often marked rather by the oddness of their

¹ Ann. Mon. ii, 82. “Johannes rex et tradidit coronam suam ibi Pandulfo, et Angliæ fuit apud Rie cum exercitu Angliæ, fecit se tributarium Romanæ ecclesiæ.”

entries than by their accuracy; but there must be some cause for this statement. Something, one would think, must have happened at Rye at some stage of the story which the annalist confounded with the greater event which happened at Dover. Let the antiquaries of Rye find out what that something was; the main event, the beginning of the surrender of the crown, they may not be anxious to claim; that they may be willing to leave to Dover. And, as one never searches into any thing without lighting on something else, it is worth noticing that in the proclamation which John had just before put forth, the stigma of "*culvertagium*" exactly answers to the hateful name of *Niding* in the proclamation which William Rufus put forth, either while still at Pevensey or on his march from Pevensey to Rochester.¹ And let us mark again that in John's deed of surrender, while the genuine copy in Rymer makes the King become the Pope's "*feudatarius*," the printed text of Roger of Wendover, following some of his manuscripts, makes him become the pope's "*secundarius*." "*Feudatarius*" is of course the right word; but he who wrote "*secundarius*" must surely have been reading his Asser and thinking of Ælfred.²

I will end, as our journey of to-morrow is to end, with Winchelsey. There the tale of Lewes, the tale of Evesham, the tale of Kenilworth, goes on. The men of the Cinque Ports, the men of Winchelsey preeminently among them, clave to the cause of the martyred Earl when to cleave to it was perhaps no longer to do ought for it. When the Lord Edward smote the so-called pirates of Winchelsey in fight on their own sea,³ they knew not, perhaps he knew not, that it was on him that the mantle

¹ The proclamation of John in Roger of Wendover, iii, 245, is wonderfully like that of William Rufus in 1088. The words "*quod nullus remaneat, qui arma portare possit, sub nomine culvertagii et perpetuæ servitutis*," answer exactly to those of the Chronicle "*Se cyng . . . sende ofer eall Englande and bead þat ælc man be were unniðing sceolde cuman to him, Frencisce and Engliscce, of porte and of uppelande*." Or as William of Malmesbury (Gest. Reg. iv. 306) has it, "*Anglos suos appellat; jubet ut compatriotas advocent ad obsidionem venire, nisi si qui velint sub nomine Niðing, quod nequam sonat, remanere. Angli*

qui nihil miserius putarent quam hujusce vocabuli dedecore aduri, eætervatim ad regem conflunt, et invincibilium exercitum faciunt." The words in Italics in this story exactly answer to the saying about "*culvertagium*" in the other.

² See Roger of Wendover, iv, 253, and Sir Thomas Hardy's note. Compare Rymer, iii. For Ælfred as "*secundarius*" see Asser, MHB. 476 D. 477 C.

³ In the Winchester Annals, Ann. Mon. ii, 104, we read only "*facta est congressio inter piratas et quosdam milites domini Edwardi apud Wynchelsee*." In Waverley (Ann. Mon. ii, 369) this becomes more definitely "*conflictum habuit*

of Earl Simon had in truth fallen. But if Lord Edward showed himself to the men of Winchelsey as an enemy and a conqueror, King Edward presently showed himself to them as a founder. The later Winchelsey, the Winchelsey that is, even if we must not rather speak of the second Winchelsey also as the Winchelsey that was, is his work, no less than his greater and more abiding work by the Hull and the Humber. Tomorrow I trust to see again a site which I have not seen for thirty years. I remember well the walls, like the walls of Bourg-le-roi, of Autun, of Soest, of Rome itself, fencing in fields and gardens and detached houses. I remember the lines of streets where now no streets are; I remember the fragment of the stately church, a fragment like New Shoreham or Boxgrove or Merton chapel or Hexham or Milton, or Bristol cathedral as it stood a few years back. I look to local knowledge to tell us how much of all this is simply unfinished, how much has been and has been destroyed. Were those streets simply traced out and never built, or were they once lined with houses which have been swept away? Was that church never more than a fragment? Was its nave simply designed like that of Merton chapel, or has it perished like that of Hexham abbey?¹ And of such destruction as has been, I would ask how much is due to an event chronicled in the Annals of Bermondsey with which I may well end my story. I read there in 1359, three years after the fight of Poitiers, when King Edward and Prince Edward were gone into Burgundy, "*Normanni eo tempore destruxerunt Winchilsee.*" This was by no means the last time that our shores have been visited and harried by invaders from the other side of the Channel. But I do not remember that in any later harrying the doers of it are in this way distinctly spoken of as Normans. After telling of the landing at Pevensey, the march to Hastings, the fight on Senlac, the second would-be landing at Pevensey, it is almost with a smile that I wind up my story with this last survival of Norman Conquest.

cum cribris de Winchelse, in eadem villa ubi multi ex eis corruerunt et plurimi in fugam versus mare conversi miserabiliter submersi sunt, et eorum principalis captus est, nomine Henricus Pehun, quem dominus Edwardus statim voluit suspendere." Lord Edward had already (ib. p. 367), hanged some men at Winchelsey, but

Gilbert of Clare begged this one off.

¹ From my remembrance of thirty years back I had fancied that the church of Winchelsey was unfinished, like Merton chapel; but it is plain that the nave has been destroyed, as at Bristol and Shoreham.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE SECTION OF ARCHITECTURE
AT THE LEWES MEETING.¹

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

These meetings which we hold year by year in different parts of the country are not simply for our own instruction. We do indeed learn much by them, but if that were our only end it would be better to travel more privately and in smaller parties. We come as we do that we may interest others in what interests us. We wish to spread the study of archæology, partly because we hold it to be a good thing for men to know something of what has been before them, and partly because the more the men who do so, the less is the likelihood of objects of archæological value being destroyed or allowed to perish for want of a helping hand from one who knows their worth.

It is our custom to divide our work into three sections ; and of these that of *architecture*, over which I have the honour to preside this year, seems to call for our missionary efforts even more than the others. It differs from them in that its subject is a fine art as well as matter for historical study. And it is most important to understand well and clearly the difference between the artistic and the historical side of architecture. Much harm has come to our old buildings from the confounding of them. A man cannot properly read the record of an old building without having some appreciation of its art qualities ; but the converse is not true, and there are men whom we respect as architects or critics, whilst we are obliged to condemn what they do or recommend in their dealing with old work.

Next after actual writing we have in nothing so complete a record of the past as in its buildings. They are as it

¹ Read at Lewes, August 2, 1883.

were history crystallized. Every age has built to suit its own wants and tastes, and we can learn of them from what is left. A building long in use has to tell us not of its first builders only, but of them who have used it all through its being. Domestic buildings tell us of the home life, and public buildings of the common life of those who inhabited them. The latter, being generally more lasting and less subject to change than the others, have more to tell us, and, of them, those consecrated to religious use have most of all. Here in England the only really public buildings of great age which we have are our churches. But what a history is theirs! Beginning even before England was England, they have passed through their good times and their bad times, and are still in full life, and, in truth, more vigorous now than they have been for centuries. The contemporary of fifty generations has much to tell us. How, then, shall we bear with patience those who erase the old and forge new until they leave nothing but a blurred and falsified record of one period only! That, however, is the ideal of the "restorers," even of those who make their boast that they are "conservative," and if they have seldom quite reached it, it is because the record of the churches is so much a part of their very being that it cannot be altogether taken from them except by demolition.

But "restoration," bad as it is, is part of the history of the buildings. It is the chapter added in our own time. Their whole story is made up of changes, and what gives them their greatest interest is the fact that each generation of users has "improved" them for good or evil according to its own ideas. And in a living body this must go on. The great church revival of our time must needs show itself in the fabric, and it is useless for us to attempt to prevent it, even if we wished. But no true antiquary would desire to stop the life of a still living building. What we can and ought to do is to teach men how to value the old, and how to record the history of their own time without obliterating that of times past.

Forty years ago the buildings were in a condition which can only be described as indecent, and the revival of life within the church herself could not but produce some change in them. But that change need not have taken

the form which is called "restoration." That it did so is due to the contemporary revival of the study of our old architecture, which study was quickly carried to the furthest ends of the land by the archaeological and architectural societies. The societies taught men to know something about the churches, and to distinguish in detail between, for instance, work of the thirteenth century, and that of the fifteenth. But the knowledge was very imperfect, and the zeal of those who were showing the architectural merits of our neglected national buildings, and were striving to bring back the old style into actual use, too often made them regard as of no value everything which was not of their favourite style, and even sometimes every thing which was not of the particular form of the style which they held to be the best. Thus grew the idea of "restoration" as we know it. In putting a church in order, men aimed at making it a good specimen of what they called its "period," not knowing that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the church dates back far further than its history can be traced, and forgetting that modern imitation of old work cannot belong to any "period" at all except that which produces it.

We may admit that, looked at ecclesiastically, churches are now in a better state than they were. But even those which have passed through the hands of good architects have lost greatly in value, and the much larger number, less fortunate, are mere wrecks. Now I contend that the improvement might have been made, and in future may be made, without the mischief for which, I repeat, the societies are chiefly responsible. There have always been a few amongst us who have known better, and the societies are not directly to blame for the worst barbarisms; but they have popularised the doctrine of "Restoration," which, as interpreted by ignorant pretenders, has led to the deplorable results which we see. We need not be ashamed to confess our share in producing the evil, and the very magnitude of it may encourage us in attempting to stay it. The societies have raised the restoration fiend and they must lay him.

The adaptation of the churches to the needs of each generation of users is their very life, and if it be properly done, it will still, as it has aforetime, add to their value.

We cannot, even if we would, stop history but we may do much to guide it. We must recognise the fact that even the worst of "restorations" generally come of a good motive. Parsons and churchwardens are not often mere barbarians bent on the destruction of the building in their charge simply for mischief's sake. Their wish is to make them more fit for their high purpose ; and, if they do harm, it is because they know no better, and those to whom they look for advice give them that which is worse than none. They "restore" the churches because they have been taught by precept and example that such is the proper treatment for them ; and, if we can teach them a more excellent way, I believe that they will be as ready to follow it. Whereas if we only rail indiscriminately at all alterations in old churches we shall gain no hearing from their guardians.

The first lesson to be taught men is that their duty towards an old church is not to "restore" but to preserve it. And this will generally best be done by shewing them how it came to be what it is ; how it grew from a perhaps much smaller building till it came to be what they now see ; how each successive addition and alteration had a distinct use and meaning, and, however the pedantical advocate of "period" may jeer at it as disfigurement or an innovation, is generally an improvement to the building.

Next shew them that the building being many centuries old the marks of age which it bears upon it are not defects but honourable scars. Taking only the aesthetic view the appearance of venerable age is far more pleasing than that of smart and shiny newness which the average "restorer" would put in its place. Defects which affect the soundness of the fabric must be made good ; for both the present and the future use of the church require that it shall be kept in a state of sound repair. The maintenance or recovery of robust health are very different from a false and superficial affectation of youth. Judicious and necessary repairs will neither lessen nor falsify the church's record. But repairs which aim at bringing it back to the state which somebody thinks it was in at some particular date in its past, are neither judicious nor necessary. As changes of old always had a distinct end in view, either practical or aesthetic, so

should it be with ours. We do no harm in *adding* whatever our convenience or our present sense of ecclesiastical decency may call for, provided that it be good of its sort, and make no pretension to be otherwise than what it is. And ancient objects of furniture whose use still remains may and ought to be repaired if they need it. An old font for example may properly receive a new lining or a cover. But objects whose use is obsolete—an Easter sepulchre for instance—should never be touched except to preserve them from further harm than has already befallen them. The like too of tombs and monuments which have no practical use. These things belong to the past. Their record is done, and to “restore” them will only obscure or falsify it, and can not add to the convenience, and will certainly take off from the architectural effect of the building.

Our forefathers had not learned the historical value of buildings, and seldom hesitated to pull down older work to make way for that of their own time, which they believed to be better. We, however, who have learned it, must be careful in adding our chapter not to erase former ones. Many works of the eighteenth century, and, perhaps, more of the nineteenth, both disfigure the churches and interfere with their proper use, but I would not have the record of even these entirely done away. Side galleries and box-pews are degradations which we may be well rid of. But the fact that such things have been is not without its interest in the history of the church; although its nearness to our own time makes it seem the less important to us. A hundred years hence it will be difficult for men to understand how vast is the change which is being made in the second half of this century. And they, who now press forward the improved state of things, will do well to leave some evidence of what they have effected, even if they can regard it only as a trophy of victory.

But I believe that at no date has everything been absolutely bad. In the seventeenth century, and later still, our churches received much, which served well both for their use and ornament, yet for years our “restorers” have been destroying these things, often putting very mean substitutes in their places, and for no better reason

than that they are not "gothic." Now, it cannot be too often repeated that it is not the architectural style of a thing, but its fitness to its place and purpose by which it should be judged. And, at any rate, a carved oak pulpit or screen of the time of Charles I. is in every sense nearer to the work of the middle ages than is a trumpery Caen stone or varnished pine affair of the time of Queen Victoria, however "gothic" it may be.

Some men, too, have destroyed things for polemical reasons which I cannot discuss here. But I would hint that a man may renounce Lord Penzance and all his works without taking away the board upon which his forefathers, of the time of Charles II. or Queen Anne, painted the Royal Arms as a witness of their loyalty to the Constitution ; and so too of some things in the opposite direction.

Men must also be taught not to despise fragments. Many a scrap, which of itself seems almost worthless, is most important to the history of the building to which it belongs, and the more precious as a fragment because it may be all that is left of an otherwise lost chapter. And there is another reason why such should be respected. I have said that the only safeguard for an old building is to teach its guardians to understand and value it. And a bit of old painted glass or sculpture, for example, which the general antiquary may regard lightly because he has seen better elsewhere, has a teaching power impossible to be overestimated. It is not enough for us to write books and papers. If we wish to make the lesson remain, we must show examples, and examples near at hand, which men can study at their leisure. It is but empty talk to the many when we tell how the workers of old went on ever changing their style, first for the better, as the gathering experience of generations taught them more and more to know their material and their power over it, and then for the worse, when in the pride of craftsmanship they thought more of the technical than of the artistic qualities of their work, and both sank together for want of the wholesome goad of a noble aim, until the very art itself was lost. But let a man find in his own parish church what is described in the book, and the words have a meaning. The bit of glass, or whatever it may be, there at home in its place and doing the work that it was from the first

intended to do, will teach more and give more real pleasure than can ever be got out of the like piece stowed away in the museum of a great town, even to one who may have the opportunity to study it there, which the more part of those whom we would interest have not. Museums and collections have their use, for much would be lost if they were not. But after all they are necessary evils. They are the melancholy hospitals of the houseless orphans of art; and nothing ought to be removed to one of them so long as it has a native home of its own in which it may safely dwell.

Modern architecture is not a subject which concerns us as antiquaries, but I may be allowed to say a few words about it, insomuch as it affects the old buildings. One of the charges we bring against the "restorers" is that they deliberately strive to make their modern alterations such as may pass for old work, and so far as they succeed in their object, they falsify the history of the buildings they treat by making it impossible to distinguish the real old from the forged old, with which it is mixed. Some of the more learned pride themselves on reproducing, not merely the old style, but minute local varieties of style. Now, the effect of all this is not to raise the new work to the dignity of the old, as they seem to think, but to lower the old to that of the new. It has ceased to be old, and become a nineteenth century copy of old, none the less modern because, worked up with the rest, there are parts which really are what the whole pretends to be. Thus the very skill and learning of the architect makes him a greater enemy to the building than even the ignorant and blundering pretenders whose doings have so often disgusted us. They, indeed, defile everything they touch, but if they do leave anything old it is still possible to recognise it for what it is.

If, whilst preserving the past history, we are to carry it on to our time, whatever we do must show itself plainly to be of our time. The old builders in like case had no difficulty, for, as they worked in a traditional and always-changing style, their work dates itself. But the old tradition has long been dead, and we have not yet succeeded in making a new one. I believe that it will come in the end, and that even now we are unconsciously

working towards it. But, meanwhile, each architect must choose a style for his own use. He cannot invent one. No single mind ever did that, nor ever will; and the frightful productions of the few misguided ones who have tried to do so in our time may serve as scarecrows to warn off others. A new style must grow out of what has been before, as all the old ones have done. Originality, when we find it, has not come of seeking, but the artist, having new thoughts to express, has moulded his style into such form as will express them. And so it may be now, if, instead of troubling ourselves about pedantical correctness, and seeking excitement by trying first one style and then another, each man will select one which seems to him best fitted for modern purposes, and will then use it to express his own ideas just as he uses his mother tongue, neither violating recognised rules of grammar on one hand, nor, on the other, hesitating to introduce a new word or phrase where such is necessary to express his thought.

Whatever new work we do in old churches must, as things now are, be in a style which we have learned by the study of old churches. Local varieties of style, too, deserve attention, for they generally have been influenced by the nature of the local materials. Let us use the old freely as a guide, but never re-produce it, and especially not copy in an old building details from its old parts, as has nearly always been done by the "restorers."

An old church often possesses articles which are as much part of its history as the fabric itself. Amongst them the Plate is the most important, and it is also the most of all in danger of being lost when the clergy are ignorant of its value. A good work, therefore, for any society is to instruct them, and our friends of Cumberland and Westmoreland have shewn us a most effectual way of doing it by their publication of a complete account of all the church plate in those counties, and I am glad to say that the example is being followed by other societies, and amongst them by that of the county we are now visiting. They could not do a better work, for nothing will make men value what is in their keeping so much as seeing that others care for it, and the fact that every article is known to be entered in a printed list will be a very strong safeguard against its alienation. Besides which the work of

making the lists is leading to many interesting discoveries. Already it has doubled the number of known examples of mediæval English plate, and more is certain to be found, besides many valuable articles of later date at present unknown. The Bells too have been catalogued in many places, and should be where they are not. The books and papers should be undertaken next; and either with them or with the plate should be noted those miscellaneous articles of moveable property, which churches possess and amongst which are sometimes things of the highest interest. For the making of these lists we can only look to the local societies. And it will find them work for some time to come. But they ought to begin at once, for the destruction which they are intended to stop is going on daily. It is not long since the oldest English chalice known was sold from the church to which it belonged, and only saved from destruction by its fortunately falling under the notice of one of our members. It is now in the British Museum where at least it is safe. But it would have been better to have left it in the church to which it has probably belonged for six or seven centuries.

Men particularly need to be taught the value of these moveable articles, and that they should not be destroyed simply because they are out of fashion or past service. Let them get new and better if they like, it is well they should do so, but let them keep the old for its own sake and the associations which belong to it. The metal of an old chalice is only worth a few shillings which even the poorest parish need not grudge. Such things should not be stowed away out of sight, or left lying about where they are in danger of loss or injury; but carefully preserved in some safe place in the church where they can be seen by those who care to do so. Nor do I see why other antiquities should not be put with them there. I am sure that it is no desecration of an ancient parish church, full of history itself, to add to its other uses that of being the Parish Museum, and so let it extend the protection of its sanctity to those few relics of which, ancient though they be, it is the still living contemporary.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

By the Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES, M.A.

Continued from page 190.

We resume the Architectural History of Lincoln Cathedral at the point where we broke off; viz., the death of St. Hugh. That great prelate died Nov. 16, 1200 A.D. At that time he and his architect, Geoffry of Noiers, had completed the existing ritual choir, with the smaller eastern transept and the subsequently demolished apsidal east end, and had commenced the great or western transept. How large a portion of this transept had been built at the time of St. Hugh's death we cannot accurately determine. The piers and arches on the eastern side, with the triforium above, look very much like Noiers' work, while a certain degree of clumsiness in the proportions almost indicates the removal of the master mind, accustomed to criticise and correct his architect's designs. No part of Lincoln Cathedral deserves admiration so little as the western transept. Nowhere are the main arches of more inelegant proportions, or the piers less graceful. Nowhere is the crushing lowness of the vaulting more painfully felt. Indeed the vault is so low, that when looking from the south end it appears to cut off a large portion of the northern circular window—the one of the two "*fenestræ orbiculares*," known as the "*Dean's Eye*"—and would actually do so if the ridge-line were carried horizontally instead of being inclined upward in the last bay. I may add to my bill of indictment that no other division of the building exhibits so many instances of lop-sided arches, of wall arcades awkwardly adjusted to the wall spaces, and of windows placed unsymmetrically with the circumscribing panels. Such botches would be rightly regarded as marks of unpardonable carelessness in a modern designer. If we are more tolerant towards older

work, and almost persuade ourselves that we like these unsymmetricalities as "giving life and variety," as it is called to the building, it must be acknowledged that they are none the less botches, and in themselves very displeasing to the eye. Whether a new crossing and a central tower formed part of St. Hugh's building, cannot now be determined. We know that before 1237, the old Norman lantern of Remigius's Cathedral with its cumbrous piers had been entirely removed, and a new tower—"nova turris"—erected in a novel manner, to which "newfangledness"—"propter artificii insolentiam,"—its speedy downfall was attributed by the Peterborough chronicler. But whether this tower was the work of St. Hugh's architect, or of one of his successors, we have no evidence to prove. It would however be more probable that it was subsequent to his time. A central tower, always the weakest point of a cruciform building, needed abutments to the west to resist the thrust of so great a weight. A portion of the nave arcade, therefore, was commonly erected at the same time with the tower to serve as a stay. Now the nave of Lincoln Cathedral is all of one date, and that decidedly later than St. Hugh. Besides the "Metrical Life" of the great bishop which describes so minutely the fabric as left by St. Hugh, and carried on by his namesake, him of Wells,—"*sub Hugone secundo*,"—is entirely silent as to any tower. Internal evidence places this "Metrical Life" between 1220 and 1235. We shall not, I think, be far wrong in assigning the "*nova turris*" to a time soon after the latter date, somewhere about 1236, and concluding that it was scarcely built before it fell down again. The alterations in the triforium of the bays of the choir and transepts adjacent to the tower already referred to,¹ exactly agree with the style of the nave. The quatrefoils and cruciform piercings are identical, and must belong to the same date.

To return to the transept, one of the most interesting spots, in the whole building from an architectural point of view, is that point in the eastern wall of the side chapels where the abrupt change from the richer to the plainer design marks the removal of the episcopal patron who was the moving spirit of the whole work.

¹ Page 183.

This change will be made plain by the illustration (plate ii, E). The double-wall arcade, which, as was mentioned in the former part of this paper,¹ characterizes St. Hugh's work, is continued from the choir aisles beneath the windows of the first chapel in each transept. In that to the south there is no change in the design. But in that to the north the position of the simple arch and the trefoiled arch is reversed; the trefoiled arch standing in the rear against the wall, with the simple arch in front. This, however, is a secondary matter, involving no impoverishment of the design. That, however, speedily followed. It will be seen from the illustration referred to, shewing the east wall of the second chapel of the north transept, that the double plane of arcading is continued just beyond the perpeyn wall dividing the first and second chapels, one of the rear trefoiled arches appearing behind the pointed arch. At this point the change was resolved on. The hood moulds above the pointed arches were continued, the trefoiled arches being brought forward to the same plane and placed in the centre of the space. The awkwardness introduced by the little shaft of the rear arcade being robbed of the intended arch was adroitly obviated by the introduction of a small pointed arch, filling up the vacant space. This impoverished design is carried through the rest of the chapels to the end. On crossing to the south transept we find the change carried out much more clumsily. We have the double arcade in the first chapel. In the second chapel we have a single arcade of pointed arches continued in the same plane, the thickened wall being carried by two shafts in the same line, one behind the other. There is no attempt to disguise the alteration. Peeping behind the vaulting shaft, we can discern the section of the outer trefoiled arch abruptly cut off, immediately beyond which is one of the singular little pointed arched pigeon-holes (absent in the north transept), which are seen between the trefoiled arches of St. Hugh's choir aisles, and are there filled with busts.² The thickened wall only embraces part of the south side of the first pointed arch and ends abruptly. It is difficult to conceive anything ruder or more unartistic than the management of this junction.

¹ Page 181.² See woodcut on p. 181.

The third chapel shews another more decided change. The old design is entirely abandoned, and instead of it we have three wide shallow arches of varied breadth, supported on clusters of three shafts. This form of arcade, with still wider segmental arches, is continued along the south wall of the transept. To return for a moment to the opposite transept, the wall arcade of the north wall consists of tall, rather narrow, pointed arches, rising from triple shafts, the arch having an inner order beyond the capital, applied against the wall; a feature recurring continually in the later Early English work in this Cathedral. This arcade also appears along the west wall of both transepts, and may be regarded as the latest of the several varieties of wall arcade in this part of the church. The perpeyn walls dividing the eastern aisle into three chapels are different in design in the two transepts, those in the northern arm being much the more beautiful. Indeed, both in proportion, conception, and detail they are about as perfect as they well can be. They are arcaded with richly moulded arches springing from groups of three attached shafts cut out of one block of marble, the angles above also being decorated with shafts and capitals of foliage, an additional air of richness being given by vertical strips of dogs'-tooth filling the intervals. Each wall is gabled, the gable ending in a finial, in a manner resembling the capping of the unaltered buttresses of the Chapter house, the tympanum being filled with foliage.¹ The corresponding divisions in the south transept are lower and of less pleasing proportions. They are not gabled. Incisions on the bench table on the northern side of each of these divisions show where the wooden seats for the ministering clergy were affixed. Traces of colours exist upon them. They were continued up to the piers by wooden screens. Three circular cavities in the pavement of the second chapel of the northern arm indicate the position of the legs of the altar slab. In the same chapel two holes in the pavement serve as water drains. There is a mutilated pillar piscina in the south-eastern corner of the first chapel. The other chapels shew

¹ There is a woodcut of one of these divisions in Parker's *Glossary of Architect-*

ture, sub. voc. *Perpent Stone*, p. 351, text. It is, however, not quite accurate.

no traces of these usually necessary appendages of a mediæval altar.

The point of junction of the work of St. Hugh's architect with that of the later builder may also be traced on the outside of the transeptal aisles. The narrow intermediate buttresses bisecting each bay of St. Hugh's aisles, added almost immediately after the completion of the building to resist the thrust of the quinquupartite vaulting, form an integral part of the later design. The coupled lancets are set further apart to give room for them, and the nook-shafts supporting the drip-stone, which are built up and hidden in the earlier bays, are set one on each side of the buttress. An additional thickness was also given to the aisle walls. Experience shewed that greater strength was needed, and it was given. It is singular that the intermediate buttress is deficient in the second bay of the south transept.¹

The most striking features of this transept are the two magnificent circular windows, the two "Eyes of the Church," its two "greater lights"—as they are designated in the "Metrical Life of St. Hugh"—which, like the sun and the moon, outshine all the lesser lights—"the stars"—of the building, and emulate the rainbow in their varied hues—which occupy the upper part of the great gable wall. From the words of the author of the above quoted "Life," there can be little doubt that these "fenestræ orbiculares" formed part of the original design of St. Hugh's church, though they were not erected till after his death. His description also

"recte que videtur

Major in his esse præsul, minor esse decanus,"

shows us that the southern, or "Bishop's Eye," looking towards the episcopal palace, to invite the influences of the Holy Spirit (now replaced by a curvilinear window of the middle of the fourteenth century), was from the first of larger dimensions than the "Dean's Eye" placed to the north, the region of Lucifer (Is. xiv, 13), to guard against his wiles, on which side of the church the deanery has always stood.²

¹ The subject of the introduction of these additional buttresses has been more fully treated in a former paper, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 235, where

a woodcut shows how the window shaft is concealed by the later buttress.

² Prebendary Dimock quotes in illustration St. Augustine's words, "Est

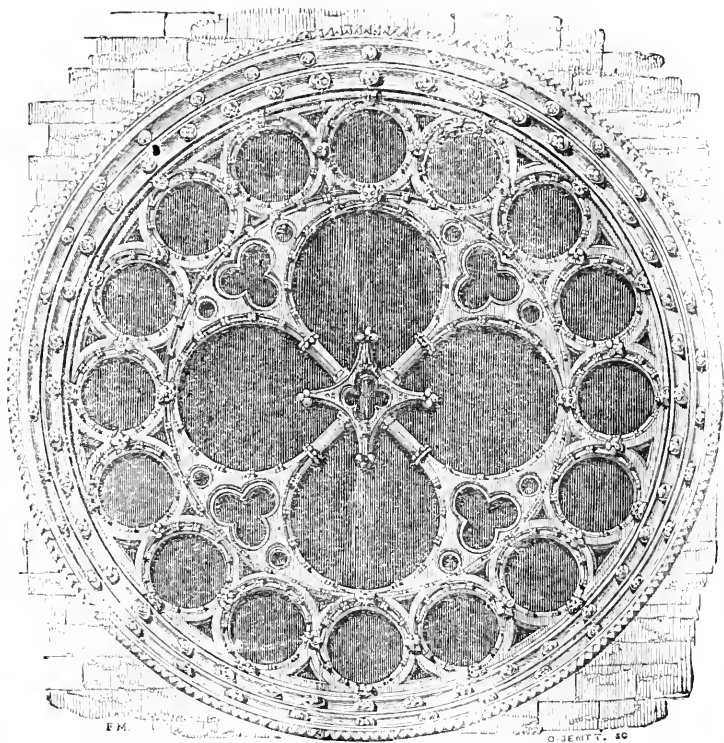
The "Dean's Eye," "justly reckoned as one of the glories of Lincoln Minster," is an admirable and characteristic example of "plate tracery," showing, in Mr. Sharpe's words, "the extent to which the perforation of the plain stone work of such a space was carried in the latter part of the period, before the invention of tracery, as well as the process which led to its adoption." A ring of sixteen circles forms the outer circumference. The centre is occupied by a very large quatrefoil, the intermediate stone work being pierced with small trefoils, and diminutive rounds. Every part of the work is covered with a multitude of small flowers and grotesque heads, which impart an air of unusual richness to the design. It is happily almost entirely filled with its original painted glass. Below this window is a row of seven lancets of exquisite proportions, five of them pierced and containing early glass of silvery hue. These "five little sisters" may not fear comparison with the well known stately "five sisters" in the like position at York Minster. The "dean's door" at the end of the transept deserves careful attention. The double doorway with a horizontal lintel and central shaft, and a solid tympanum is of very unusual design. On the outside it is protected by a deeply recessed arcaded porch, surmounted with three tall gables. Portions of the original "Bishop's Eye" are still to be found in the horizontal band of quatrefoils running across the gable of the south transept at its springing, which were thus utilized on the construction of the later window. But they furnish insufficient data for the recovery of the whole design.

The transept has long detained us; and we shall have to return to it before we conclude. We now pass into the nave, which has been justly pronounced by no mean or prejudiced judges to be "by far the finest portion of the work as then completed," and "probably on the whole the

quidem in Aquilone diabolus qui dixit ponam sedem meam in Aquilonem et ero similis altissimo." *Enarrat. Ps. LXXXVIII*; and those of St. Bernard. "In Canticis Canticorum Spiritus Sanctus diabolum increpat dicens, Surge Aquilo et veni Anster, &c, per Aquilonem qui in frigore constringit et torpentes facit quid aliud nisi inmundus Spiritus designatur,

. . . per Austrum vero, scilicet calidum ventum, Spiritus Sanctus designatur." He adds, "it was this interpretation in all probability which led to the feeling, once very universal, still not uncommon, against burying on the north side of the Church." *Metrical Life*, p. 36, note.

¹ Sharpe *Lincoln Excursion*, p. 25.



Lincoln Cathedral—Circular window, North Transept. "The Dean's Eye."

grandest example of the Early Pointed style in the country." "It exhibits," writes Sir G. G. Scott, "an Early English style in its highest stage of development, massive without heaviness, rich in detail without exuberance, its parts symmetrically proportioned and carefully studied throughout, the foliated carving bold and effective, there seems no deficiency in any way to deteriorate from its merits; of the highest order of beauty and dignity, and superior especially in the latter respect to all other parts of the Cathedral."

It is much to be regretted that we are entirely destitute of documentary evidence as to the date of any part of the nave. As Mr. Ayliffe Poole has said, "Not a single word of the recovered history of the Church applies directly, or by necessary inference, to its erection." The only date belonging to it—and that not an absolutely certain one, the chroniclers not all agreeing as to the precise year—is that of the fall of the central tower somewhere about 1237, in the early years of Grosseteste's episcopate.²

This, however, is very valuable. St. Hugh's death in 1200 gives us a *terminus a quo*, and this catastrophe a *terminus ad quem* to help our chronology. The new tower, which we may place somewhere about 1240, is characterized by a kind of reticulated work, or lozenge-shaped diaper, covering the blank spaces of wall. The same ornament is found in profusion in the central portion of the west front, both outside and inside. It covers the

¹ Sir G. G. Scott, *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 196. Penrose's "System of proportions in the Nave of Lincoln Cathedral." Lincoln vol. of Archaeological Institute, p. 127.

² "Persequente episcopo Lincolnensi (A.D. 1239) canonicos suos, dum unus eorum sermonem faceret in populo, conquerendo dixit, 'Et si taceamus, lapides pro nobis clamabunt;' corruit opus lapideum novæ turris ecclesiæ Lincolnensis, homines qui sub ipsa erant conterendo; quæ ruina tota ecclesiâ commota et deteriorata est; et hoc factum est quasi in triste præsagium. Sed episcopus manum correctionis efficaciter apponere satagebat." And again—"Dum unus canonicorum causam fovens capituli, sermonem faciendo populo in medio illius nobilissimæ ecclesiæ Lincolnensis, quæremoniâ reposuit coram omnibus de

oppressionibus episcopi, et ait 'Et si nos taceamus, lapides reclamabunt.' Ad quod verbum quedam magna pars ecclesiæ corruit dissoluta."—*Matt. Paris*, p. 353 and 328.

"Quedam pars Cathedralis ecclesiæ Lincolnie cecidit in Decembri." *Annal. de Theokesberie*; A.D. 1239. *Annal. Monast., Rolls Series*, vol. i, p. 113.

"Anno MCCXXXVII, Ruina ecclesiæ Lincolnensis propter artificii insolentiam."—*Chron. Joh. Abb. Petrob.*

"Eodem anno (1239) facta est ruina muri Lincolnensis ecclesiæ secus chorum post sedem Decani, ita quod tres homines prostrati sunt sub ruina; ita quod postmodum chorus celebravit ante majus altare officium diurnum et nocturnum donec circumquaque columnæ et arcus firmarentur.—*Annal. de Dunstable, Anna Monast., Rolls Series*, iii, 149.

blank spaces of the pediment, and the spandrils of the great central recess. It is spread over the face and sides of that recess, and the inner western wall around and below the rose window. It appears, also, where we should hardly be prepared to see it, over the circular window in the southern wing of the west front. We cannot be wrong in assigning all these portions to the same time, soon after the fall of the central tower. We thus have a period of about forty years for the erection of the transept and the nave, and the completion of the west front. It is usual to associate this diapered ornament with the name of Grosseteste. It is commonly known as "Grosseteste's mark." It must, however, be borne in mind that there is not a tittle of evidence, documentary or otherwise, to connect Grosseteste's name with this or any other portion of the fabric. That great prelate has sufficient claims on the grateful remembrance of the English Church without going beyond the evidence. But if we cannot assign these works to Grosseteste's hand, or Grosseteste's munificence, they certainly belong to Grosseteste's age, and it is a pleasing thought, if nothing more, that one of the greatest heroes of the English Church may have been connected with them.

Mr. Sharpe expresses his opinion that after the death of St. Hugh, "a pause of many years must have occurred," and that at earliest the work was not "resumed" till "about 1215." We have however the irrefragable testimony of royal letters and precepts, that no suspension of this kind took place. A royal letter of John,¹ dated Dec. 18, 1205, the text of which is given below, proves that the "novum opus," as it is there called, was then still in progress, and stood in urgent need of the help and liberality of the faithful

¹ Rex omnibus etc., per Episcopatum Lincolniensem constitutis grates vobis referimus multiplices per universis beneficiis vestris et elemosinis quas ecclesie Lincolniensis contulistis ad constructionem novi operis. Quam enim large quam liberaliter ea illi impenderitis indicat ipsa fabricae egregia structura; verum quum incongruum esset tam nobile opus inconsummatum relinqui, quia illud nondum consummationem accepit et ad sui perfectionem vestris indiget auxiliis et beneficiis, universitatem vestram rogamus, attentius monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quate-

mus quod bene incepistis laudabiliter consummare satagentes divino intuitu et pro honore gloriose Virginis ejusdem ecclesie patronice, necnon et pro amore et petitione nostra, collectam inter vos ad opus fabricae predictae assideri permittatis, et fraternitatem saltem per quinquennium duraturam ut pro beneficiorum et elemosinarum largitionibus quas ad construendam in terris talium tam excellentis patronae caritative contulistis, et vos a filio ejus Domino nostro in celestem talium recipiamini. Teste meipso apud Dorchester xviij die Dec. (1205). *Rot. Lit. Pat.* p. 57.

through the diocese, for its completion.¹ Three years later, January 18, 1209, during the three years' vacancy of the see after the death of William of Blois, we find a royal precept to permit the canons of Lincoln to lead away from the forest the timber they had acquired, as well as the lead they had bought, for the works of the church, "ad operacionem ecclesie suæ," on paying the ancient customs due. This shews that the work was steadily going on, and confirms the just observation of Mr. Ayliffe Poole that the building of our Cathedrals is not to be too exclusively ascribed to their bishops, the work being all along rather that of the dean and canons than of the bishop himself, whose part in it was often limited to issuing letters of indulgence for benefactors to the fabric, and bequeathing a legacy to it when he died. This posthumous charity is the only form of liberality towards his Cathedral with which Hugh of Wells can certainly be accredited, though the language of the "Metrical Life," when speaking of the Chapter house

"Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis
Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo,"

gives grounds for believing that he was an active promoter of the building during his life time. In his will dated Stow Park, 1233, which still exists among the chapter muniments, he bequeaths one hundred marks to the fabric of his Church at Lincoln, as well as all the felled timber—"mairemium,"—which he might die possessed of through all his episcopal estates, reserving only to his successor the right of redeeming it for fifty marks if he thought good.² The legacy of so large a quantity of timber points to there being a good deal of roofing going on at the time, and may so help us to fixing the date of the completion of the nave and its aisles. The exact agreement of the piercings of the tympanum of the nave triforium with those of the bays of the choir and transepts remodelled after the fall of the tower, i.e., subsequent to

¹ Rex omnibus etc. Precipimus vobis quod permittatis canonicos Eccl. Line. sine impedimento ducere mairerium quod ipsi perquisierunt extra forestam, et plumbum quod ipsi emerunt ad operacionem Eccl. suæ, faciendo inde antiquas et debitas consuetudines. Teste meipso apud Witten (Witney), xviii die Jan." 1209. *Rot. Lit.*

Pat., p. 88.

² "Item lego fabricæ meæ Eccl. Line. C marcas et totum mairerium quod habuero in decessu meo per totum Episcopatum meum, ita quod reservetur usque in tempus successoris mei liberandum ei pro L marcis si voluerit pacandis eidem fabricæ antequam illud recipiat." *Original Will.*

1237, proves that there could be no great distance of time between the erection of the nave and that catastrophe.

The nave, at the first glance, appears of uniform design from end to end. Further observation, however, discovers variations in the architecture, indicating that it was not all built at one time, nor in pursuance of one rigidly imposed plan. The most remarkable change in the design as we trace it in the order in which it was probably built—from the east, westward—is exhibited in the two westernmost bays. Here the arches are suddenly contracted in width by nearly five feet, and the vault is lowered by about two feet.¹ A corresponding alteration necessarily occurs in the triforium. In the eastern portion each bay of the triforium includes two wide arches containing three sub-arches, the tympanum being pierced with two quatrefoils, and a smaller cruciform aperture in the head of the arch. In the two western bays there are still two openings, but the proportions of the chief arches are narrower, and they contain only two sub-arches, with one quatrefoil above. It can hardly be questioned that the width of the eastern arches is excessive, and that the general effect of the nave would have been more satisfactory if all the bays had been of the narrower dimensions of the two western ones. We should then have had eight bays—the probable number of the bays of the Norman nave—instead of seven, and the sense of inadequacy of bearing power, due to what Mr. Penrose calls “the unparalleled lightness of the piers with reference to what they support,” would have been less felt. Another irregularity of plan must also be noticed, which, not seen on entering the Cathedral from the west end, is strikingly, and not very agreeably evident, when on reaching the end of the nave the visitor turns and looks westward. He then perceives that the axis of the nave is not coincident with the axis of the west front and that consequently the arch connecting the two Norman towers is not in the centre of the western wall, there being a wider space to the south of it than to the north. These two irregularities are due to the same cause, with that already referred to—however that cause may be explained—viz.,

¹The five eastern arches measure, according to Mr. Penrose, 26.6 ft. across, the two western arches, 21.3 ft.

the retention of the Norman towers, together with the western bay of Remigius and the Norman nucleus of the west front. Mr. Penrose is of opinion that the intention of the thirteenth century builders was to clear away the whole of the Norman work at the west end, after the example originally set by St. Hugh

“Funditus obruitur moles vetus, et nova surgit,”

and build an entirely new west front; but that by the time the sixth arch was reached the inadequacy of the funds at their command for carrying out so vast a work suggested the retention of the earlier work, and led to its somewhat clumsy incorporation with their later design. The suggestion is a very plausible one. But it must be noticed that this contraction of the bays is connected with the erection of the western transeptal chapels. This must have been a costly work. It seems hardly likely that failure of funds should have caused a curtailment of the design in one direction at the same time that it was being so greatly enlarged in another. I am, on the whole, inclined to believe that the diminution in width of the western bays was not brought about by any change of plan occurring during the progress of the building, but had been intended from the first. An examination of the eastern wall of the north-west chapel (BB on the plan) proves that the lower portion is of earlier construction than the adjacent parts, and it is not unlikely that the existence of this wall, probably then as now the end wall of a side chapel which it was desired to retain, ruled the whole arrangement of the western portion, and caused the contraction of the bays. The divergence of the axes of the nave and west front, I should attribute to an error in setting out the plan in the first instance, which, hardly perceptible at the outset¹ became increasingly evident as the work progressed, and more impossible to disguise or to remedy. As it could not be concealed, it was better to accept the mistake, and if they must sin sin boldly. *Si pecces pecca fortiter*. I may remark that such deviations from regularity are by no means unfrequent in mediæval buildings. The nave of

¹ Mr. J. J. Smith, the clerk of the works, informs me that on accurate measurement he has found the axis of the great transept exactly at right angles to

that of the Norman west front, the divergence occurring in the axis of the nave alone.

Chichester Cathedral exhibits no less than three distinct variations of direction, while the gable walls, both at the east and west end, stand obliquely to the axis. Similar irregularities are to be found in most of our earlier churches and cathedrals. If there is anything peculiar in the case of Lincoln it is simply that the irregularity is more conspicuous, not that it is greater than elsewhere.

It is evident that the whole of Lincoln nave, with its windows, buttresses, triforium, clerestory, and vaulting, forms part of one uniform plan, the product of one mind. This plan, however, was carried out by various subordinate builders, each of whom assumed the liberty of modifying the design in minor details, consistently with general harmony. Thus the wall arcades of the two aisles exhibit slight, but very marked differences. Each consists of trefoil arches rising from clusters of three shafts. But the arcade in the north aisle is continuous, and the filleted vaulting shafts each bisect an arch, and stand entirely free on a boldly projecting base, in clusters of five, with three vertical bands of dog-tooth.¹ In the south aisle the arches of the arcade, also trefoiled, are arranged in groups of five in each bay, and the vaulting shafts attached to the wall occupy a blank space between the groups, and are destitute of dog's-tooth. The dog's-tooth moulding, however, which is quite absent from the arches of the northern wall arcades, appears in the outer and inner moulding of those to the south, and the abacus of the capitals is continued as a string course along the wall. Before we pass from the wall arcade it should be noticed that when rebuilding the extreme east end of the north aisle, that portion having been crushed by the fall of the tower, no attempt was made to copy the earlier arcade, but two arches of totally different design were substituted. We may notice as differences the capitals of foliage, the singular applied foliage at the apex of the western arch, and the horizontal string course on a level with the abacus. The string course also above the arcade is not precisely in the same line with the older string course, the junction being masked by a boss of foliage.

¹ A close observer will notice that the central shaft of the cluster of five in the three easternmost bays is hexagonal with shallow flutings, below the fillet, and

cylindrical above. Indeed, there is hardly any end to the whimsicalities of this "freakish" building to adopt Professor Willis's epithet.

On the north side, in the corresponding place, the arcade stops abruptly, and the wall is left blank. We may notice other differences between the two aisles. The vaulting in each aisle is quinquupartite (except in the two westernmost bays, communicating with the chapels), there being two lancets in each bay corresponding to each main arch. But while in the north aisle the ridge rib is continuous from end to end, (as will be seen from the plan) in the south aisle it is interrupted at the extremity of each bay, only uniting the intersections of the diagonal and intermediate ribs. The corbels, from which the intermediate vaulting shafts spring are plainly moulded in the north aisle, and composed of foliage in the south. Minute inspection will show other minor differences which it would be tedious to particularize.¹

One other variation, however, is too remarkable to be omitted. The bases of the main piers, and the bench-tables of the aisles are, on the north side, nearly a foot higher than on the south.² This license, or whatever it is to be called, must be laid at the door of Geoffrey of Noiers, the architect of the choir,³ where the same irregularity between the two sides is to be found; an irregularity which is continued through the transepts, and perpetuated in the nave.⁴

The clustered piers of the main arcade, or ground-story, though all of pretty nearly the same date and general correspondence, exhibit in their variations of form that impatience of exact uniformity which is so characteristic

¹ Among these variations we may notice that in the last of the wider bays (the fifth from the east) on the south side, the tympanum of the two triforium arches is pierced with trefoils instead of the quatrefoils occurring uniformly elsewhere; and that the trefoils which are found in the spandrels of the triforium range are exchanged for quatrefoils in the second and fourth bay from the east on the same side.

² By measurement, the tops of the bases to the north are 3ft. 4in. from the pavement, and the bench table 2ft. 1in. The corresponding measurements on the south are 2ft. 10 in., and 1ft. 4in. Mr. Penrose remarks, "The piers are equal in height, and the compensation takes place in the space occupied by the pier arches, for the similar members on each side

above the capitals are on the same level with one another."—*Lincoln Vol. of Archaeological Institute*, p. 137, note 2.

³ Penrose, *u.s.*, p. 137.

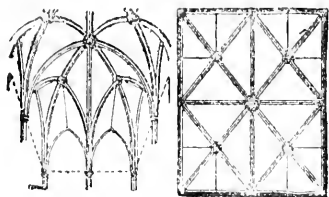
⁴ A careful examination of the lower part of the north and west walls of the north transept, has discovered the mark of the level of the original pavement about 9 in. above the present pavement, the wall being underpinned at the base. The same underpinning is seen also in the north aisle of the nave. The bench table at present is too high for the feet of any one sitting on it to reach the ground. All these marks go to prove that the original line of the pavement of the north aisle, and of the north transept was higher than at present. Was the alteration an early one, or is it due to the period of the repaving of the whole church by Essex?

of our English Gothic, and adds so much life and interest to it. There are seven piers on each side. If we number them from the east, from 1 to 7 on the north side, and from 1a to 7a on the south side, we shall find that 2, 4, 5 ; 2a, 3a, 4a, and 5a exhibit eight slender Purbeck marble filleted shafts set round a central core ; while 1, 3, 6 ; 1a and 6a are solid clusters. The foliage of the capitals is also varied, that to the south looking rather earlier than that to the north. The clerestory is perfectly uniform from end to end, each bay containing three lancets, set within shafted and moulded arches, the central one being rather the tallest.

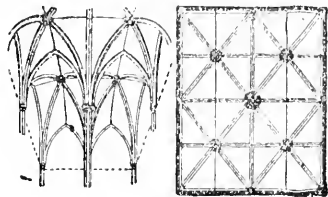
The exterior of the nave and aisles remains, with some slight ornamental additions, exactly as it was originally built, and may be pronounced one of the simplest and most dignified structures of the period. The principal buttresses though perfectly plain have much majesty imparted to them by their broad spreading base moulds, chamfered angles, and tall gabled heads. These last on the north side have a projecting fillet ornamented with dog's tooth at the edge, those on the south side either never had this feature, or have lost it by careless repair. The narrow intermediate buttresses bisecting the bays are constructed on the same plan. Bold flying arched buttresses rise to the arcaded clerestory wall. This on the south side is capped with a pierced flowing parapet of Decorated date, broken over the flying buttresses with rich shallow canopied niches, with ball-flower ornaments. The same parapet is carried along the west wall of both transepts, with very tall crocketed pinnacles rising from it. The additions are of incalculable value to the outline of the building.

The two western chapels—that to the south (AA), used as the Consistory court—which form a kind of western transept, are part of the plan of the Early English nave, and are of the same style and date. They are of remarkable elegance. Each opens into the aisle by two arches, repeating the main arcade, filled with a low arcaded screen wall, and by their additional space and lightness they add greatly to the effect of this part of the church. That to the north—the morning chapel (BB)—has a very tall central cluster of Purbeck marble, of keeled shafts, of exquisite

lightness and grace, recalling the central pillar of the Salisbury Chapter House. The central pillar is absent in the southern chapel (AA). The difference of the vaulting system of the two chapels is shewn in the accompanying wood cuts (*a*, *b*). "In the Consistory court (*a*), the



(*a*) Groining of Consistory Court.



(*b*) Groining of Morning Chapel.

diagonal ribs instead of returning downwards from the four central bosses to a central pillar (*b*), continue to rise till they meet in the middle point of the chapel," forming "the top of a square dome."¹ The chapels are prolonged two bays westwards to the line of the west front, without any change of design. These divisions have long since been blocked off, and are now disused. The western porches blocked up at some early period, and so shewn in all old views, were opened about thirty years since. They are boldly vaulted. The boss of that to the south represents the murder of Abel by Cain. The eastern wall of the southern chapel (*U*) known as St. Hugh's, or the Ringers' chapel, is richly decorated with wall painting in bands of foliage, &c., "oddly intermixed," says Sir G. G. Scott, "with some decorations of the seventeenth century, and the names of successive societies of ringers, but readily distinguishable, and forming a very useful series."² The arcading of the east and south walls of the southern chapels, and of the north wall of that to the north, are of the same design as that of the vestibule of the chapter house and the greater part of the apartment itself, with dog's tooth set in deep hollows, and sprigs of foliage at the springing of the arch. They are evidently works of the same hand. The east wall of the Morning chapel—which it will be remembered has been spoken of as exhibiting traces externally of an earlier date, and thus ruling the western arrangements of the nave—differs in its ornamentation from every other part of the Cathedral.

¹ Sir G. G. Scott, *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 198.

² *u.s.*, vol. i, p. 307.

The arcading rises higher. The arches spring from corbels instead of shafts. The mouldings are bolder and apparently earlier. One of the bays contains a very remarkable double piscina, with two acutely pointed arches beneath a broad circumscribing arch, the tympanum being left unpierced. The capitals of the subordinate arches (not of the circumscribing arch) have square abaci, the only example of this feature in the whole interior of the Cathedral, and are almost Transitional in character. This portion of the edifice presents an architectural problem which it is hard to solve. The walls dividing the chapels from the aisles have later apertures or "squints" cut in them. To the north are two quatrefoiled circles; to the south two arched openings filled with wooden doors. Two later corbel heads in the walls towards the east end of the Morning chapel mark the position of a *parclose* cutting off the sacra-rium. Each chapel terminates externally in a lofty eastern gable relieved by lancets, adding a feature of immense value to the grouping of the western part of the edifice.¹

How it was intended these chapels should be terminated to the west in the original design it is vain to guess. Sir Charles Anderson gives it as his opinion, founded on a minute study of the fabric during many years, that the solid screen wall of the west front was an afterthought, and that the original intention was that the gables should be shewn. Had this been done, "the pyramidal structure of five gables," diminishing in breadth as in elevation from the centre would have had a novel effect, not devoid of picturesqueness. But the want of unity in the various members would have been fatally conspicuous; and in spite of the objections that may not unreasonably be brought against the western façade as a mere screen wall, hiding the forms of the building behind it instead of giving expression to them,—Mr. Freeman, who regards the front with a dislike which betrays that distinguished writer into an inaccuracy of description very unusual in him,² gibbets it as "the merest sham;"

¹ The apex of each of the three groups of lancet windows of the gable of St. Hugh's (the southern) chapel, contain grotesque sculptures of pilgrims. See *Archæological Journal*, x, 260.

² "In the final completion of the front, it was thought good both to retain

fragments of two earlier Romanesque fronts, and to run up a kind of screen—the merest sham—before the towers. The front thus becomes a mere blank arcaded wall, with holes cut through it to shew the earlier work, and with the noble upper stages of the two towers looking

while the late Mr. Ayliffe Poole styles it, "perhaps the most purposeless front in England; a mere mask without the slightest honest expression,"¹—it may certainly be regarded as a grand and far from unsuccessful device for combining heterogeneous elements into an impressive and magnificent whole. It is not my purpose to describe this façade in detail. Most of my readers will remember that it consists of a Norman nucleus with Early English wings and superstructure; the whole forming "a vast and almost unperforated wall, covered over with range upon range of decorative arcading, flanked by two vast octagonal stair turrets, finished with spires, and backed by two noble towers." This is the description of Sir G. G. Scott,² who adds, "it always strikes me as a very impressive front, but I find that it does not strike all eyes so favourably." A real admiration for this unique architectural composition is, however, compatible with regret that it was not found possible to retain the richly-arcaded Norman gables above the side recesses previously described (see p. 175), of which the arcades of intersecting semicircular arches form the lowest stage. The subtle variations of treatment of the two halves of this façade will repay examination. It will be seen that among other differences the arcades on the north spring from a higher level than those to the south, thus carrying out the principle already observed in the nave and choir. The wall-diaper of Grosseteste's time appears above the southern circular window, which also has a greatly enriched outer moulding while the other is plain. The great west window preserves only its exquisitely-moulded arch and shafted jambs of Early English date. The triplet that once filled it has been replaced by feeble tracery of Early Perpendicular date, of which more hereafter.³ The aisle windows belong to the same later period. The cinquefoiled window above, regarded by Rickman as "nearly unique from the

over it like prisoners eager to get rid of the incumbrance in front of them." *English Towns and Districts*, p. 224. Mr. Freeman appears to have forgotten that the "holes" he speaks of are not in any sense "cut through" the later screen wall, which is perfectly solid and devoid of perforations, but belong to Remigius's original design, being simply the recesses which form an integral part of the plan.

¹ *Architectural History of Lincoln Minster*, u.s., p. 26.

² *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 197.

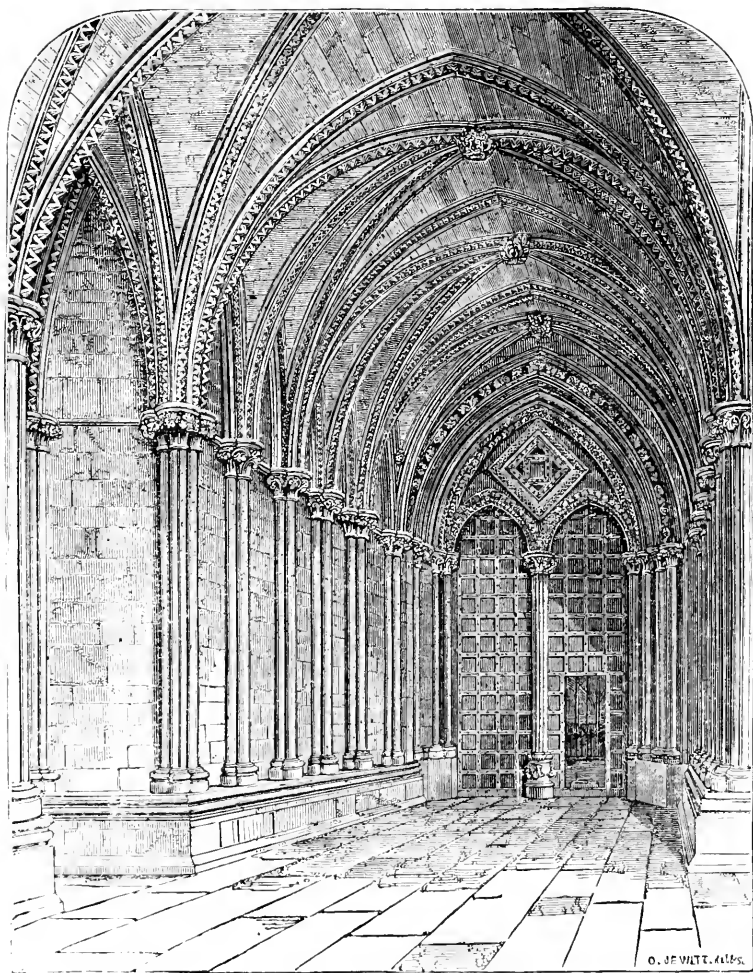
³ A second weather moulding on the inner face of the western gable of the nave, a short distance below the present roof-line, to be seen within the roof, indicates a change of design during the progress of the work.

exquisite workmanship of its mouldings consisting of open work varied by flowers," happily remains unaltered. The horizontal line of the façade has been finished with a solid Decorated parapet of waved tracery. If we go round either corner, and proceed far enough to see the back or eastern side of the upper part of the screen wall—where, in fact, it becomes a screen without anything solid behind it—it will be observed that it is ornamented with a curvilinear arcade, while a singular little gablet, covered with tracery in the same style, masks the junction with the Norman gable. These decorative works may probably be assigned to John of Welbourne, 1350-1380. The combination of the three styles, Norman, Early English, and Decorated, at this point is very curious. To Welbourne certainly belong the row of ill-carved figures of kings, in rich but inelegant niches above the west door, cutting off the top of its outer moulding.

The fall of the central tower, about 1237, of which I have already spoken, gave rise to sundry alterations, chiefly with a view to increased strength, some of which I have described in the former part of this paper. As pointed out by Professor Willis,¹ the tower-piers, which are now enormously massive, were greatly strengthened on their reconstruction, of which there is "strong evidence from examination of the flat nature of their mouldings." Besides the alteration of the choir piers previously spoken of, screen-walls richly arcaded to the choir aisles were introduced between them, exhibiting all the leading characteristics of Grosseteste's time. About the same time, also, were erected the exquisite arched doorways from the transept into the choir aisles, which, in the capitals of their four detached Purbeck marble shafts, and in the hollow foliage of the chief of their five orders, display specimens of Early English carving of wonderful delicacy and beauty.

The series of pure Early English works, unrivalled in any other building in England, is concluded by the Galilee porch, the Vestry, and the Chapter-House. The former is a cruciform building of two stories, standing on open arches (Y on the plan), projecting from the west side of the southern arm of the great transept. Both in position and

¹ Quoted by Mr. Penrose, *u.s.*, p. 131.



Lincoln Cathedral- Interior of Galilee Porch.

in design it is unique, and it is certainly one of the most remarkable and beautiful buildings of the style. It was probably erected as a stately entrance for the bishop, from his palace below. It stands in a line with the doorway (now blocked) in the city wall, forming a communication between the palace and the close, which Bishop Robert Bloet obtained the permission of Henry I to pierce in 1110.¹ An unusual degree of richness is imparted to the interior of this porch by the number and narrowness of the vaulting spaces, and the profusion of the dog's tooth ornament with which the boldly moulded ribs, succeeding one another with almost unexampled closeness are covered.² The porch opens into the transept by a double door with a central column, once of Purbeck marble, now basely restored in Lincoln stone. The head of the arch is occupied by a square lozenge; a singular and ungraceful form, which also occurs in the southern turret of the west front, the interior of the adjacent chapel, and between the windows of the chapter house. The arch moulds are overlaid with carved foliage, not very pleasingly concealing the mouldings. The lofty chamber above the porch, lighted by tall lancets, was formerly the judicial court of the dean and chapter—"curia vocata le Galilee"—when that body had sole jurisdiction in the Close.³ The whole is finished with an elaborately panelled parapet of Perpendicular date, which adds richness without interfering with the harmony of the design.

¹ Hollar's plate in Dugdale (1672) represents the porch disused, and the arches walled up. They continued so till the restoration, faithfully but unlovingly carried out under Dean Ward, c. 1850. The ground floor (according to the late Mr. W. Brooke), was used as a plumber's shop, which was subsequently removed to the upper, or "Court room." The porch was re-roofed in 1851, when the Court room was fitted up as a "Muniment chamber," a purpose which it still excellently serves.

² The separate dog's tooth pyramids were counted at the request of Mr. Sharpe, and were found to amount to no fewer than 5,355.

³ The following oath of the steward of the Galilee Court, extracted from the Chapter Records, furnishes a valuable example of the vernacular of the early part of the fifteenth century:—"I shalbe trewe feithfull and obediende to the Dean and

Chapiter of thys Church of Lincoln and to their successors; and in absence of the sayd Dean to the Subdean and Chapiter of the same church in all manner lefull and lawfull. Their secretes and counsell I shall well and trewely kepe counseile and hele, and to none it opyn nor shewe but to such as be sworn to theyr counsayle. The office of stewardshipp of Galilee courte I shall trewely minister and occupy doyng right to every man after my counyng and laryng. I shall not doe nor attempte nothyng prejudicial to ye sayde Dean and Chapiter or theyr Successors nor church of Lincoln nor be of counsell to nothyng in maters that shall be prejudicall hurte or derogacion of the ryght franchieze or libertes of the sayd chyrch knowing or wittingly; But I shall notifie and warn theme ther of, and resyste it to my conyng and power. So helpe me gold and the holy evangelistes."

We have another Early English addition on the same side of the cathedral, in the two storied vestry (x) erected over a vaulted crypt probably used as a treasury, which projects southward from the west corner of the south-eastern transept. This is a plain but excellent work, lighted by tall lancets, its chief apartment covered with bold and well designed vaulting. That it is an addition not contemplated in the original design is shewn by the intrusion of the huge mass of the south western buttress of the transept. This is seen most clearly in the upper room, now used as the choristers' song school. The present parapet in which the billet moulding has been unwarrantably introduced is modern, dating from 1854. The older battlement with "merlons" is shewn in Hollar's view in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.¹

Considerably later in this style is the refacing of the end and side interior walls of the south-east transept, consequent on the removal of the transverse wall originally separating the end bay, as in the opposite arm. The foliated capitals and moulded arches are of singular richness, of the latest type of the period, almost Decorated.

The Chapter-house is a building which has few rivals in dignity of outline and majestic simplicity. Like the Chapter-house of Worcester (in its present form) and the destroyed Chapter-house of Hereford, it is a polygon of ten sides, each containing a pair of tall lancets, set externally under a low segmental arch which supports the parapet. Between them is a blank lozenge-shaped panel. The angles are strengthened with vertical buttresses, ornamented with filleted shafts and lancet panels. They were originally terminated with pedimented gables capped with a finial of Early English foliage. All but the two westernmost of these pediments have been replaced by tall crocketed pinnacles of Decorated date, a quatrefoiled unpierced parapet being at the same time substituted for

¹ The vestry had become so ruinous, fifty years since, through "the insufficiency of the abutments to support the thrust of the vaulting when loaded with a stone floor," pointed out by Essex in his Reports, that the Chapter were seriously meditating its removal. Happily more conservative counsels prevailed, and it received a thorough and well directed repair by Mr. E. J. Willson in 1854. The

upper room was ordered to be fitted up as "the Common Chamber" of the chapter, and the "archives and muniments to be removed there," Aug. 7, 1762. The muniments were again removed in 1851, and the vestry became the Common Chamber. The upper room had been used as a song school since 1801, when a small organ was built in it.

the plain Early English capping. The original buttresses proving inadequate to resist the outward thrust of the vaulting, huge detached buttresses, were subsequently erected at a considerable distance from the walls, stretching out long arms in the shape of *arcs boutants* to keep the groining in its place. The whole is covered with a lofty pyramidal leaden roof, pronounced "truly grand" by Pugin, which, unhappily reduced to an ugly hipped shape by Essex, was wisely reinstated in its original form at the beginning of this century.¹

The Chapter house is approached from the east walk of the cloisters by a spacious vaulted vestibule terminated to the west by a very singular, and it must be allowed, very ugly façade, exhibiting a huge circular window or bull's-eye, entirely devoid of tracery, surmounted by a gable, and flanked by two smaller gables, which form the roof of two spiral staircases, one on either side of the great three-arched door of entrance. The magnificent groined roof springs from a central pier, set round with ten hexagonal shafts, the sides slightly hollowed, similar to those already noticed in the choir and north aisle of the nave. Beneath the windows, both of the Chapter house and vestibule, the wall is lined with a bold arcade of richly moulded arches, rising from shafts with capitals of foliage of much freedom and play of lines. The occurrence of a sprig of foliage at the springing of the arch, the horizontal string course at the level of the abacus, and the character of the mouldings,² shews that this portion of the Cathedral is of the same date as the

¹ The lowering of the roof of the Chapter House took place in 1761-2. In the fabric accounts for that year occur the following items :—

	£	s.	d.
For carriage of the Chapter House model from Cambridge	1	6	
Spent on the workmen at several times when taking down the Chapter House roof	5	0	
To Mr. Chanter (i.e., Precentor) Richardson for the Chapter House model	1	1	0
For copper for the Chapter House vane	12	2	
For two sails to cover the Chapter House roof	6	17	6

The restoration of the roof to its ancient pyramidal outline was effected in

1800. The low walls connecting the buttresses, shewn in the earlier views, were taken down in 1806, and about the same time a house, which had been jammed between two of the buttresses on the north-eastern side, the oven of which had been hollowed out of one of them, was removed. The buttresses received a repair in 1854, and the ground about the Chapter House was lowered in 1875, when the foundations of the addition to St. John Baptist's chapel were laid bare.

² "The profiles of the moulded work of the west front and the Chapter house leave no doubt that they were designed by the same hand." Sharpe's *Lincoln Excursion*, p. 25.

western chapels of the nave and the west front. The arcade looks identical in design all round the building. Careful examination, however, will show three varieties of arch moulds, all of which have their counterparts in and about the western front of the nave.¹

Beneath the unadorned bull's-eye of the vestibule is an exquisite arcade of seven tall richly moulded arches on short clustered shafts, lighting a wall passage connecting the two stairs.

An error, either of the clerk who transcribed Giraldus's life of St. Hugh for H. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* or of the printer, reading *capitulum* for *capitium* (the *chevet*, or east end), has given rise to some question as to the date of the Chapter house. Documentary and architectural evidence seemed at variance. Giraldus plainly said, or seemed to say, that Hugh's workmen built the Chapter house, while the character of the mouldings and the architecture generally as plainly declared it to be at least thirty years later than his time. The discovery of the true reading, by Prebendary Dimock, in the Corpus Christi MS., happily removed the doubt, and set the two authorities at one again.²

The date of the completion of the Chapter house may be approximately fixed by the "Metrical Life"³ of St. Hugh, which, as has been stated, was written between 1220 and

¹ To trace and compare these variations on the arch moulds is a very interesting and instructive task. They may be thus catalogued. Beginning at the north-east corner of the vestibule, and numbering the sides continuously from one to nine, and naming the different forms of mould *a*, *b*, *c*, we find *a* in the whole of the bays 1, 2, 8, 9, the first and last arch of 5, 6, the first and two last arches of 7. We have *b* in the vestibule, and in the three centre arches of 3, and *c* (characterized by the dog's tooth ornament being brought prominently forward on a square moulding, instead of as in the other arches being sunk in a deep hollow) in the three centre arches of 4, 5, 6, and in two arches of 7.

² The passage from Giraldus is as follows: *Vit. S. Remigii*, cap. xxvi, vol. vii, p. 40. "Item [Hugo] ecclesie sue capicium parvis lapidibus marmoreisque columnis miro artificio renovavit." On this Prebendary Dimock notes, "*capicium*, So MS.; '*capitulum*,' Wharton. This

'*capitulum*,' or Chapter house, of Wharton has been a sore difficulty with the architectural exponents of the history of the Cathedral; the architectural details of the Chapter house pointing so plainly to a somewhat later period than that of Hugh of Burgundy. The true reading '*capicium*,' *i.e.*, the head or east end of the church, removes all the difficulty. This was built by Hugh, and the Chapter house was not."

³ De Capitulo.

Astant ecclesie capitolia, qualia nunquam Romanus possedit apex, spectabile quorum Vix opus inciperet nummosa pecunia Cæsi.

Scilicet introitus ipsorum sunt quasi quadra

Porticus; interius spatium patet orbiculare,

Materia tentans templum Salomonis et arte.

Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo.

"Metrical Life."

1235. The author, in what Mr. Dimock styles "an explosive burst of frantic poetry," describes its quadrangular vestibule, "quasi quadraporticus," and its circular area, "spatium orbiculare," calling it "capitolium," and declaring that "such a capitol was never possessed by Rome itself, and that all the wealth of Croesus would scarcely venture on such a work, and that in material or skill it rivalled the temple of Solomon." He evidently attributes the plan of the building to Hugh of Burgundy, by whom it was almost certainly begun, and we gather from his words that the work was in progress at the time that he was writing under Bishop Hugh of Wells.

The Chapter house can hardly have been completed when the fall of the central tower made a fresh call on the resources and energies of the cathedral body. The story, repeated by more than one mediæval writer, is that the catastrophe took place while one of the canons was preaching to the congregation in the middle of the church—i.e., in the nave (which was therefore then practically completed), maintaining the cause of the chapter against their bishop—Grosteste, who was then successfully asserting his right to "visit" the Cathedral officially—and complaining of his oppressive acts, which he asserted were so grievous, that "if they were to hold their peace the very stones would cry out on their behalf"—"et si taceamus lapides pro nobis clamabunt."¹ Scarcely were the words out of his mouth when the tower came crashing down, burying three men in its ruins. There can have been no delay in repairing the damage, the daily offices meanwhile being celebrated before the high altar. Whether

¹ In the Chronicle, under the name of Abbot John of Peterborough, we find under the year 1237, "ruina ecclesie Linc. propter artificii insolentiam." In the Annals of Dunstable there is a more detailed account: "Facta est ruina muri Linc. eccl. secus chorum post sedem Decani, ita quod tres homines prostrati sunt sub ruina. Ita quod postmodum chorus celebravit ante majus altare officium diurnum et nocturnum donec circumquaque columnæ et arcus firmentur." Mathew Paris mentions the event twice under the year 1239: "persequente episcopo Linc. canonicos suos, dum unus eorum sermonem faceret in populo,

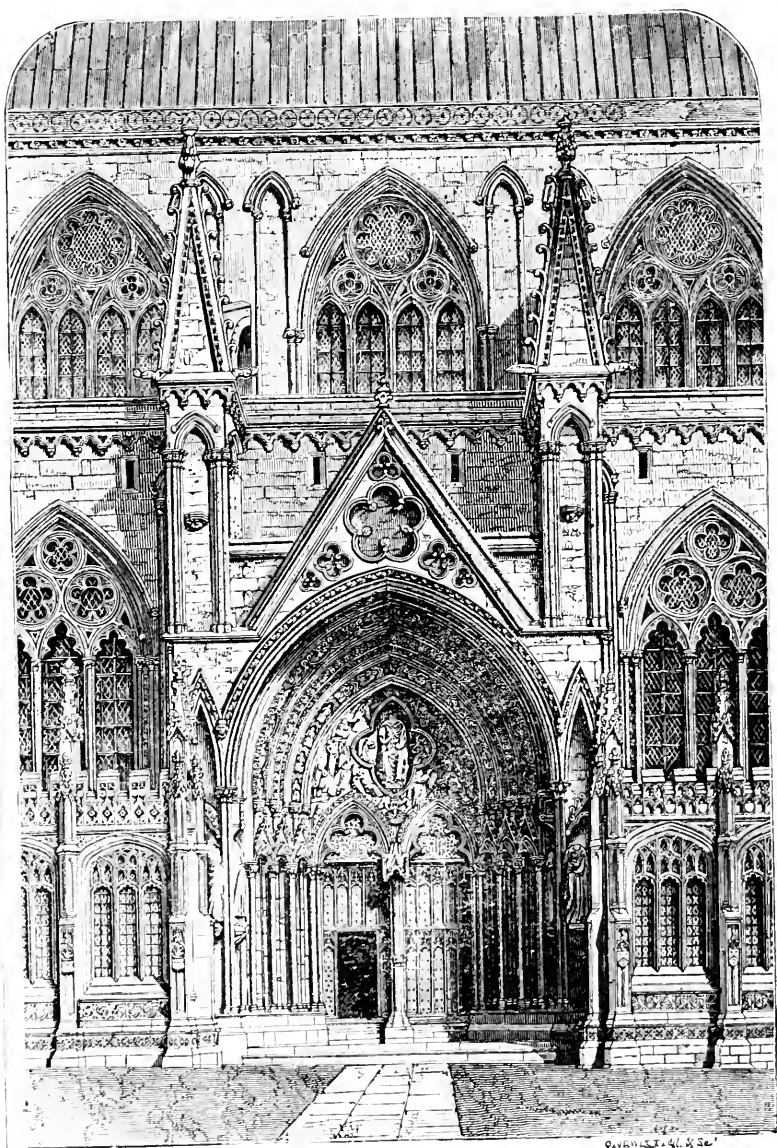
conquerendo dixit 'et si taceamus lapides pro nobis clamabunt' corruit opus lapideum novæ turris eccl. Linc. homines qui sub ipsa erant contendo, qua ruina tota ecclesia commota et deteriorata est." (p. 303.) This last sentence contains a gross exaggeration. Singularly little harm was done to the fabric. Again, p. 328, "Dum unus canonicorum causam fovens capituli sermonem faciens populo in medio illius nobilissimæ eccl. Linc. querimoniam reposuit eorum omnibus, de oppressionibus episcopi et ait, 'Et si nos taceamus lapides reclamabunt.' Ad quod verbum quedam magna pars, eccl. corruit dissoluta."

Grosseteste took any part in the restoration of the tower, his tyrannical conduct was accredited with having brought down, we cannot say. The whole, both externally and internally, is profusely covered with the diaper, popularly but without any sufficient warrant associated with his name, and it is distinguished by the applied foliage at the apex of the lantern arches belonging to the same date. The upper story of the lantern, within, originally shewing four arches on each side, was subjected to considerable modification when the vaulting was erected by Treasurer Welbourne in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and each arch was sub-divided, making eight in all.

We have now reached the period of the erection of the far-famed "Angel choir," by which name the eastern limb (VW) of the cathedral is popularly designated, from the exquisite sculptures of angels with expanded wings, many playing on musical instruments, which occupy the spandrils of the triforium. Few architectural works have received such unanimous and almost unqualified admiration. Mr. Sharpe says "it may justly be regarded as the most perfect example of Gothic art in the United Kingdom," to which "we can hardly hesitate to award the palm of superlative merit over at least the buildings of our own country, if not indeed beyond those of Europe."¹ Sir G. G. Scott's estimate is almost equally high. "It is in fact," he says, "the most splendid work of the period we possess, and did it not lack internal height, I do not think it could be exceeded in beauty by any existing church. The sculpture with which it was once profusely enriched was of very high order, the foliated carving perfectly exquisite, the mouldings and other details of the most perfect character. The east window is probably the finest in the kingdom." Sir G. G. Scott probably means of its style—"as is the east part in general, after allowing a certain abatement for the error" (shared by the Lady Chapel of Salisbury), "of having false gables to the aisles."² Mr. Freeman though more critical (not at all unfairly so), speaks hardly less rapturously of the "angel's choir," as "in itself one of the loveliest of human works—the proportion of the side elevation, and the beauty of the details, both simply

¹ Sharpe's *Lincoln Excursion*, p. 125.

² *Lectures on Medieval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 198.



Lincoln Cathedral South East Portal.

perfect ;" while he regards the east window as "the very noblest specimen of the pure and bold tracery of its own date."¹ We have not space to speak with any degree of detail of the architectural features of this almost unparalleled work. The ground plan shows that it consists of five equal bays, two of which are included within the ritual choir, the other three forming the presbytery originally containing the shrine of St. Hugh, for the reception of which—when the already elongated chapel of St. John the Baptist proved a second time inadequate to receive the crowds of devotees who flocked for healing to his tomb—it was primarily erected, as well as the Lady altar, Queen Eleanor's chantry, and other historical altars. The window tracery, and that of the triforium and aisle wall-arcade, exhibit geometrical tracery in its earliest and most beautiful form. The whole series is simply a working out of the rudimentary idea of a cusped circle supported on two subordinate arches. This idea repeated four times over in subordination, forms the plan of the grand east window. Great richness is imparted to the building by the abundance of well carved foliage, filling every corner, and covering every available space. Beautiful knops of leafage run up everywhere between the shafts, and the bare spaces of the aisle-walls above and around the windows are overlaid with graceful intertwining sprays. The tracery of the clerestory windows is repeated on the plane of the inner face of the wall, forming a perforated screen, which adds much to the gorgeous effect of the building. The magnificent south doorway with its wealth of admirable figure-sculpture, its deeply recessed richly carved mouldings, and its tympanum exhibiting the solemn scene of the Doom, deserves special notice as the nearest approach in England to the glorious portals which are the chief ornaments of the great French churches. The corresponding doorway on the north is very many degrees plainer, but its quiet dignity is almost equally admirable.²

We have again to lament the absence of documentary

¹ Freeman's *English Towns and Districts*, pp. 225, 226.

² It is a curious and unexplained fact that one of the mouldings of the principal arch of the north doorway is of wood. The central shaft dividing the two entrances is a

later addition. It bears the coat of Edward IV. Quarterly ; 1st and 3th, the arms of Edward the Confessor ; 2nd and 3rd, the Royal arms of England, bearing France modern. The supporters are *dexter* a lion, *sinister* a bull.

evidence of the progress of this exquisite building. The chapter-acts do not commence till a later date, nor are there any fabric rolls to assist us. The date of its commencement and of its termination are, however, recoverable, and with that we must be willing to be content. The former date is supplied by the royal letters, "ne quid damnum," issued by Henry III, November 5th, 1255, to determine whether the request of the Dean and Chapter for the removal of the old city wall—not the earlier Roman wall,¹ which ran further to the west, in the line of the eastern transept, but a later wall, of uncertain date—for the lengthening of their church could be complied with without detriment to the crown.² The verdict of the Jurates, we may suppose, was favourable, and the following year, July 19th, 1256, the king signified his consent to the agreement that had been come to between its chapter and the citizens for the enlargement of the close and pushing the city walls eastward. When the building actually began we cannot say. All we know is, that by October 6th, 1280, the Angel-choir was in a sufficient state of completion for the fulfilment of the great object of its erection, the translation of the body of St. Hugh—his *head* was left in the chapel of his burial—"to a grand and gorgeous shrine within a grand and gorgeous building"—a worthy receptacle for one of the holiest, most devoted, and most courageous bishops who have adorned the Church of England. The translation took place in the presence of Edward I, his Queen Eleanor, and their children, his brother Edmund and his wife the Queen of Navarre, ten prelates, including the Archbishops of Canterbury (John Peckham) and of Edessa,

¹ The Rev. H. Best records the difficulty and labour with which the grave of his father, a prebendary of the cathedral, within the minster, was excavated in the substance of this wall, which "levelled to its foundation to make way for the extension" of the building by St. Hugh, "passes under the pavement of the minster from north to south."—*Personal and Literary Memorials*, p. 242, 1829.

² The Dean and Chapter sought, "licentiam elongandi ecclesiam suam versus orientem per remotionem muri orientalis civitatis nostre Linc. qui est ex opposito ejusdem ecclesiæ.—Dugdale's *Mon.*, v. viii.

The royal license issued the next year ran as follows: "Henricus D. G. &c., sciatis nos gratam habere et acceptam clausuram et elongacionem murorum quæ de licentia nostra et de consensu civium nostrorum Linc. circa ecclesiam Linc. facta est ad ampliacionem eccl. predictæ secundum quod inter Dec. et Capit. ejusdem eccl. et eives predictos de utriusque partis provisione convenit. Ita quod placea infra dictam clausuram contenta dictæ eccl. Linc. prout dicti Dec. et Capit. expedire viderint inter ipsos et dictos cives convenit applicetur."—*Reg. Magn. Linc.*, pt. 8 b.

and two hundred and thirty knights and other nobles. The whole of the expenses of the translation, which must have been enormous, were defrayed by Thomas Bek, the brother of the more celebrated Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was on the same day consecrated in the cathedral to the bishopric of St. David's. The supposed site of the shrine (destroyed at the Reformation) is indicated by a black marble table bearing an inscription, erected by Bishop Fuller on the north side of the presbytery during the general restoration of the cathedral, after the Restoration (1667-1673). It is impossible to believe that the place is correctly assigned. The almost universal rule was that the shrine of the chief saint of any great church should be in the centre of the space behind the high altar, and elevated so as to be visible above the reredos, that by gazing upon it the hearts of the priests celebrating at the altar might be raised to emulate the holy man's virtues. Of this arrangement, we have existing examples in the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, and of St. Alban at St. Alban's; and we know that the shrines of St. William at York, St. Thomas at Canterbury, and St. Etheldreda at Ely, occupied the same position.

With the completion of the presbytery the whole fabric of the church, as we now see it, the re-edification of which had been begun by St. Hugh about ninety years before, was brought to an end. No substantial additions, beyond a few chantry chapels, were subsequently made to it; and the alterations of the original design, by the insertion of windows and the construction of vaultings, according to the ever shifting taste of the day, have been much fewer and have had far less influence on the character of the building than in most of our cathedrals. Very few can be said to exhibit such unity of design and such harmony of varied detail, or to be so completely the expression of one germinal idea as the cathedral of Lincoln.

Though the fabric of the cathedral was substantially finished by the erection of the Angel-choir, the completion of its decorations must have occupied a considerable time, and have proved very costly. It is therefore no matter of surprise to find, seventeen years after the translation

of St. Hugh's remains, Bishop Oliver Sutton granting indulgences and issuing letters to the rural deans of the diocese calling on them to assist in the prosecution of the design. He expressed his indignant astonishment at the suspension of payments during the preceding years to "so pious a work, and to a structure extended on so venerable a plan," and desires that the collections might be resumed. These episcopal appeals, however, seem to have been but little heeded, for the next year it was found expedient to issue fresh letters of indulgence on behalf of the fabric, together with injunctions to the rural deans to cause the matter to be set forth and expounded in the several parishes, and to receive graciously the proctors sent round to collect the contributions of the faithful.¹ Similar injunctions continued to be issued by Sutton's successor, Bishop John of Dalderby, in the years 1301, 1304, 1305, 1308, and 1314, for the completion of the fabric. In 1306 the Dean and Chapter contracted with Richard of Stow, mason—"cementarius"—to superintend the new work—"novum opus"—and to employ other masons under him. The plain work was to be done by measure and the fine carved work and images by the day. This Richard of Stow, or of Gainsborough—the places are not far distant—was the same whom we find employed on the erection of the Queen Eleanor's cross at the south end of the city, whose elaborately incised but sorely mutilated monumental slab lies in the south alley of the cloisters.²

The completion of the fabric of the cathedral was followed by the erection of the cloisters (CC), which was zealously promoted by Bishop Oliver Sutton. It will be observed on reference to the ground plan that the position of these cloisters is unusual. We may pass over their being on the north side of the building instead of the south, the

¹ "Ecce auribus nostris nuper insonuit quod de canonicis vestris anno presenti ad tam pium opus et structuram adeo venerabili schemate propagatam per vos nihil erat penitus persolutum."—Memoir of Bishop Sutton, Nov. 21, 1297, p. 169. Again, March 2, 1298, an indulgence is published granting forty days release from penance to all truly penitent and confessed "qui de bonis sibi a Deo collatis fabricæ cathedralis eccl. Linc.

materialis scil. templi gloriæ virginis Mariæ genetricis Dei beatissimæ contulerint subsidia pietatis."—*Ib.* 180.

² This contract with Richard of Stow is referred to by Mr. Ayliffe Poole, who copied it from earlier historians of the cathedral. Mr. Poole and Prebendary Dimock were unable to discover the original of the agreement, nor has it yet been found.

customary side, an arrangement found also at Canterbury, Chester, and Gloucester Cathedrals, and the abbeys of Tintern, Malmesbury, Melrose, &c., where, as at Lincoln, local reasons rendered that side less convenient. But the position of the cloister, on the flank of the choir instead of the nave, between the western and eastern transepts, is without parallel in English minsters. We may remark that a cloister was not an essential appendage to a secular church, such as Lincoln always has been, as it was to a conventual foundation, there being no monastic offices—refectory, dormitory, calefactory, and the like,—to be connected with a covered way, which was the essential idea of such an erection. A cloister therefore in a secular college was a mere luxury; at best a convenience which might be added at any time, in any place, and after any plan, or, as at York, Lichfield, Southwell and Beverley, left out altogether. Its position at Lincoln was ruled by that of the Chapter-house, to which it affords access under cover. The Chapter-house, standing so much further to the east than was customary, the cloister was also carried eastward of its usual position to a situation where, for want of room, it was impossible for it to be built as cloisters were almost universally (Salisbury is an exception) abutting against the main wall of the church. Indeed it does not meet the church at all. It stands just beyond the north arm of the great transept, overlapping the eastern half, and stretches eastwards to the eastern side of the smaller transept with which it communicates by a vaulted vestibule of the same date as itself. It is not a complete square, being a third longer from east to west than from north to south.¹ On the eastern side there must have been always a covered way from the church to the Chapter house, probably at first a mere pentice. The east wall of the present cloister as far as the Chapter-house door belongs to this earlier alley. The masonry will be found on examination to be different, and a course of thinner stones marks the place of the stone bench, cut away on the building of the cloister, as intruding inconveniently upon the thoroughfare. The cloister is a beautiful work in the Early Decorated style of the closing years of the thirteenth century. John of Schalby, who

¹ The dimensions within are 120 feet from east to west; 90 feet from north to south.

was Bishop Sutton's Registrar, informs us that the erection of the cloister was due to that prelate's influence, and was aided by his munificence. We do not know the year of its commencement, but we learn from a letter of Bishop Sutton's to the then Dean Philip of Willoughby, dated July 23, 1296, that by that time the southern wall had been carried up to a considerable height. The Canons had already measured out the requisite space and laid the plan, the completion of which rendered it necessary for the north wall to be built on the wall of the Dean's stables. The Dean was evidently making a difficulty about this, and the Bishop delicately reminding him that the said stable was currently reported—"ut dicitur,"—to have been built on consecrated ground—"super solum ecclesiæ,"—and that the erection of the cloister would be at no expense to him—"sine vestro dispendio,"—and would in no way interfere with his decanal house—"domo ipsa sicut prius salva manente,"—as good as tells him he ought to be ashamed of himself for throwing any hindrance in the way of the work.¹ We may conclude that the Bishop's remonstrance was effectual, for though the north walk was subsequently destroyed—its demolition is one of the despotic acts attributed to Dean Mackworth in the "Laudum" of Bishop Alnwick (1436-1450²)—we see from the traces of the groining in the north wall, that the design corresponded with that of the other three sides. The place of this demolished walk is now occupied by a Doric arcade, supporting the library above, erected by the munificence of Dean Honynwood, after the design of Sir Christopher Wren, and bearing the date 1675. The

¹ "Ibid (Oliverus Sutton), claustrum ecclesiæ fieri procuravit et de suo L marcas contulit ad constructionem ejusdem." *Joh. de Schalby*, p. 209.

Bishop Sutton's letter to Dean Willoughby, dated Folkingham, June 23, 1296, is as follows:—"Ad decorem ecclesiæ nostre confratres vestri quoddam claustrum in area ante capitulum ejusdem ecclesiæ nobis ad hoc dantibus occasionem, decenter metantes, murum ejusdem ex parte australi jam laudabiliter erexerunt in altum. Sane situs loci, et dispositio fundamenti hujusmodi fabricæ, necessario exigunt, ut pretendunt, quod alter paries correspondens super murum stabuli vestri ex parte boreali, super solum ecclesiæ

constructum, ut dicitur, sine vestro dispendio construat, domo ipsa sicut prius salva manente; et super hoc ut consensum præstetis sicut intelleximus, capitulum specialiter vobis scribit,"—*Sutton's Memorandums*, fol. 155, a.

² The thirty-third count in the indictment brought against Dean Mackworth by his canons, is "quod idem Decanus magnam partem muri claustrum ecclesiæ ibidem demoliret stabulum unum super residuam partem muri ejusdem construi fecit capitulo inconsulto et absque ejus voluntate scientia et assensu." p. 85, no. 33, of the Bishop of Lincoln's edition of the *Necum Registrum et Laudum*.

cloisters, as originally built, consisted of a continuous series of four-light windows of geometrical tracery, separated by very slender buttresses running up into crocketed pinnacles attached to the wall. The whole was covered with a wooden vault, the curiously carved bosses of which will reward careful examination. Like many mediæval buildings, the cloisters were built without any foundation, and light as the vaulting is, its thrust has been sufficient to push the walls considerably out of the perpendicular. To remedy this, slight buttresses with three set-offs were erected between every two bays, and probably at the same time the lower parts of the windows, which were open nearly to the ground, were filled up with slabs of stone. During the present year (1883), it has been found necessary to take down and rebuild the western walk, restoring its verticality. On taking down the buttresses they were found to contain fragments of cut and carved stone of the same date and design as the cloister. The capitals of the window shafts exhibit beautiful natural foliage, chiefly of the vine. A large pointed arch at the east end of the north walk indicates an entrance from the close at that point. The staircase to Wren's library is now built against it.

Before passing from Bishop Oliver Sutton it should be mentioned, that during his episcopate, and chiefly through his instrumentality, the cathedral close was, by royal licence, May 8, 1285¹ surrounded by a strong crenellated wall, with towers capable of defence, each point of entrance, with exception of Pottergate where the steep slope of the hill was sufficient protection, being defended by a massive double gate-house. A large piece of this wall, with two of its towers, is still standing in the gardens of the Chancellor's and Choristers' houses. All the gate-houses have been destroyed, except the inner Exchequer gate opposite the west front of the minster, and the Pottergate arch. There is also a small postern gate at the head of the so-called "Grecian stairs." Oliver Sutton was also the means of removing the parishioners of St. Mary

¹ Hic a rege Edwardo, Henrici regis tertii filio, impetravit, ut circuitus adificiorum circa ecclesiam constructorum muro certæ altitudinis, cum venellis intermediis, clauderetur; pro securitate

canonicorum et aliorum ministrorum dictæ ecclesiæ, qui pro matutinis dicendis nocte media eandem ecclesiam tunc temporis adierunt." *John de Schalby*, p. 210.

Magdalen's,¹ who from Remigius's time had been allowed to hold their services in the western part of the minster, for the erection of which their own parish church had been pulled down, and of erecting a church for their use between the two western gate-houses, where the parish church still stands. He was also the first to bring the vicars-choral together to a common habitation,² having, before his death in 1300, commenced the erection, on the "Boungarth,"³ of a quadrangular court surrounded with houses for their residence, and on the north side a gate-house and a common hall for their meals. This work he did not live to see completed, leaving it to be carried on by his executors, and completed by his successor John of Dalderby, and at a later period, Bishop John of Buckingham (1363-1398).

The episcopate of Sutton's successor, Bishop John of Dalderby, was signalized by the erection of the crowning glory of the minster, the magnificent upper story of the central tower, popularly known as the "Broad tower," a corruption of the "Rood tower." This tower, as we have seen, was carried up two stories above the roof, after the catastrophe of 1239, finishing in a tall spire of timber covered with lead, of which the stump of the central shaft, or mast, still remains in the floor of the belfry chamber. It was now resolved to raise it higher and complete it in a sumptuous style—"altius erigere et opere sumptuoso finire." To obtain the necessary funds, Bishop Dalderby issued letters of indulgence, dated Stow Park, March 9, 1307, calling upon all rectors, vicars, and parochial chaplains throughout the diocese to urge liberal gifts towards the completion of this noble work, so honourable to the whole realm, on Sundays and feast days throughout the year, giving the precedence to it above

¹ "Hic, ob quietem ministrantium in ecclesia cathedrali, frequenter turbatam per confluentiam parochianorum olim ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene, qui, a fundatione ecclesie cathedralis in occidentali parte ejusdem ecclesie divina adierant, et sacramenta et sacramentalia pereceperant, quandam capellam in honore beate Marie Magdalene, in atrio dicte ecclesie cathedralis, competenti spatio distantem ab eis, erigi procuravit."—*Ibid.*, p. 209.

² John of Schalby, says of Sutton's suc-

cessor, John of Dalderby, "Et vicariis communiter habitantibus, ad sustentacionem domorum, sumptibus proximi predecessoris sui pro habitatione vicariorum constructarum, pensionem quatuor librarum sterlingarum de vicariis duarum ecclesiarum Hospitalariis appropriatarum contulit annuatim."

³ "Boungarth" is the Danish *Bundegaard*, a farm yard or farmstead. It is an interesting survival from the times when Lincoln was a Danish city.

all similar claims,¹ publishing, at the same time, the indulgences and suffrages to be gained by the promoters of this work. The Bishop states that the Dean and Chapter were hoping to commence the work in the ensuing summer. We find, however, from the Chapter-Act-Book, that on March 14 of that year, less than a week after the date of Dalderby's letter, orders were given to the masons to begin to work on the tower, laying stones as soon as they found the weather suitable for their operations²—"ponentes lapides quam cito viderint tempus opportunum." The building was carried on without any serious interruption; and in less than four years the new campanile had received its bells. This is proved by an entry in the Chapter Acts, that on January 23, 1311, at a full chapter of dean and residentiaries, the executors of Gilbert d'Eivill, formerly treasurer of the church, were condemned in the cost of two ropes for the bells which had been lately hung³—"in duabis cordis can-

¹ After a long preamble on the duty of paying special reverence to the Blessed Virgin, Bishop Dalderby thus proceeds:—"Hæc dilecti in Christi filli, decanus et capituli cathedralis ecclesie nostre Lincoln salubriter advertentes, ad honorem Virginis prelibatæ majorem, et ecclesie predictas cujus ipsa est patrona decorem, campanile in ipsius ecclesie medio, a multis temporibus retroactis constructum, altius erigere, et opere sumptuoso finire, ac opus illud in instanti estate inchoare, Dei mediante adjutorio decreverunt. Nos igitur, tam pium et tam sanctum eorum propositum commendantes, fabricamque tam nobilem, et honorificam toti regno, quantum possumus promovere volentes, vobis mandamus, in virtute obedientie firmiter injungentes, quatinus negocium hujus structure venerabilis, quæ magno fidelium subsidio noscitur indigere, in ecclesiis vobis subditis, per rectores, vicarios, seu capellanos parochiales earum, diebus dominicis et festivis, præ ceteris negociis consimilibus, faciatis annuatim dicto durante opere frequenter exponi, ac verbo et exemplo efficaciter promoveri; indulgenciasque multiplices et alia suffragia, quæ fabricæ dictæ ecclesie promotoribus sunt concessæ, populo manifestare; ac nuncios veros ad procuracionem dicti negotii volis mittendos benigne recipi et tractari, etc. etc. . . . Ut autem mentes fidelium ad pietatis opera excitemus, de Dei omnipotentis misericordia, gloriose Virginis supradictæ, beati Hu-

gonis confessoris, ac omnium Sanctorum meritis confidentes, omnibus parochianis nostris et aliis quorum Diocesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint, de peccatorum suorum maculis vere penitentibus et confessio, qui ad constructionem campanilis predicti de bonis sibi a Deo collatis grata contulerint subsidia caritatis, XL dies de injuncta sibi penitentia misericorditer relaxamus, ratificantes omnes indulgencias a quibuscunque episcopis catholicis in hac parte concessas et in posterum concedendas. Dat' apud parcum Stowe, vii id Marcii, a.d. MCCC. sexto (i.e. March 9, 1307), et consecrationis nostre septimo."—Dalderby's *Memorandum*, 101 b.

² Memorandum:—"Quod die Martis proxime post festum sancti Gregorii, anno Domini M.C.C.C. sexto (i.e., March 14, 1207) consensus fuit per capitulum quod cementarii incipiant operari super campanile, ponentes lapides, quam cito viderint tempus opportunum."—Chapter Act Book, 1315-1320.

³ Memorandum:—"Quod die Sabbati proxime post festum Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani (i.e., Saturday, January 23, 1312), Decano et ceteris canonicis residentibus more solito in capitulo congregatis, condemnati fuerunt executores testamenti domini Gilberti Deivill quondam Thesaurarii ecclesie Lincoln, in duabus cordis campanarum tunc noviter in medio campanili ecclesie suspensarum."—*Ibid.*

panarum tunc noviter in medio campanili ecclesiæ suspensarum." These bells were a part of the charming little peal of six "Lady bells," so prosaically cast into the melting pot by the chapter in 1835, on the recasting of "Great Tom," to make him bigger than before. The tower was surmounted by a very lofty spire of timber covered with lead, rising to the height of about 525 feet, only exceeded, if exceeded, in height by the similar spire of Old St. Paul's. This spire was blown down in a violent storm, January 31, 1548. The present open work battlement was put up by Essex in 1775. If not faultless in detail, and somewhat coarse in workmanship, it is an admirable finish to a magnificent design, for which, considering its date, we can hardly be too grateful. We may, however, be thankful that the ambitious design of the then Dean of Lincoln (Bishop Yorke of St. David's) to erect a stone spire was not carried into effect.¹ We can hardly doubt that it would have led to a repetition of the disaster of Grosseteste's time.

It may safely be said, that as this tower is the highest ancient church tower in England, so it is the most beautiful. The symmetry of the proportions is simply perfect, and it combines with the two western towers in a group of unparalleled loveliness. For the union of majesty and grace, dignified simplicity and beauty of form, with its pairs of lofty canopied windows, soaring at one bound from the base mould to the parapet, it certainly has no rival. Sir Charles Anderson calls attention to the fact that the bulk of the tower "is gathered in about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, 25 feet below the parapet, which shows upon what trifles, as they might be called, beauty and proportion depend."² As Mr. Sharpe remarks,³ "Its details call for no special observation, with

¹ In 1714 three of the pinnacles of the Rood tower were blown down by a great storm and rebuilt. A correspondence between Bp. Yorke and Essex in 1773 exists among the Chapter papers. The Bishop wished for a central stone spire. This Essex discountenanced on account of the great height it would reach and the exposed situation. He recommended four stone spire-pinnacles and an open battlement, "such," he writes, "as I consider agreeable to the other parts of the tower," to cost not less than £2000. On examination, however, the existing wooden and

lead pinnacles proved sound and were allowed to remain. On the repair of the tower roof in 1874 some stone crockets and pinnacles of exquisite work, evidently fragments of the former parapet, were found buried in rubbish beneath the lead flat. While this paper has been passing through the press, the storm of December 11th-12th has blown down the parapet on the western side, but happily without injury to the rest of the fabric.

² *Lincoln Pocket Guide*, p. 120.

³ *Lincoln Excursions*, p. 128.

the exception of the remarkable crockets which," running vertically upwards, "mark and accentuate the window jambs in a manner which reminds one of the similar ornaments in the piers of the choir" (see woodcut, p. 188); to which may be added the various orders of the pier and arch mouldings of the Angel choir.

After the completion of the tower, the chapter took in hand the remodelling of the south gable end of the south transept. The original rose window, or "Bishop's eye," was removed, its quatrefoils being worked up into the horizontal band which stretches across the base of the gable externally, and a larger circular window erected, containing flamboyant tracery resembling two leaves set side by side. At the same time, a large five-light window, with flowing tracery in the head (only lighting the roof), was inserted in the gable; and a pierced parapet of extraordinary, almost excessive, lightness was carried along the edge. Within, the circular window is set under a hollow traceried arch, with two rows of pierced quatrefoils. There is no documentary evidence as to the date of this sumptuous and costly alteration. But Bishop Dalderby died in 1320, and was buried in this transept, with the popular reputation of a saint. A costly monument was erected over his grave, supporting a silver shrine containing his relics, two of the stone shafts of which, and the lower part of the third, may still be seen against the west wall. Miracles were alleged to have been worked at his tomb; on the ground of which, an unsuccessful attempt was made to procure his canonization by the Pope.¹ But though this endeavour failed, Bishop Dalderby was canonized in the opinion of the people, and his shrine was visited by crowds of devotees, to whose offerings the costly architectural works in this transept, which certainly belong to this period, may be not unreasonably attributed.

Among the minor architectural works belonging to the Decorated period the following deserve especial mention:—

(I.) The panelled stone screen in the south aisle of the choir, forming the back of the shrine of "Little St. Hugh."² Only the base of the shrine remains covering

¹ See the late Prebendary Wickenden's article, "John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln."—*Archæological Journal*, vol. xl, p. 215.

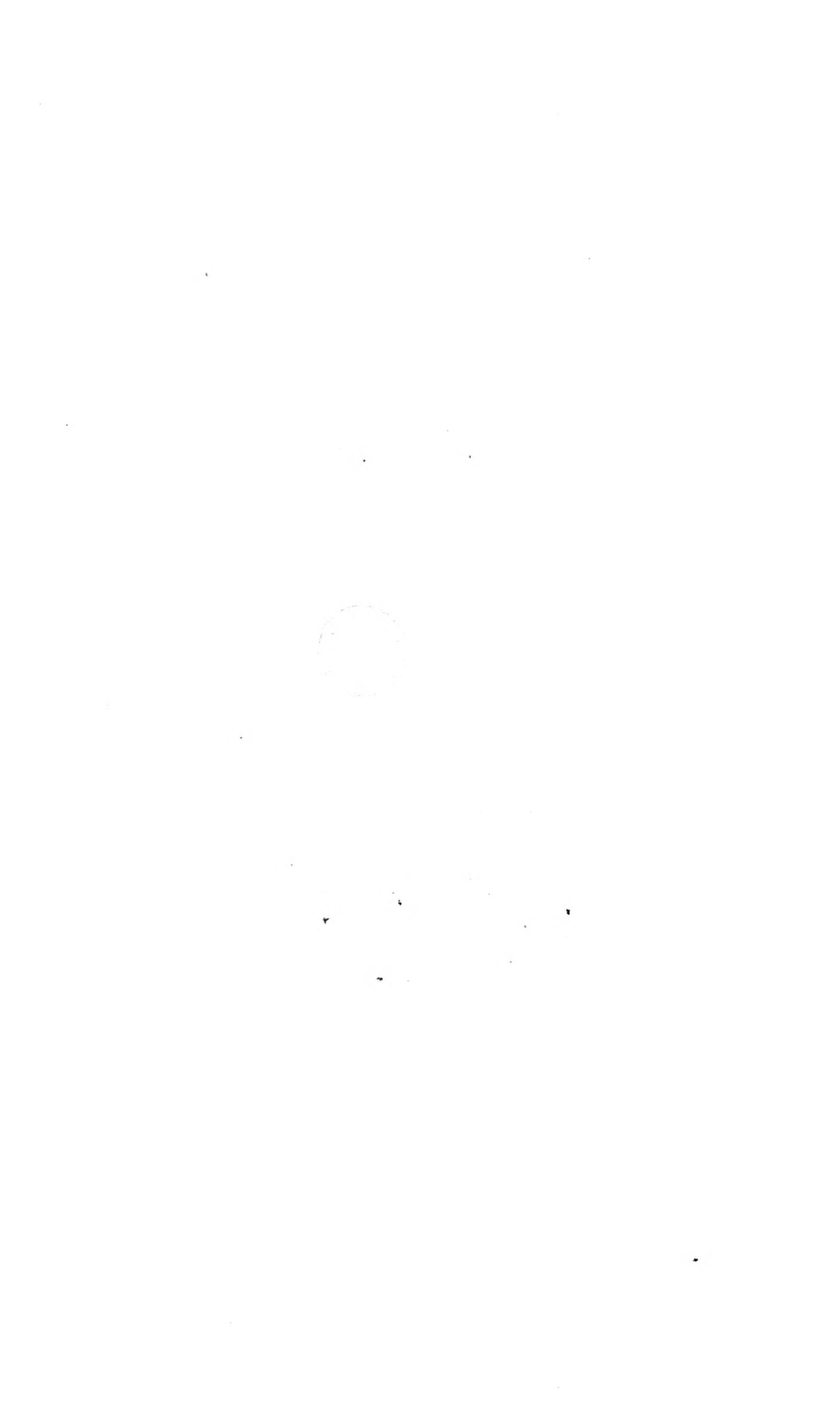
² He was the Christian boy asserted to have been crucified by the Jews in 1255. See the paper by the Bishop of Nottingham—*Associated Societies Papers for 1880*

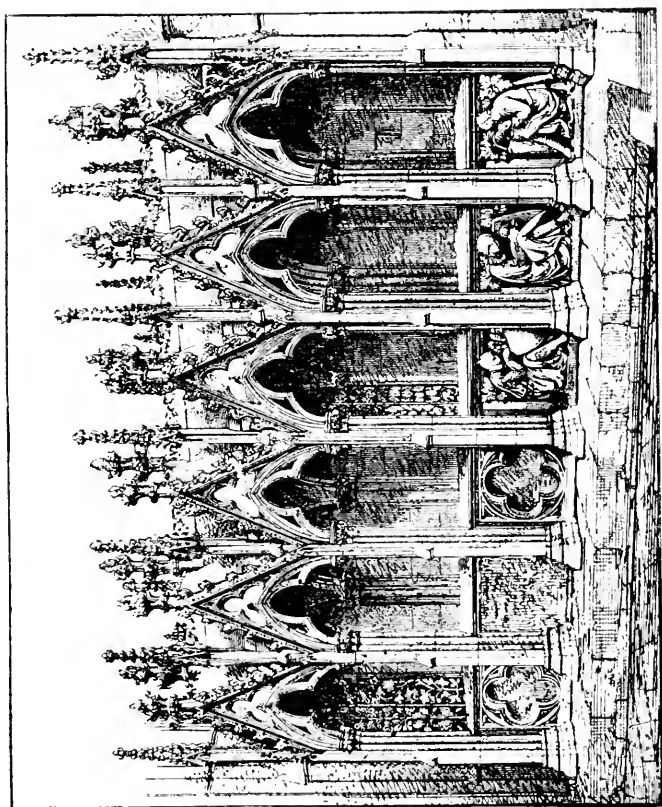
the little stone coffin below, with some fragments of the projecting canopy which once covered it. The wall-arcade consists of panelled arches, filled with geometrical tracery of trefoils, surmounted with tall, pedimental canopies. The whole was once richly painted and gilt. The design is, with one exception, so absolutely identical with the wall-arcade of the nave of York Minster that it hardly admits a question that the two had the same designer. This idea is strengthened by the fact that York nave was built when John le Romeyn was Archbishop, who had previously been, first Chancellor, and then Precentor of Lincoln. The one point of difference is that the ball-flower, with which St. Hugh's shrine is profusely covered, is entirely wanting at York.

(II). Somewhat earlier in the style are the remains of the reredos and the walls enclosing the sacrarium.¹ These are elaborately panelled with arches under pedimental heads. Those to the choir aisles are destitute of the rich crockets and finials which distinguish the other parts. The whole, however, has been subjected to a great deal of attention and modernization, and it is not very easy to determine what is old and what is new. The screen wall to the north of the altar is the least altered portion. The existing triple canopy over the altar, which bears the date 1769, was designed by Essex, from Bishop de Luda's tomb in the choir at Ely, and executed by an admirable local carver in stone, by name Pink, who entered most marvellously into the spirit of the old work. Essex's screen was preceded by a heavy classical reredos, attributed to Wren, certainly in his style, set up after the Restoration of the monarchy at the same time with the Bishop's throne. The original reredos-screen, as laid down in Hollar's plan, was double, with a long narrow space, serving as a sacristy, between the two screens lighted by the quatrefoils, still open in the back screen wall, with aumbries, &c., in the walls, and a newel stair at the north-west corner;² leading to the tabernacle above. All

¹ The following entry in the Chapter Records must refer to some addition to the earlier decorated reredos; perhaps "the tabernacle," spoken of by Bishop Sanderson. "*Le retable magni altaris incept. per dñm Johannem Colynson, 5 die Sept., 1482.*"

² In Sanderson's survey of the Cathedral, of which he was afterwards Bishop, made before the civil wars, 1641, he writes, "On the east part stood the altar. A door into the room there at each end. Upon the room stood the tabernacle; below, many closets in the





Lincoln Cathedral—The Easter Sepulchre

traces of this arrangement have disappeared. Essex's reredos was solid, and the arch contained a tasteless picture of the Annunciation, executed and presented by the Rev. W. Peters in 1799.¹ The picture having been removed, the wall was pierced with Decorated tracery, and the plain portions elaborately carved from Mr. J. C. Buckler's designs in 1857.²

(III.) The gorgeous composition, consisting of six tall trefoiled arches, under richly crocketed and finialed pedimental canopies, which occupies one bay of the choir on the north side combining the Easter Sepulchre with an anonymous monument, now incorrectly assigned to Remigius,³ is characterized by Sir G. G. Scott⁴ as a fine specimen of Early Decorated work, about the period of the Eleanor crosses. The sleeping soldiers beneath (in the three eastern panels) are charming pieces of sculpture. The illustration, liberally lent with the others by Mr. Murray, renders further description needless.

(IV.) The choir screen, or rood screen, now supporting the organ (which instrument, in Hollar's view, is seen to occupy the fourth bay of the choir on the north side), is an elaborate composition of exceeding richness of detail, belonging to the Late Decorated period.⁵ It comprises, on

wall." This arrangement existed in 1736, when Mr. Lethellier speaks of "a little dark passage behind the high altar." A similar arrangement of a narrow slip sacristy behind the reredos may be seen at St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, and at Llantwit, in South Wales. The existing reredos at Lincoln must be almost entirely the work of Essex. Mr. Brooke quotes a letter of Precentor Richardson, to Mr. Essex, in 1768, in which he tells him that he sends a drawing of the stone work behind Wren's panelling, that he may "see what he can make of it, so as, by addition, to make it handsome." He describes the middle part as plain ashlar, and some of the stone work as cut and defaced. The outer stone basement panelled in quatrefoils remains all round.

¹ The Rev. W. Peters was prebendary of St. Mary's, Crekepool. He was installed June 23, 1792.

² If this reredos is not all that can be desired as an architectural design, and is deficient in purity of detail, it is certainly superior in dignity of effect to the restless, showy masses of carving with which it has been the fashion of late years, at

immense cost, to furnish the altars of our cathedrals. Essex's reredos may well stand until the Dean and Chapter can be sure of being able to replace it with something better. Mr. E. J. Willson writes thus of it:—"It has a chaste and suitable effect, though not large and sumptuous enough to fill its place worthily in so magnificent an edifice." Pugin says of the works of Essex, "Though admirable in their fidelity to ancient examples, they are deficient in boldness and spirit of design, and his details are often too meagre, as is apparent in this work." Pugin's *Specimens*, vol. i, p. xvii.

³ Sanderson's survey records. "In the choir, on the north side, two tombs, not known. But it is famed that one of them is Remigius, whose bare sheet of lead is now (1658) to be seen. No inscription, coat, or other mention of anyone."

⁴ *Lectures*, u.s., i, 304.

⁵ The rood of St. Hugh's Church is thus described by the author of the *Metrical Life* :—

Introituque chori majestas aurea pingit
Et proprie propria crucifixus imagine
Christus

each side of the canopied central archway four recessed tabernacles, with rich ogee canopied arches, groined continuously. The wall behind, sub-divided by a shelf, is covered with diaper.¹ The passage into the choir is groined like that at Southwell, with skeleton ribs. To the right is a small groined room, which, with every part of this exquisite work, deserves careful study. There is a staircase to the loft on the left of the entrance. Another stair, lighted by a pierced quatrefoil, is formed in the thickness of the screen wall of the first bay of the south aisle of the choir, approached by a small ogee-headed archway, some feet from the ground, to be reached by a short step ladder. The formation of this stair has obliterated the greater part of the wall arcade of Grosseteste's time, in this bay.

(V). A stone screen wall covered on both faces with a diaper of large open leaved flowers divides the choristers' vestry (R), from the south choir aisle. The variety of form in these flowers, no two being exactly alike, and the play of fancy shown in some of the minor details, are evidence of the perfect freedom with which the mediæval carvers carried on their work.² Below it, within the vestry, stands a stone lavatory trough, with a panelled base.

(VI). This series of Decorated works is concluded with the Burghersh (3) and Cantilupe (5) tombs, both magnificent examples of canopied monuments of the later Edwardian period. The canopies over the tombs of Bishop Burghersh (d. 1342), and of his father, having become ruinous were removed in the early part of this century, and only exist in fragments. It is much to be desired that they might be re-erected. At the west end of the bishop's tomb projects a very curious stone base of a feretory or portable shrine, having in the north and west

Exprimitur, vitæque suæ progressus ad
unguem

Insinuatur ibi. Nec solum crux vel
imago, [rum

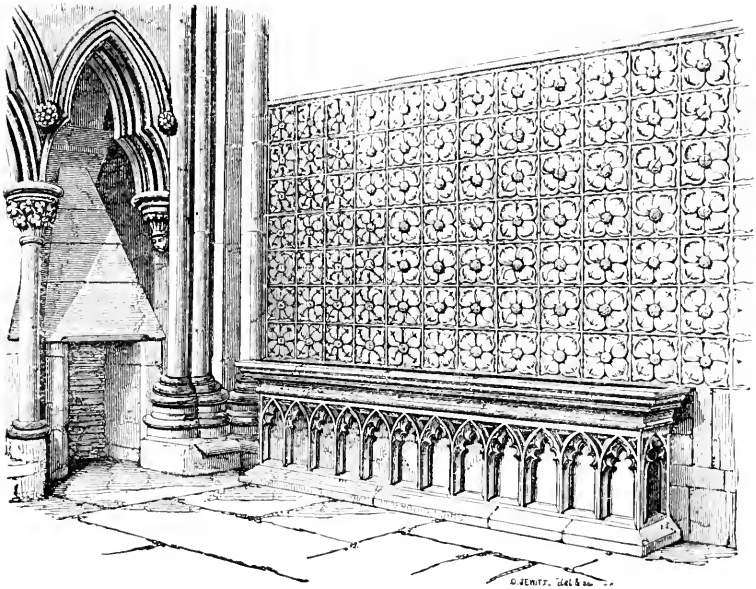
Immo columnarum sex, lignorumque duo-
Ampa superficies, obrizo fulgurat auro.

The meaning is not free from obscurity, but we see that the rood screen consisted of six pillars, three, we may suppose, on either side of the entrance to the choir, supporting two beams, on which stood

the crucifix, the whole being gilt.

¹ The upper part of this diaper, in a stone of a somewhat darker hue, is modern, the work of Pink, already mentioned in 1770.

² On the north side may be observed a bird's nest with the fledglings, and the parent birds, one flying from, the other to the nest; a clown's head, reversed, &c. : on the south side a little dog lies curled up in the centre of one of the flowers.



Lincoln Cathedral—Lavatory, Choristers' Vestry.

[N.B. The second row of diaper from the bottom has been supplied by an error of the engraver. There is no carving at that level, it being the place of the water pipes and taps]

sides deep canopied kneeling niches. The recessed tomb of the bishop's brother, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh (d. 1356), on the north wall of the choir aisle (4), is a fine specimen of its date.

The tall pedimental canopies covering the mutilated effigies of Sir Nicholas Cantilupe (d. 1355), and Ric. Wymbysh of Nocton, sub-dean of the cathedral (d. —), (5) are happily uninjured, and may be ranked among the very noblest examples of their kind.

We now pass, in conclusion, from the Decorated to the Perpendicular works. These, as have been already stated, are but few and comparatively unimportant. The earliest portion, the vaulting and wall-panelling of the western towers, due to John of Welbourne (treasurer, 1350-1380), belong to the latter half of the fourteenth century, and in a very instructive manner exhibit the transition from one style to the other. The whole side wall under each tower is occupied by a blank window, the mullions of which run up perpendicularly from the sill to the window arch, the tracery between them showing a mixture of vertical and flowing lines. The wall arcade below has few equals for richness of design, and loveliness of proportions. The elaborately moulded trefoiled ogee arches are profusely studded with flowers under the south tower, but not under the north. The mouldings of the principal arches interpenetrate at the points of junction in an unusual manner. The ceiling, though designated as a vault in the record of Welbourne's benefactions—"facture duarum voltarum in fine occidentali monasterii"—is almost flat, panelled in a stellar form. The whole design is unusual, and deserves careful examination. The western windows of the nave and aisles, commonly attributed to Bishop Alnwick on the strength of a certainly erroneous note of Leland's,¹ if not the work of Welbourne (if they had been they would have probably have had distinct mention among his other architectural works in the minster) cannot be much later than his time. The tracery, which must be pronounced feeble and attenuated, exhibits a distinct survival of flowing lines, especially in the head of the great west window.

The vault of the Broad tower, also Welbourne's work—

¹ *Collections*, vol. i, p. 93. See p. 165, Note 1,

"eciam voltæ altioris campanilis"—is a simple but most effective design, described by Sir G. G. Scott¹ as "a square dome penetrated on each side by two Welsh groined vaults, the central portion bounded by a strongly marked horizontal line." The erection of this vault, cutting off the apex of the arches of the wall arcade of the upper storey of the lantern, caused a very curious modification of the arrangements,² which, however, it is impossible without drawings to make fully intelligible. It must suffice to say that the four archways of the wall passage, on each side of the lantern, were each subdivided into two by the insertion of an additional shaft supporting two half arches, thus making an arcade of eight, the Early English details and foliage being so cleverly imitated that it is only after careful examination the difference can be discovered. At the same time arched buttresses were introduced across the space behind the wall passage, running down on either side from the central bearing shaft of the vault, cleverly carrying the thrust away from the weak haunches of the lantern arches, one of which has a serious fissure, to its more solid pier. The skilfulness with which an architectural difficulty has been conquered, and increased stability secured, cannot be sufficiently admired.

Welbourne³ has also to be thanked for the commencement of the magnificent series of stalls, sixty-two in number, which furnish the choir. Each has a projecting canopy of three ogee arches, above which rises a pierced spirelet, presenting towards the choir a tabernacle once containing a statuette, soon, it is hoped, to be re-erected. The lightness of the pierced carving, almost rivalling lace-work, and the gracefulness of the general design cannot

¹ *Lectures, u.s.*, vol. ii, p. 199.

² For the notice of this alteration I am indebted to the quick eye and careful research of Mr. Somers Clarke, junr., who I hope may be induced to give to the world the result of his investigations, with measured illustrations of this very curious piece of work.

³ "Qui eciam existens magister fabricæ fuit principalis causa movens de factura duarum voltarum campanilium in fine occidentali monasterii eciam voltæ altioris campanilis. Ac eciam fieri fecit reges in fini

occidentalie predicta, ac eciam factura horologii quod vocatur *Clok*. Et inceptor et consultor inceptiois facturæ stallorum novorum in ecclesia Cath. Line. Et idem Johannes obiit a.d., M^oCCC^oLXXX." The date of the erection of the stalls is fixed within six years by the occurrence on the base of the Dean's stall of the shields of Dean Stretchley, d. 1376, and Bishop Buckingham, consecrated 1362. See "The Choir Stalls of Lincoln Cathedral," by Prebendary Wickenden. *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 42-55.

be surpassed.¹ Another work due to the activity of Treasurer Welbourne cannot be commended, viz., the row of statues of kings, eleven in number, stigmatised by the late Professor Cockerell as "wretched both in design and workmanship," which occupy the band of enriched canopied niches above the great west portal, the outer order of which has been hastily cut away to make room for them."²

The lofty belfries which raise the two Norman towers of Bishop Alexander to a height of 200 feet may be assigned to a period a little but not much later than Welbourne's time. The tracery of the coupled belfry windows, the enriched tabernacled parapet, and the details generally, are far more Decorated than Perpendicular in idea. Mr. Sharpe places them about 1380. There are many points of resemblance in style to the work in the Chapter house of Howden which was begun in that year. Mixed though their style is—a defect, if defect it be, shared by them with the glorious central tower—they are certainly noble towers, "if they only stood out from the ground" writes Mr. Freeman, "among the very noblest towers in Christendom."³ "Though neither straight nor uniform," says Sir Charles Anderson,⁴ "there are none which more completely satisfy the eye." "This," he continues, "is owing to the exceeding elegance of the double belfry windows, and the hood mouldings; the bold stair-case turrets which produce [unusual depth of light and shade; and the pinnacles which are leaden spirelets rising out of coronas of gablets." It is not a little remarkable that no reference to the erection of these towers has been found in the Chapter accounts. They were originally terminated with tall slender spires of wood covered with lead, which after having been often threat-

¹ The late Mr. Pugin was enthusiastic in his admiration of the tabernacle work of the stalls. "Executed in the most perfect manner, not only as regards variety and beauty of ornamental design, but in accuracy of workmanship, which is frequently deficient in ancient examples of woodwork." The Bishop's throne is modern, erected by Lumby, after a design by Essex, in 1778. It carries out with very considerable success the gene-

ral idea of the tabernacle work of the stalls, and is decidedly very superior to most modern attempts at episcopal thrones, which commonly resemble an old fashioned four-post bedstead.

² See Plate, "Great West Door," p. 176.

³ Freeman's *English Towns and Districts*, p. 223.

⁴ *Archæological Journal*, vol. XXXVI, p. 374.

ened, from the expense of keeping them in repair, were finally taken down in 1807.

There is little else to mention in this period. Of the library over the east walk of the cloisters, of which only a fragment remains, I have already spoken.' [p. 165]. Reference has also been made to the three chantry chapels, that of Bishop Fleming (d. 1431), attached to the north choir aisle; and those of Bishop Russell (d. 1493), and Bishop Longland (d. 1547), which flank the great south portal on either side. They are excellent specimens of their style, but call for no special remark. The skill with which they have been planned, so as to avoid interfering with the windows of the choir aisles and to render as little structural alterations as possible necessary, while instead of appearing to be awkward excrescences they become real ornamental appendages, cannot be too highly commended.

With the erection of these chapels the architectural history of Lincoln Cathedral, properly speaking, closes. The sacrilegious havoc of the Puritans in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, the well-meant but far from well-directed efforts of the bishops who occupied the see after the Restoration to repair the damage of that terrible time, the neglect of the next fifty years, and the result of the newly awakened energy of the Gothic revival in the latter part of the last century—when happily the Dean and Chapter had the modest Essex as their architectural adviser instead of Wyatt "the Destructive"—together with the various works of repair and restoration, and some, alas, of destruction carried on in the present century, are all open chapters of architectural history on which it would not be uninteresting to dwell. This, however, must be postponed to a future occasion.

NOTE.—The Council of the Institute desire to make grateful mention of the liberality with which Mr. Murray has put at their disposal the wood blocks of his *Eastern Cathedrals* and of Sir G. G. Scott's *Lectures* for the illustration of the paper. The chronological ground-plan has been drawn from actual measurement by Mr. A. Beresford Pike.

ON NEW EXAMPLES OF EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.¹

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

In bringing these examples of weights and measures before you—some new in their character, and others belonging to a standard hitherto unpublished—it is difficult to avoid entering on the whole subject of ancient weights and measures; especially as I have needed to compare all the Oriental examples published or accessible to me, in order to arrive at any certain conclusions. As I hope to obtain some further information, before publishing a final estimate of the exact values of the Egyptian and Assyrian standards, I will avoid giving the details of those already published; but it should be remembered that the mean values of the known standards stated in this paper are derived from not only all the material used by previous students, but also from many fresh examples in the British Museum, Mr. Hilton Price's, and my own collections.

The study of ancient weights has been somewhat confused by the assumption that every weight found must belong to some standard already known; hence, weights which really had no relation to the usual standards were supposed to be merely very erratic examples of them, the true range of variation of the weights was very much over-rated, and new standards were never detected until forced on our notice by an unmistakeable inscription.

Such an inscription has now left us no choice in recognising a standard hitherto quite unknown. In 1875, the British Museum purchased a weight brought from Gebelein, about twenty miles above Thebes. The material of it appears to be a hard white limestone; its shape rectangular, with a curved top; and on the top is the inscription, consisting of the throne-name of Amenhotep I, of the eighteenth dynasty, followed by "gold 5." There is, therefore, no question that this is a weight used for weighing gold in the sixteenth century B.C.; and that it was a multiple of five times the standard.² It actually weighs now 1022·7 grains; and I estimate its loss by chipping at about 15 grains, making a total of 1038 grains originally. A fifth of this gives the standard of 207·6 grains; a totally different weight from the known standards of early date. But this is not an isolated example, for on examination, there are no less than fifteen other weights found, which all agree to this basis; eight of them in the British Museum, three at Bulak, and four of my own, now before you. Many of these had been attributed to one-third and one-sixth of the

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, April 5th, 1883.

² It may be observed that the authenticity of the inscription is unquestionable.

The style of the characters is just that of the period named, and would be incongruous in an inscription even one or two centuries later.

Egyptian standard, the *ket*; not only, however, are trinary divisions of the *ket* otherwise unknown, but there is here a weight of the same class, which is a whole unit of 200 grains, and, therefore, quite unattachable to the *ket* of 145 grains. The various examples of this weight may then be tabulated as follows, with the number and registration marks of those in the British Museum :

		grains.	grains.
L. Domed type ¹	brown limestone, 6196 h, 71·6·19·497	52·3 $\frac{1}{4}$	of 209·2
L. "Amenhotep I, Gold 5,"	white limestone, 6196 m, 75·5·17·102	1038 5	„ 207·6
L. Drum	hæmatite 6196 f, 78·12·17·83	51·8 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 207·2
L. Pyramidal	jasper	50·7 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 202·8
F. Conoid	hæmatite, with bronze ring	199·6 1	„ 199·6
F. Conoid	hæmatite	49·8 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 199·2
L. Pyramidal	hæmatite	49·6 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 198·4
B. Domed type	bronze	49·6 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 198·4
F. Ring	copper	49·6 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 198·4
L. Conoid	hæmatite 6196 k, 76·6·15·6	49·4 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 197·6
F. Conoid	hæmatite	24·7 $\frac{1}{8}$	„ 197·6
L. Pebble	hæmatite	24·6 $\frac{1}{8}$	„ 196·8
B. Domed type	bronze	48·5 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 194·0
B. Domed type	alabaster	48·5 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 194·0
L. Cylinder	hæmatite	24·2 $\frac{1}{4}$	„ 193·6
L. ² Oblong	lead, marked B. 6195 d, 70·7·9·1	380 2	„ 190

Many of these weights are of the peculiar shape here called conoid—round, and tapering to the top, with flat top and base; thus, unlike the usual type of either Egyptian or Assyrian weights. They are mostly of hæmatite, and from Syria, I believe; and may probably be assigned to the eighth century B.C. The majority of them agree very closely together, and are somewhat lighter, by about four per cent., than the inscribed Egyptian standard. From this, it would seem probable that this standard was 208 grains in Egypt, 1600 B.C.; 200 grains in Egypt and Syria, about 700 B.C.; and by the lead weight marked B, or two units, perhaps as low as 190 in Egypt about 100 A.D. This lead actually weighs 410·7; but thirty grains is allowed for its increase of weight by carbonation.

This standard, then, of about 200 grains, would seem to be the origin of the Greek-Asiatic and Persian standard, stated by Chisholm as 200·6 grains; and it would also seem to be the only likely origin of the great Aeginetan standard of coinage, the heaviest example of which is 194 grains, and which Mommsen says cannot be put at less than 191·4. The universal and well-known lightness of coinage standards would make it probable that the original standard was 195 to 200 grains; and it is impossible to derive it, as Mommsen does, from a Persian silver stater of 170 grains.

The most common Egyptian standard, the *ket*, of 145·6 grains, has been already mentioned; but it appears that the Assyrian and Persian standard, the *shekel*, of 128 grains, was also in use in Egypt, at least in the period after the Persian conquest.

¹ "Domed type" is the characteristic Egyptian form, circular, expanding to the top, and with a more or less raised dome on the top. The characteristic Assyrian form is a barrel shape, with more or less swell, sometimes flatted on one side.

² Here, and elsewhere, the collections are denoted thus:—B=Bulak; F=Flinders Petrie; H=Mr. Hilton Price; L=London; M=Mayer (Liverpool); P=Paris; R=Rogers Bey.

The glass scarabs, some of large size, found in Egypt, are a peculiar class. They are uninscribed and unpierced, and are thus quite distinct from the great bulk of the ordinary scarabs. On comparing the weights of those that are accessible, two in the British Museum, one at Liverpool (kindly communicated by Mr. Gatty), and four of my own, it appears that they are all multiples of one standard, agreeing exactly with the shekel. Their weights are $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, and two of $7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels; the $\frac{2}{3}$ shekel is known in two other weights, and is forty *aplus*, of which sixty composed the shekel; the $7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels is also not an unlikely multiple, as it is $\frac{1}{8}$ of the mina, composed of sixty shekels. The range of the shekel required by these glass scarabs is less than the variation of the Assyrian duck-standards, or the Assyrian hæmatite barrel-standards. Of course, if a sufficiency of various multiples be assumed, and also a great variation in the standard, it might be shown that any objects belonged to any system of weights; and an objection to this effect might be brought against recognising these glass scarabs as weights. The only true test for this is to take all likely multiples of the standard, such as 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, 4, &c., and allowing each a range of variation as required by the varying examples (in this case a range of 122 to 134 grains per shekel), then, to show what proportion of the whole scale is covered by these ranges; or, in other words, what proportion of a purely chance lot of objects would be claimable as weights. In the present case, the proportion would be less than $\frac{2}{5}$. There is, therefore, only two chances in five of any chance object being attributable to the shekel standard; and only one chance in six of two objects; or one in seventeen of three objects, all falling within the range of shekel multiples. The chance, then, of the seven glass scarabs all falling within the ranges of the multiples of the shekel, and none beyond those limits, is only one in 800; in other words, it is 800 to 1 that the seven glass scarabs were intended to be multiples of a standard weight. And when, further, we find that that standard is exactly the shekel, and that even the range of variations is the same as in the Assyrian shekels, the intention shown in the weights of these scarabs seems beyond reasonable question.

But, beside these, various other weights and objects found in Egypt appear to be also on the basis of the shekel. Two or three very finely wrought stone scarabs (one found with the glass scarabs); a large red glass heart; a head in bronze (supposed to be a weight by Dr. Birch, even before I had weighed it); a frog in bronze, and two frogs in stone (frog-weights being represented as early as the eighteenth dynasty); and some stone weights of the usual type; all these agree closely to the shekel standard, as follows:—

			grains.		grains
M. Scarab	blue glass		367·2	3 of	122·4
L. Scarab	blue glass	6269 d, 69·1·29·19	309·8	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „	123·9
F. Scarab	lapis lazuli, Lower Egypt		20·7	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	124·2
F. Frog	bronze	„	124·2	1 „	124·2
L. Domed type,	basalt, hieroglyphs on top		83·1	$\frac{2}{3}$ „	124·6
F. Scarab	blue glass, Sakkara		937	$7\frac{1}{2}$ „	124·9
L. Head	bronze	79·11·20·82	125·1	1 „	125·1
F. Scarab	white glass, Sakkara		63·1	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	126·2
F. Scarab	white stone	„	879·4	3 „	126·5
F. Scarab	blue glass on white, Sakkara		254·4	2 „	127·2

L. Heart	red glass, pendant, Abydos,	79.5.22.9	642.6	5	„	128.5
B. Domed type	alabaster		129.9	1	„	129.9
B. Domed type	bronze		43.3	$\frac{1}{3}$	„	129.9
L. Frog	brown limestone	78.12.17.52	1302	10	„	130.2
(1277.3 actual, + 25 ? chipped.)						
L. Oblong block,	bronze, rosette on top	71.6.19.51	651.4	5	„	130.3
L. Disc	steatite	6196 e, 74.3.14.56	86.9	$\frac{2}{3}$	„	130.4
L. Rough oval	basalt	6196 d, 70.7.9.64	658.1	5	„	131.6
F. Scarab	blue glass, Sakkara		87.8	$\frac{2}{3}$	„	131.7
B. Domed type	with handle, bronze		1318.0	10	„	131.8
B. Domed type	flatted top, grey granite		26388	200	„	131.9
L. Domed type	basalt	6196 c, 71.6.19.498	3963.2	30	„	132.1
L. Scarab	blue glass	72.5.24.18	997	$7\frac{1}{2}$	„	132.9
H. Scarab	porphyry		44.3	$\frac{1}{3}$	„	133.0
B. Domed type	grey porphyry		665.6	5	„	133.1
L. Frog	variegated limestone	2012 b, 78.2.27.43	335.7	$2\frac{1}{2}$	„	134.3

The mean of all is $128.8 \pm .6^1$; or the glass scarabs alone, 127.2 ± 1.2 . Beside these, there is a set of leaden weights in the British Museum, which, after due allowance for carbonation, appear to be the shekel and fractions; they weigh as follows:—

			grains.		grains.	
L. 6195 k	71.6.19.69	cleaned	234.2	original	244 ?	2 of 122
L. 6196 b	79.11.20.74	carbonated	126.2	„	122 ?	1 „ 122
L. 6196 k	79.11.20.73	„	66.2	„	61 ?	$\frac{1}{2}$ „ 122
L. 6196 j	79.11.20.71	„	49.2	„	43 ?	$\frac{1}{3}$ „ 129
L. none	79.11.20.72	„	34.7	„	31 ?	$\frac{1}{4}$ „ 124

The mean is 124 ± 1 grains. These are probably of Græco-Roman period, being from Alexandria.

Comparing now the shekel, as derived from the above Egyptian series, with that of the Assyrian and other standards, they agree thus:—

Assyrian	lion-weights	(12)	120.4 to 129.7	mean	126.5 ± 1.0
Assyrian	duck-weights	(20)	117.9 to 134.4	„	$125.4 \pm .3$
Assyrian	barrel-weights, &c.	(19)	122.8 to 134.6	„	$123.1 \pm .5$
Egyptian	glass scarabs, alone	(7)	122.4 to 132.9	„	127.2 ± 1.2
Egyptian	shekels, altogether	(25)	122.4 to 132.9	„	$128.8 \pm .6$
Persian	daries, coined	(139)	127.4 to 134.3	„	$129.2 \pm .1$

Thus, we see that the standard in different countries, ages, and classes of weights, agrees quite as closely as could be expected; both in its mean value and its range of variation. There can hardly be any doubt as to the origin of the daric weight, and that of the gold of Lydia, Phokea, Lampsakos, &c., from this Egypto-Assyrian shekel; though strangely, Mommsen does not connect the daric with the shekel.

Whether the glass scarabs were made as weights, with any commercial object, or whether they were so adjusted with an idea of their being made exact, or perfect, to bury with the mummy (like the Hindoo ideas of religious accuracy) we cannot at present determine; but we see, at least that the making weights of glass was not a notion introduced by

¹ The sign \pm shows the amount of the "probable error," or limit within and beyond which there is an equal chance of the truth lying.

the Arabs, but only (like all the rest of their civilization) borrowed from the country they overran. The weights of the glass scarabs are, as it were, illustrated by the use of glass weights in Arabic times, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, by the examples of three Pharaonic weights in the British Museum, with scarabs marked upon them.

If, then, the use of glass weights is not merely an Arabic custom, but also Ptolemaic, or earlier, in what light we are to regard the dozens of glass dumps of Roman age, so commonly found in Egypt? Were they all weights? or can any of them be so identified? These questions can only be settled by the examination of a large number; and I have, therefore, weighed those in the different departments of the British Museum. They have never before been all examined or compared, and number about seventy-eight, besides those without any type to indicate their age, which were, therefore, not examined.

In the first place, all those of which I was informed of the locality, came from Egypt, excepting one from Beyrout, and one from Rome; it is clear, therefore, that they must be considered essentially Egyptian, as much so as the coin weights of Arabic times. The most distinct group of them is in the Byzantine class, of which more than half agree closely to a uniform standard. These are as follows, the component letters of monograms being included in brackets :—

L. Palest green	† Full face bust †		31.9	$\frac{1}{2}$	of 63.8
L. White	H. TS, on cross arms	+ 4 grs. loss	64	1	„ 64
L. Pale green	Bust	+ 1.8 chip	32.5	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ 65
ΕΠΙ. ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ. ΕΠΑΧΣ around.					
L. Pale yellow	Bust, ΕCPT on cross arms		65.7	1	„ 65.7
D. N. IVSTINIANVS P. P. AVG around					
L. ¹ White	. III .	+ 2 chip	49.8	$\frac{3}{4}$	„ 66.4
L. Pale green	Bust, illegible		33.4	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ 66.8
L. Domed type	white glass, no inscription		67.4	1	„ 67.4
L. Dark blue	Bust, illegible		50.6	$\frac{3}{4}$	„ 67.4
L. Light green	Bust ΕΠΙ ΚΟCMA ΕΠΑΧΣ		67.7	1	„ 67.7
L. Palest yellow	NAAS, on cross arms		17.0	$\frac{1}{4}$	„ 68.0
L. Palest yellow	NAAS, on cross arms		34.0	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ 68.0
L. Pale indigo	Head, ΤΟΥΕΝΔΟΙCΑΟΝΙΜS ?		68.3	1	„ 68.3
L. Pale blue	ΙΔ, .. ϣΡ	+ .8 chip	17.2	$\frac{1}{4}$	„ 68.8
L. Yellow	Figure, between dolphins		34.4	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ 68.8
R. Blue and white	NAω (ΤΟΥ), on cross arms		34.5	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ 69.0
R. Yellow	AOKT, on cross arms		69.0	1	„ 69.0
L. Pale green	(RAFC), ground edge	+ 1.8 chip	34.9	$\frac{1}{2}$	„ 69.8
L. Pale green	OKPT, on cross arms		70.4	1	„ 70.4
L. White	Bust, illegible		17.7	$\frac{1}{4}$	„ 70.8
L. Light brown	letters on cross arms, illegible		18.0	$\frac{1}{4}$	„ 72.0

The mean of all these is $67.9 \pm .4$ grains; a few that show later and ruder work, though of much the same type, are so much lighter than the rest that I have separated them thus :—

¹ This is remarkable as bearing a quarters of the unit in the weight. number, 3, which shews the number of

L. Pale green	HeadΕΠΑΡΧS	+ 1·2 chip	29·4	$\frac{1}{2}$ of 58·8
L. Pale green	B Bust MK, ΕΠΙCVMΕΩNS ΕΠΑΡΧS		29·8	$\frac{1}{2}$ „ 59·6
L. Light blue	(PAA8, &c.)		61·2	1 „ 61·2
L. Blue	(MEP, &c.)		61·7	1 „ 61·7

This standard of 67·9 is clearly the same as the regular standard of the solidus in Egypt. By the mean of 14 coptic weights (10 in British Museum and 4 my own) the solidus was $68·2 \pm 3$ grains. This unit was always marked as N, sometimes with a small O M added; meaning *Νομισμα*. A larger unit marked Γ was, by the mean of seven examples, 410 ± 4 grains, or exactly six of the solidus; and the solidus was divided in twenty-four portions, as a weight marked IB, or 12, of just the same style, weighs exactly half of it. As the N or solidus weight was $\frac{1}{7\frac{1}{2}}$ of the Roman pound, it follows that the Γ weight is the Roman *uncia*, the N weight the *scutula*, and the twenty-fourth part of that the *siliqua*.

Thus the Byzantine Egyptian glass weights are evidently intended for weighing the solidus, half and quarter; and this makes it the more likely that they were coin weights, like those of Arabic date. From the existing custom the Arabs then borrowed the use of glass weights; and not only borrowed the material, but also the standard of weight. The Egyptian bronze solidus averaging $68·2 \pm 3$ grains, the glass solidus averaging $67·9 \pm 4$ grains, and the majority of the glass dinar weights being about 65·6 grains; an amount of reduction that would be likely to occur in gold coinage during some centuries.

The remainder of the Byzantine glass weights are as follows:—

L. White	ΜΕΘS on cross arms	14·7
L. Dark blue	Bust full face	19·1
L. Green	Bird, illegible	+ ·55 chip 19·4
L. Palest blue	KωNS on cross arms	19·5
L. Pale green	(PANTY)	20·9
L. Lightest blue	(ΠXBPOAT &c.)	22·5
ΕΠΙ. ΙωANNOS. ΕΠΑΡΧS around		
L. Lightest blue	NA. 8 on cross arms	23·3
L. Light blue	(NAPS &c.)	24·4
L. Purple	Bust full face, ground on back	26·0

On turning to the impressed glass pieces of the classical period, it is difficult to trace any order in the weights. The following may be connected:—

L. Blue pendant	Bes	79·6	22·15	36·9	$\frac{1}{4}$ of 147·6
L. Blue pendant	Bes	76·6	3·4, + 2·chip	148·8	1 of 148·8
L. Blue pendant	Harpocrates by altar	73·5	2·126	74·8	$\frac{1}{2}$ of 149·6

The mean 148·7 is the same as the heavier examples of the Egyptian *ket*; but against it is the fact of three other Bes pendants not agreeing to this standard.

The types repeatedly found are as follows; all in the British Museum unless otherwise marked.

O. Winged bust	O. Serapis	Ibis to l.	Ibis to r.
R. Male head	R. Isis	9·9	A. above
21·2	33·0	17·5	5·6
29·8	41·2	19·7	11·1
30·8	46·4	(decayed)	12·1

F.	32.4		28.1	F.	12.6
	34.5		28.3	F.	15.5
	34.6	F.	35.8		
	35.5				
	38.5				
R.	38.6				
	38.9				
	43.3				
	43.5				
	46.6				
	50.9				

It does not seem possible to assume any regularity of weight in these very varying quantities; the resemblances being no more than merely a general equality of form would produce. The stamps of isolated types are very various, and all similarly irregular in weight; the following are all in the British Museum.

Pink	Bust, hand to breast	4.0
Green	O Male head, R Serapis	4.7
Green, pale	Dolphin ?	4.9
Opaque red	Seated figure ?	6.4
Opaque red	Serapis. Medusa ?	7.8
Opaque red	Serapis.	9.9
Green	Palm, &c., ABD. MARA. in Phœnician	11.8
Green	Pegasus	} two colours } joined. 13.2
Red	Figure with cornucopia	
Pale green	Helmet ?	13.5
Opaque red	Greek head	15.8
Opaque blue	Canopus	16.6
Green	Bust ?	18.9
Pale green	Greek head, fine	22.0
White	Ram	22.9
?	Two heads (decayed)	25.4
Green	Duck, head turned	29.3
Dark pink	Bes. pendant	46.7
Pale blue opaque	Bes.	+ 5.4 chip 62.
Clear blue	Ear, rude work	97.6

Beside these, I have weighed thirteen draughtmen, or dumps without types, some of which may be weights, but which are all too varying for any conclusion to be drawn from them.

On the whole, the verdict must be against the theory of these classical glass stamps being weights; whether they were season tickets to the baths or circus may be a question; but it is certain that they have not the claim to be reckoned as weights, which is so well sustained by the Arabic and Byzantine glass stamps, or the earlier glass scarabs.

The history of glass weights, then, so far from beginning with the Arabs, must be carried back to the Byzantine weights, which they found already in use in Egypt (one of those quoted above being stamped by Justinian I); and even the standard of the *dinar* which they used, and for which they struck glass weights, is merely the solidus standard which they already found in Egypt, and on which basis the Byzantine weights of that country were already struck. Further, the idea of glass weights must be traced at least as early as Ptolemaic times; when the glass

scarabs were adjusted to the shekel, which was probably introduced by either the Assyrian or the Persian, whose standard it was.

Of Egyptian capacity measures we have here several examples before us. Three cups of light red pottery, probably from Sakkara, are in the ratios of 2, 5, and 8 to one another; and it is seen that they do not exactly fit one in the other, the middle one being too large to agree with the others, and also of a different ware; probably the original set were doubles, 2, 4, and 8; and the size 4 being broken, a size 5 was the nearest obtainable. These cups having this ratio, their unit of capacity is $1.45 \pm .01$ cubic inches. Another set of three cups, belonging to Mr. Hilton Price, in fine blue glazed ware, from Thebes, also have a simple ratio between them of 3, 5, and 15. This I determined quite independently of the previous set, and yet their unit capacity comes out identically the same, $1.45 \pm .01$ cubic inches. A smaller, blue glazed little vase, with long beak, is also probably on this basis, being three-fifths of one unit. Besides these, I picked up, at Sakkara, a piece of a similar vessel, having the characteristic straight sides, with a very small circular handle, and a broad and very flat rim, to give the strike of the measure accurately. This piece, by careful guaging, shows a capacity of fifty of the same cubic units.¹ Another vessel, probably from Sakkara, is evidently a measure. It is cut in hard wood, of cylindrical shape, and with a very flat, smooth rim, for the striking of the contents. Its capacity is just twenty-five of the same units. These may be tabulated, then, as follows;—

	cubic ins.		
H. Blue glazed cup	21.826	15	of 1.455
H. " " "	7.461	5	" 1.492
H. " " "	4.213	3	" 1.404
H. " " vase	.873	$\frac{3}{5}$	" 1.455
F. Light red cup	12.01	8	" 1.501
F. Light drab cup	7.04	5	" 1.408
F. Reddish white cup	2.87	2	" 1.435
F. Blue glazed cup, fragment	72.1	50	" 1.442
F. Wooden cylinder	37.2	25	" 1.488

The last two are rather uncertain in amounts; yet probably more accurately known than the original variations of the measures. Taking, then, the mean of all, we obtain a unit of $1.454 \pm .008$ cubic inches.

The value of the Egyptian *hom*, according to the mean of three vases at Leyden, and one at Bulak, which have their contents marked on them, is $29.2 \pm .8$ cubic inches; and one-twentieth of this is $1.46 \pm .04$ cubic inches, or the same as the unit, $1.454 \pm .008$, obtained from the nine capacity measures above. As these pottery measures agree much more closely together than the vases, which merely had their contents recorded, and were not made to gauge, it is evident that much more reliance can be placed on the accuracy of the result from these measures than that from the published vases.

There are doubtless many other examples of measures in our museums that need examination; and a careful guaging of all the vases whose

¹ This fragment is very interesting, from its having been patched anciently with pitch wherever the glaze was broken

through, in order to preserve the softer sandy core from wearing away.

capacity is recorded, is much needed in order to settle accurately the Egyptian standard of cubic measure.

The ancient Egyptian recognised a connection between the standard of capacity and that of weight Chabas, *Determination Metrologique* 1837) as the *hon* is stated to contain 5 *utens* of water; but whether this is an exact equivalence, or only a rough approximation, must be examined by seeing how nearly the two quantities agree. Taking the *hon* as best defined by 20 times the unit found by the measures, or $29\cdot08 \pm \cdot16$ cubic inches, the weight of water which it would contain would be 7330 ± 40 grains. Now the mean value of the Egyptian *ket*, as I have already mentioned is $145\cdot6 \pm \cdot5$ grains; and this weight of the *hon* of water is $50 + 146\cdot6 \pm \cdot8$ grains; the *hon* therefore contains exactly fifty *kets* (or five *utens*) of water, within the extent of the small remaining uncertainties of our knowledge. Thus the connection appears fairly exact, but there is still a suspicion that the *hon* of water and the *uten* were independent, as there was a weight called a *set*, which is stated as $4\cdot947$ or $4\cdot703$ *utens*, and therefore equal to $28\cdot6$ or $27\cdot2$ cubic inches of water. Goodwin (*Zeitschrift* 1873, p. 16) supposes that this is merely a wrong computation of 5 *utens*; but it seems not improbable this *set* may have been the weight of a *hon* of water, and that the *hon* only weighed approximately 5 *utens*, since the Egyptian statement does not go to closer detail than half an *uten*. That the unit of weight should be connected with the capacity unit full of water or wine is very likely; but there does not seem any relation between the capacity measure and a cube of any lineal measure. The theory of the general derivation of ancient weights, from the cubes of the lineal measures full of water, is one that has found wide acceptance, but on rather uncertain grounds. What is now needed, is a careful settlement of the exact values of the ancient standards of lineal and cubic measure, and of weight, and the limits of uncertainty of our knowledge. Then we shall be in a position to say whether there be any connection between the cubic volumes of water, the weights, and the lineal measures, in the various metric system of antiquity.

In conclusion I must express my obligations to Dr. Birch, Mr. Franks, and Mr. Stuart Poole, for the kindness with which they have granted me every facility for examining and weighing the various objects in their respective departments of the British Museum.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT CLOCKS AT WELLS, RYE AND DOVER.¹

By C. OCTAVIUS S. MORGAN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

WELLS OR GLASTONBURY CLOCK (1853).

In the Cathedral at Wells is what remains of the ancient clock which once belonged to Glastonbury Abbey. This very curious timepiece is said to have been originally executed by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of the abbey, but at the cost of Adam de Sodbury, who was promoted to the abbacy in 1322. It appears to have been originally placed in the south transept of Glastonbury Abbey Church, where it continued till the dissolution, when, tradition says, it was carried to Wells and placed in the north transept of the cathedral with all its belongings, viz., the figure which strikes the quarters with his heels on two little bells within the church, and the two *Knights* which perform the same service with their battle-axes on the outside. The inside figure strikes the hour on a bell before him with a battle-axe in his hands. The face of the dial is six feet in diameter contained in a square frame, the spandrels of which are filled with angels holding in their hands the head of a man; the outer circle is painted blue with gilt stars scattered over it, and is divided into twenty-four parts, corresponding with the twenty-four hours; the horary numbers are in black letter characters on circular tablets and mark the hours from twelve at noon to midnight, and from thence to midnight again (noon and midnight being marked by a cross instead of a numeral). The hour index, a large gilt star or sun, is attached to the machinery behind a second circle which conceals all except the index. On the second circle are marked the minutes, indicated by a smaller star; a third and lesser circle contains the numbers of the days of the month, which is marked by a point attached to a small circular opening in the plate, through which the phases of the moon are shown. On the opposite side is a female figure with the motto "*Semper peragrat Phæbe*;" an arched pediment surmounts the whole, with an octagonal projection from its base like a gallery, capped with a row of battlements, forming a cornice to the face of the clock. A panelled and battlemented turret is fixed in the centre, round which four figures mounted on horses revolve in opposite directions, as if charging in a tournament, when set in motion by a communication with the clock work, to be made at pleasure; these are commonly called *Knights*, but their costume is only that of ordinary persons. The movement is at a distance from the dial, and connected with it by a long horizontal rod; the dial work was close at the back of

¹The drawings which accompanied these notes were exhibited at the meeting of the Institute, July 5, 1883. They were not calculated for publication.

the dial. The revolving figures on horseback are moved by a separate weight, and are set in motion by the freeing of a detent. The old boarding at the back is painted black, with a diaper scroll of foliage with red and white roses. The female figure on the dial representing the moon is always kept upright by a balance weight; the quarter-boys inside, who strike the quarters, are much later, having *knee breeches*. The outside dial has now two hands; it was once like a star with only one hand. The bells outside are struck by two figures in armour, temp. Henry VIII, probably put up when it was removed from Glastonbury. The clock seems to have remained without alteration after it was then put up, till the present modern movement, made by Thwaites and Reed of Clerkenwell, was, in the time, of Dean Goodenough, substituted for it; and the old original movement was taken and deposited in the crypt under the Chapter House, where it remained uncared for for many years, during which time, 1853, I visited and examined it, made notes of it, and took drawings of it. The great wheel had ninety teeth, and the pinion, a lantern pinion, had nine leaves or rather bars; the second wheel had sixty teeth; the remainder of the works were all disjointed and bent, and remained unheeded, though on two occasions I pointed out the great curiosity and interest of the ancient machinery, but with no effect. Its curiosity and interest has at length been appreciated, and it has been fitted together and brought up to London. It is now in going condition in the Mechanical Museum at South Kensington.

If the fabric rolls of the cathedral were examined with reference to it, it is probable that much curious and interesting matter relating to its history might be found.

THE CLOCK AT RYE.

In the tower of the old church at Rye, which I visited in 1853, is a very fine and perfect example of the early iron clocks, which still keeps time for the inhabitants of that ancient town. It is perhaps the oldest clock which is still going with its original works. It is not, however, quite in its original condition, as its crown wheel with its vertical verge and horizontal balance have been removed, and a pendulum with the necessary additional wheels substituted for it. The clock is entirely of iron, except the new parts, and the part of the clock which shews the most wear is the new portion immediately connected with the pendulum and swing wheel. The pendulum is, however, rather peculiar, by reason of its great length. It hangs down below the ceiling of the church, and its vibrations are seen, and it makes twenty-five beats in a minute.

The clock is of large size, the iron frame forming a cube of four feet. The uprights at the corners are in the form of Gothic buttresses, with regular sets off and mouldings, and are capped with square topped pinnacles, or rather turrets, which terminate in four battlements, whilst the tops of the uprights of the middle of the frame are also embattled and have a band of a particular crossed or reticulated ornament. The resemblance in size, form, plan, construction, and arrangement to the clock at Wells is so remarkable that I cannot help considering these works to be contemporaneous, and could almost suppose them to be the work of the same artist, or from the same factory. It was originally of the same simple construction as the Dover clock. The going part consists only of the great wheel and the crown wheel with its pinion—but in this

clock the pinions are all of the lantern form, that is, consisting of two plates of iron connected by short bars of iron, forming a cage. The going part is still wound up by means of the four arms, there is, however, a light hoop which connects their extremities. The dial is in the upper part of the tower, and in order to connect it with the movement, a contrate wheel is fixed on the arbor of the great wheel, and this drives a large horizontal lantern wheel or pinion, the arbor of which is a long upright rod, which thus makes the connexion with the upper part of the tower. The great wheel of 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter has 120 teeth, and revolves once in two hours. The whole movement is very strongly made, especially the striking part. The barrel is wound up by means of a toothed wheel fixed on its extremity and a lantern pinion to which the winch is applied. The form of these wheels, and also their size and arrangement, are exactly similar to the Wells clock, and the fly wheel, with its fans, springs, click and ratchet, is precisely the same as is now used.

The quarter part is attached to one side of the clock, and was added about 150 years ago. It is much smaller than the other parts of the clock, but it is very well and neatly made, preserving all the characters and ornaments of the older parts. The quarters are struck by two gilded figures of boys, which stand on each side of the clock face on the exterior of the tower, which, though originally Norman, is now Early English, with later additions and patching. The current history of this clock is that it was found on board one of the ships of the Armada, and on being taken was given by Queen Elizabeth to this church. There is, however, no authority but tradition for this story, and the entries in the churchwardens' accounts give us the date of its completion and the cost of it; and from its close resemblance in details to the Wells clock, it may be considered to be of English workmanship.

We fortunately have an authentic record of the date and cost of this clock, for the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1515 furnish the following items:

"For working upon the frame of the clock and dial in the steeple, 2s."

"The man who made the clockwork and dial, £2 6s. 8d."

1516. "The man of Winchelsea, that made the clock, in full payment of his bargain, 6s. 8d."

It is surprising how such a work could be made for so small a cost. I have heard that Rye Church is undergoing the process of "restoration." I trust this most curious example of clockwork may be preserved as it was when I saw it in 1853, the most ancient piece of horological machinery existing in going order in this country, for the Wells clock has been renewed, though I think there is still a small portion of the moving machinery existing at this time in connexion with the revolving figures. As the church is being "restored," I may mention that there was an extremely beautiful communion table of finely carved *mahogany*, which has a history. I venture to hope that may be preserved—though I think it is not so old as the history makes it out to be.

NOTES RESPECTING THE DOVER CLOCK.

In the armoury, within the keep of Dover Castle, was preserved a very interesting specimen of the ancient iron clocks. It has, however, since I saw it there, been removed to London, and is now carefully preserved in

the Museum of Mechanical Machines and Inventions at South Kensington, where it may be examined. It is an object of considerable interest, because it is still in its primitive condition, having its original crown wheel and verge, with horizontal balances, unaltered and un mutilated; it is the only instance that I know of, and is probably unique. It formerly stood, neglected and unobserved, in a corner of the ancient staircase, and excited no interest in the crowds that continually passed by, when the public were allowed to go over the castle. We are indebted to Admiral W. H. Smyth, the Director of the Society of Antiquarians, for its preservation: for having heard of it, he, in company with Mr. B. L. Vulliamy, the Clockmaker to the Crown, visited Dover, and on his pointing out to the storekeeper its peculiarity and interest, it was immediately removed to a more favourable position, and was shewn as one of the most interesting and curious articles in the castle. Its history is not known, but it was supposed to have been the ancient clock of the castle; but as it was a loose piece of furniture, and there was no fitting place for it in the castle, and no bell, or place where it could have been placed so that the face might have been seen, it is more likely to have been placed in the tower of the ancient church, and on that becoming ruined, it is likely enough that it was taken down and brought into the castle for future use; but it was never put up, and thus escaped the mutilation consequent on its adaptation to a pendulum, which so many of its contemporaries underwent, and I trust will now be carefully preserved as the only remaining instance of the earliest construction of clocks.

It is not of great size, and consists only of a going and a striking part. The mechanism of the latter is similar to that in use at the present day, but that of the going part is remarkably simple, consisting only of two wheels, viz., the great wheel and the crown wheel. On the arbor of the great wheel is the barrel for the cord. It is of wood, four inches in diameter, and turns freely in one direction, but in the other it is detained by a spring, which acts against the spokes of the great wheel. On the end of the barrel are fixed four cross arms, by which it is turned to wind up the cord. The great wheel revolves once every hour, as shewn by the pin to set free the striking part. It is sixteen inches in diameter, has ninety teeth, and drives the pinion of the crown wheel, which has thirty-three teeth. These teeth play in the pallets of the verge, which is suspended by a cord from the cock; this consists of a short horizontal arm, provided with notches for the adjustment of the verge. To the verge are fixed the cross arms of the balance, which are also provided with notches for the adjustment of the weights by which the extent and velocity of the oscillations of the balance are regulated. The length of the cross arms of the balance is twenty-eight inches; the striking part, in consequence of the weight being heavier, is wound up by an additional wheel and pinion. There are no lantern pinions in the construction of this clock, which, coupled with the absence of all Gothic ornament, inclines me to doubt its very great antiquity. The hand or index is nineteen inches long, and as its axis is nearly in the centre, the diameter of the clock face could not have been very large.

Admiral Smyth thought he had discovered on a part of the frame a date in Arabic numerals, 1348, as also a monogram, which he has given in his paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii, wherein he mentions this clock. I certainly was shewn some rough indentations in the iron work

near the top of the inside of one of the standards, but I could not decipher any figures or letters ; indeed, they seemed to me more like accidental roughnesses and depressions in the iron, proceeding from the forging and subsequent corrosion, than intentional marks ; and the fact that Arabic numerals were not in common use at that early period is conclusive against it. The late Mr. Albert Way, in company with Mr. Franks, examined the clocks in 1851, and both were of the same opinion, and from the absence of all Gothic ornamentation in the finishing, did not think it earlier than 1450 to 1500, and it may possibly be after that date.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 7, 1883.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL in the Chair.

After alluding to the death of Captain E. Hoare, the Chairman called upon the Rev. J. Hirst to read his paper on "The Native Levies raised by the Romans in Britain." This was an able vindication of the list of native troops recruited by the Romans in Britain, and sent by them, according to custom, out of the country to act as auxiliaries to the legions on foreign service, which was first given by Dr. De Vit, a Roman archaeologist of some note. The author shewed conclusively that the small list of one cohort of foot soldiers and one wing of horse, technically styled *Britannica*, which is the utmost hitherto admitted by English writers on the subject, such as Camden, Roach Smith and Sadler, was utterly inadequate, and moreover misleading, as they embodied in their total of native levies, troops, which according to Hübner, McCaul, Collingwood Bruce, Rhys, Thompson Watkin and De Vit, were raised amongst a continental race of Britons, the existence of which is admitted by the late Dr. Guest in his posthumous work, *Origines Celtice*. The paper moreover treated of the probable total of British levies, and of the position they occupied in the latter age of the empire. Here the authority of Lingard and of the Saxon chroniclers was called in question, and a vivid picture was drawn of the effect of the ruthless press-gangs of the Romans, and of the change wrought in the habits of the natives by the enervating influence of Roman civilization.

In expressing the cordial thanks of the meeting to the author, the CHAIRMAN alluded to the great value and learning of Mr. Hirst's previous paper: "On the existence of a British People on the Continent known to the Romans in the first century" (printed at p. 80), and expressed a hope that the admirable memoir they had just listened to would shortly appear in the pages of the *Journal*. (The paper is printed at p. 243.)

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. E. W. WILMOTT.—A collection of admirably executed rubbings of brasses in Cobham Church. These were described with much clearness of historical and antiquarian detail by Mr. J. G. WALLER.

By Mr. H. VAUGHAN.—Painted glass exhibiting a shield with the arms of Bures of Aeton, Suffolk; another piece with the bearings of Archbishop Cramer.

By Mr. F. POTTS.—Two silver statuettes, St. James of Compostella, habited as a pilgrim, and St. Bartholomew. These appear to be seventeenth century work and to have been affixed to a reliquary or chasse.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A box with scales and eighteen weights for the use of money-changers; early seventeenth century.

By Mr. E. PEACOCK.—A bronze mortar with decorations round it of the Flemish Renaissance character.

By Mrs. HENLEY JERVIS.—A black letter New Testament, bound up with the Common Prayer and Singing Psalms, used by Charles I during his imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle in 1647. This precious volume, together with some of the Royal household linen, came into the possession of Mrs. Jervis through a maternal ancestor.

By Mr. E. WALFORD.—A portrait of Dr. Johnson, supposed to have been taken in the latter part of his life. Mr. Walford read some notes upon the portrait in question, and Mr. Waller clearly showed that the picture was a copy and not a replica by Sir Joshua.

July 5, 1883.

Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, Q.C., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN spoke of the loss which the Institute has sustained by the death of the Rev. P. R. Coates, for many years a valued member of the Institute and of the Council, and proposed that a letter expressive of the sympathy of the meeting be written to Mrs. Coates. This was seconded by Mrs. HAYWARD and carried, and Mr. Hartshorne was directed to write to Mrs. Coates accordingly.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on the Gallo-Romano Antiquities of Reims. These are much less known than the Mediæval monuments, but well deserve the attention of the archæologist.

1. The Porta Martis stands on the north side of the city, and holds the same position amongst the antiquities of Reims as the gates of Arroux and St. André do at Autun. There are three large arches, separated by coupled columns, and the soffits contain elaborate designs, viz., The Labours of the Twelve Months in the centre, Jupiter and Leda on the left, and the Twins suckled by the She-wolf on the right. The last group seems to allude to the name of the city.

2. The mosaic of the Public Promenades is particularly interesting, because it illustrates those passages in ancient authors which describe gladiatorial combats. It consists of thirty-five compartments, in each of which there is a single figure of a man or of an animal, with the exception of No. 10, which represents a Hermes, *i.e.*, a terminal statue, consisting of a bust and truncated arms upon a pedestal. This tessellated pavement should be compared with the mosaics of Augsburg, Neunig near Trèves, and the Lateran Museum.

3. The Tomb of Jovinus, so called, is a sarcophagus deposited in the crypt (*chapelle basse*) at the Archevêché. The figures on the front of it are in high relief, and engaged in a lion hunt. From the style of the execution, one would be disposed to assign them to the age of Antonines. The subject is probably derived from an incident in the life of a Roman emperor. This may be inferred partly from the costume of the principal personage, and partly from the appearance of a female standing near him, who seems to be the goddess Roma.

4. The inscriptions relating to Reims present many points of contact with the history of our own country. For example, we find in them mention of Mars Camulus, who reminds us of Camulodunum (Colchester), *i.e.*, Mars Hill or Areopagus. Again, the name Cantius occurs (though

GRAFFITI FROM THE GREAT PYRAMID.

3 1476	1 PA 121 Doy Fapine boro geopel Engele	6 A
4 147	2 1457 13 m a 730	7 DILX B
5 	8 LEPETI FANCOR	9 P raneap palamide
10 GIORGIO EMO	11 Gibio Agost	12
14 H: BET	15 ISRSI	16 T
17 G	18 G	19 A
20 N	21 L	22 B
23 B	24 GIO PAVLO MOLINO 1553	25 DOMINICHO GASPARINI
26 AGROSSILO 1569	27 LOS	28 IAC MERCAIOR 1563
29 FVILLACROSS	30 1577	31 VALAN TINC AA
32 ANTHUIE APPOUS BSSIS	33 ALESADRO BFRAC	34 William Pemerton
35 Martin Goodwin	36 The Pamber	37 Ioachim ged INUMT 1584
38 MICHEL FABRE	39 PIERRE TEXIER 1582	40 HIERO RECVON DE OPOLDVORE
41 10036	42 IMPOISIO 1608 1623	43 16ACOB ANTONIO CESARI
44 1618 CASPER TRESE DANV ROCCA TAGLIATA	45 IMAGY 1614	46 IRIMBAD LE 4 MARS 1617
47 ZPI61	48 IVNE:2 BVRROVGHS 1630	49 T: COKE 1624
50 HBOLIV GAKO 1631	51 16427 Z	52 AVRELIO QADRIO 1634
53 IPVERNON 1644	54 1641 BEVSIER	55 WPS 1634
56 GEO: SWANLEY 1638	57 Iehan CAUNE 1639	58 CHARLE PIGET 1638
59 		

some read C. Antius), and this looks like Cantium, Kent. The following words were inscribed on a stone very recently discovered at Reims :

. . MECA . MEMO

RIATVAM

M. Héron de Villefosse expands the sentence thus—[a]me(a?) memoria tuam, for am[i]ea(?) memoria[m] tuam [fecit]. *Memoria* here means a memorial or monument, like *titulus* in the phrase *titulum ponere*, which we meet with on a slab found near Brougham Castle.

One of the coins of Durocortorum (Reims) is remarkable, because it exhibits three conjugated heads on the obverse. M. Loriquet says they symbolize three provinces, Belgica, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior ; but there can be little doubt that we have here the effigies of the Roman Triumvirate—Octavian, Mark Antony and Lepidus.

A vote of thanks was passed to Professor Lewis, whose paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE read the following notes on “ A Collection of Graffiti of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.”

“The question of the character of graffiti during the last few centuries has been brought before this Institute lately in the consideration of some of the letters found at Stonehenge ; and it has become a matter of practical archaeology to be able to state whether given forms of letters were recognized and used since the abolition of the mediæval script. For this purpose, an acquaintance with the varieties in the formation of letters must be made by means of examining different series of graffiti ; and hence the collection before you to-day, of which most of the examples are dated, may be studied with advantage.

“These graffiti are all records of travellers who have visited the Great Pyramid, and scratched with more or less care their memorials on the soft limestone blocks : unhappily the greater part of such inscriptions have been lost ; the earlier ones, down to mediæval times, disappeared when the Arabs stripped off the casing stones ; and the later ones, contemporary with these, when the top courses of the pyramid were removed, about the end of the last century. On the top, which is closely covered with thousands of names, none are to be found as much as a century old ; but it is around the entrance, and in the inside, that most of these earlier examples may be seen.

“The selection made for this sheet includes every graffito before 1500 ; every example of letters before 1600 ; and types of later graffiti, including every English example, down to two centuries ago.

“The earliest graffito of all is one about eighteen courses from the top of the pyramid, at the north-east corner. This is very hard to read, but it appears to record the visit of two Hungarians as early as 1291, named Seryulebopy and Gylopy Ulnovzech, as well as can be made out, for it puzzles even the practised eyes of Mr. Howlett. After this there is apparently a date of 1413 inscribed six courses higher up. Then there is a fine monogram and date of 1457 on the ninety-seventh course of the north-west corner ; and later there is a monogram and date of 1476 over the entrance, the 14 of which is almost effaced by the pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription of Lepsius. Nos. 6 and 7 are probably of the fifteenth century, and are copied from a tomb on the west side of the great pyramid.

“The later inscriptions scarcely call for remark in detail. Nos. 14

to 23 shew a fashion of monograms, the five dated examples of which are 1551 to 1555, and which probably all belong to closely the same period. The earliest example of Roman letters is in 1553, and the use of script hand gradually declined, until the last example of it in 1639. The coats of arms are given by two Italians (Nos. 37 and 40), one of whom has added the day, 5 January, 1584. The monogram and date, No. 41, are very beautifully cut, and evidently imitate an earlier style; a case of reversion such as will puzzle future antiquaries in studying the remains of our century.

"The travellers who thus perpetuated their names, do not seem to have left much mark on the literature of their respective countries. I have searched for every name in the catalogue of the British Museum, and can only find four out of fifty-two; and these authors, Bellerio, T. Burroughs, Thos. Lambe and John Smith the traveller, though of the same period as the visitors to the pyramid, may very likely not be the same persons.

"A curious instance of misinterpreting graffiti, through an insufficient acquaintance with them, occurs in Caviglia's description of letters smoked on the ceiling of the subterranean chamber in the pyramid. From these letters, *IA*" MER, he jumped to the conclusion that they were Roman, and proved that the Romans went into that chamber. Now at the entrance of the pyramid is cut *IA*" MERCATOR, 1563 (No. 28), with *ME* in monogram, as it is in the smoked letters; we could scarcely suppose that these names were not the work of the same visitor. Similarly George Swanle (No. 56) and I Mapy (No. 15), have both of them left their names twice over in the fragments.

"These copies are on varying scales, from about $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$; they have been made so as to carefully shew the forms of the letter, and the style of their appearance: but they do not profess to be absolute facsimiles, though more care was of course taken over the less intelligible examples. The lines have also been put a little closer together in some cases, to avoid needless spreading, but in all cases everything characteristic has been closely followed.

"A few such collections as this would enable us to say for certain whether forms of letters (as for instance the *B* with separate loops, in No. 16), may be attributed to the renaissance of classical forms, or whether they belong solely to the ancient inscriptions which have been already studied with such care. With this view this unique series from a single building is brought before you to-day."

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Petrie.

Mr. J. PARK HARRISON adduced further evidence of the antiquity of the inscriptions found by him at Stonehenge.

Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By Professor BUNNEL LEWIS.—Photographs, engravings and copies of Roman inscriptions.

By the Rev. S. S. LEWIS.—Coins and terra-cotta lamps, illustrating Professor Lewis' paper.

By Mr. FLINDERS PETRIE.—Illustrations of Graffiti.

By Mr. PARK HARRISON.—Casts of inscriptions at Stonehenge.

By Mr. E. W. WILMOTT.—A further collection of rubbings of brasses in Cobham church, in continuation of those exhibited at the previous



Chalice from Wylie Church, Wilts.

meeting, and completing the series. Mr. WALLER was again kind enough to speak upon these representations of an unrivalled series of memorials.

By Mr. J. E. NIGHTINGALE.—Chalice from Wylke church, and tankard from Fugglestone church, Wilts. We are indebted to Mr. Nightingale for the following notes :—

“The chalice now exhibited, and of which an illustration is given, belongs to the Church of Wylke, co. Wilts. It is of silver-gilt and in excellent preservation, a good deal of the gilding has been toned down by use. It is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, the stem and base being hexagonal. The bowl and foot are both of hammered work. The knop is repoussé, the heads, apparently female, are very well modelled and have a good deal of the character of the late fourteenth century type. The usual crucifix is found on the base, with a large flower-bearing plant on either side.

“The hall marks consist of the leopard’s head crowned; the maker’s mark, a sort of fleur-de-lys surmounting a vertical dotted stroke; and the date letter, a Lombardic capital H. This indicates the year 1525, and this is apparently the correct date, as the chalice corresponds in many of its details with that brought from St. Alban’s Abbey and presented by Sir Thomas Pope to Trinity College, Oxford, the date of which is given as 1527. There are not wanting, however, certain features which would incline one to put it at an earlier date, nearer to that of the Nettlecomb example. It has much more of the fifteenth century type than the chalice given by Bishop Fox to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which is undoubtedly of the year 1507.

“The inscription round the bowl has some curious defects in its spelling and Latinity. Space did not serve for the whole of the sentence. It runs as follows:—✠ CALICEM . SALUTARI . ACCIPVM . ET . IN . NOM (*sic*). In capital letters round the base is inscribed IN . DOMINO . CONFIDO.

“In the adjoining parish of Codford St. Mary some small portions of a similar vessel are preserved in the chalice now in use there; these fragments consist of the knop of the stem, with some open work, and one compartment of the foot, representing the crucifixion of our Lord, similar to the Wylke example. The restorations of this chalice are of a very incongruous character.

“The other object exhibited is a very fine Elizabethan tankard, now used in the church of Fugglestone St. Peter, co. Wilts, as a flagon, for which purpose it was presented to the parish in the last century. It bears the following inscription—‘The Gift of John Hawes, Rector of this Parish, 5 April 1776.’ This vessel of silver, parcel-gilt, is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, it is cylindrical, but tapering towards the top; it is engraved with broad interlaced vertical floriated bands on the drum, and encircled with two raised ornamental belts. The dome-shaped cover is repoussé, with lions’ heads and fruits, surmounted by a baluster shaped knop. The broad circular base is also ornamented with lions’ heads, fruits and foliage. The purchase is a winged mermaid, holding a cornucopia. The handle is ornamented with engraved foliated scroll pattern, similar to that found on nearly all the Elizabethan chalices of the latter half of the sixteenth century. The maker’s mark is i.m., surmounted by three pellets, and the date mark a Roman capital M, indicating the year 1589.”

By Mr. R. READY.—Chalice and paten. Hall marked 1570-1.

By Mr. O. MORGAN.—Drawings of old clocks at Wells, Rye and Dover. Mr. Morgan’s notes upon these clocks are printed at p. 428

By Mr. P. BERNEY BROWN.—Silver watch by Daniel Quare.

ANNUAL MEETING AT LEWES.

July 31st, to August 6th, 1883.

Tuesday, July 31.

The Mayor of Lewes (W. F. Crosskey, Esq., M.D.) and the Members of the Corporation, preceded by the Mace Bearer, arrived at the Crown Court, in the County Hall, at 12 noon, and received the Earl of Chichester, President of the Meeting, and the following Members of the Council and Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections:—Mr. G. T. Clark, Mr. J. N. Foster, the Rev. H. Addington, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., the Rev. F. Spurrell, Mr. J. Hilton, the Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., Colonel Pinney, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, Mr. F. W. Cosens, the Baron de Cosson, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Mr. E. A. Freeman (President of the Historical Section), Mr. D. G. C. Elwes, Mr. E. Peacock, the Rev. W. Powell, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite (President of the Architectural Section), Mr. Somers Clarke, and Mr. R. P. Pullan. In the body of the Court were assembled the members of the Institute, Vice-Presidents of the meeting, and many ladies. In opening the proceedings the Mayor spoke as follows:—

“My Lord, Colonel Pinney, Ladies and Gentlemen, It is my proud privilege to offer the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland a hearty welcome to this historic town. The Town Council, whose mouthpiece I am on this occasion, have drawn up an address which, with your permission, Colonel Pinney, I shall shortly call upon the Town Clerk to read. Believe me, Sir, that is no formal address, but the Council express the sentiments and feelings of the whole of the inhabitants of this town on the occasion of this your first visit to us. Perhaps, Sir, you will not consider it presumptuous on my part if I refer to one other matter which no doubt will receive due justice on other occasions. Since your last annual meeting you have been deprived of that nobleman who for many years presided over your annual meetings, and I feel that his irreparable loss must not only cast a certain shadow over this your annual meeting, but that it must to a certain extent prevent the same enjoyment which you would otherwise have had in prosecuting your researches in this county. But allow me, Sir, to express a hope that this will not interfere seriously with your enjoyment, and that at its conclusion we shall be able to rank your annual meeting at Lewes in a high place amongst those which you have had in so many parts of the kingdom. With your permission, Colonel Pinney, I will now call upon the Town Clerk to read the address.”

Mr. M. S. BLAKER then read the following address:—

To the Right Honorable the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Lewes in Council assembled, desire to offer to you a cordial and earnest welcome on the

occasion of this your first visit to our ancient town. The fact that you have selected Lewes for your annual meeting has given the liveliest satisfaction to ourselves and to the inhabitants of this borough, and we feel it an honour to have the privilege this day of welcoming your learned Society to a field of action worthy of its distinguished acquirements. In the earlier chequered history of this country this town and the county of Sussex have borne a prominent and remarkable part. The battle of Hastings was a momentous turning point in our history, whilst the battle of Lewes, fought almost on the ground we are at this moment occupying was the very foundation of our present constitutional liberties. To you, the members of an honourable Institute occupying the foremost position in archaeological research, the town and neighbourhood will be found rich in objects of antiquity and interest. It will be for you to explore this field of archaeological wealth; it is for us to express our sympathy and respect, and the hope that whilst adding to your store of knowledge, you may find in a high degree that pleasure which always accompanies earnest and intelligent work. We trust that in every way your meeting will be a successful one, and that at its close you will carry away with you pleasant recollections of your visit to our county town.

“Given under the Corporate seal of the Borough of Lewes, this 31st day of July, 1883.

“WALTER F. CROSSKEY, Mayor.

“MONTAGU S. BLAKER, Town Clerk.”

The MAYOR then presented the address to COLONEL PINNEY, who said in reply:—“Ladies and gentlemen, I am placed here rather suddenly and unexpectedly, by the kindness of the Council, as the temporary President of the Archaeological Institute. A friend of ours, Sir Sibbald Scott, was to have presided—was to have taken the place I so unworthily fill, but he has written to-day to explain that in consequence of the unexpected and serious illness of his son he has been obliged to absent himself. And I am sure we must all feel sorry at the cause of his absence. You, Mr. Mayor, have feelingly alluded to the death of our friend the late President, Lord Talbot de Malahide; we all feel his loss exceedingly, and I am sure of kindly sympathy when I tell you that for nearly thirty years he was our President. On nearly every occasion he presided at the annual meeting, and not only so, but he took the greatest interest in the meetings of the Council. It would be difficult, as you, Mr. Mayor, have observed, to fill the place of the nobleman who was a distinguished archaeologist, and who for so many years presided so well over us. But the Council communicated with Lord Percy, and offered him the Presidency of the Institute, which he has very kindly accepted. It is necessary that Lord Percy's election should be confirmed by a general meeting of the Society, which will not take place till the latter end of this meeting, it will not be possible, therefore, for him to appear as the President of this meeting. I have almost finished the few words I have to say, indeed it is not for the President of the meeting to say much; it is merely his office on this occasion to thank the Mayor and the Corporation of Lewes for their address and for their kind reception. Wherever we have been—and we have been in many cities and towns throughout England—we have always been received with the greatest kindness and the greatest

cordiality. But I am sure that nowhere have we been received with more kindness and more cordiality than we have been here by the Mayor and Corporation of this ancient town. I will now vacate this place, and hand it over to a nobleman whom you all know as an excellent archæologist, who is esteemed and loved, I should say, by every man, woman, and child in the county of Sussex. I will, therefore, ask the Right Hon. the Earl of Chichester to take the chair as President for the week of this meeting."

LORD CHICHESTER then took the chair, and read the following address:—

"In the very short address which I am about to make from this chair, I must first, as a Sussex man, and President of the Sussex Archæological Society, offer our hearty welcome to the members of the Royal Archæological Institute; and secondly, by a somewhat dramatic change of character, I must, as local President, on behalf of the Institute, thank you, my friends and neighbours, for the hearty welcome which you have given us to your ancient and interesting town of Lewes. I will now, with the leave of the meeting, make a few general remarks upon that branch of scientific inquiry in which we are to-day now professedly engaged.

"I sometimes hear it said that archæology is a worn out science, that we have, as it were, worked out those rich veins of ancient monuments and relics which, at the commencement of the work, were so interesting and so full of historical illustrations. Well, we have no doubt worked out some of them, and I am sanguine enough to believe that there still remains, though perhaps hidden in strata more difficult to work, plenty of rich ore to reward the skill and industry of our explorers. Indeed, I am sanguine enough to hope that even during our present gathering at Lewes some records of the past may be turned up and added to our general stock of historical knowledge. I may here remind you that the chief use of archæology consists in the illustrations which it often affords to more regular history, which is at the best but an imperfect record of the past. Dr. Arnold, in his *Historical Lectures*, make the following very useful remarks:—Firstly, that in order properly to understand the history of any people, we should study the physical geography of their country; and, secondly, that we should also endeavour to obtain some knowledge of their inner life, which is chiefly to be gained by the study of biographies. Now, it seems to me that archæology may in some manner help us to understand something of the inner life of our forefathers. From the ruins of ancient buildings, from inscriptions and other material objects, much light is often thrown upon historical events and characters. And thus archæology, like her sister science geology, may sometimes extract 'sermons from stones.'

"Now, I think we should always bear in mind that the chief use of all history is to give us a correct knowledge of the deeds and characters of our forefathers, in order that we may learn, both in private and public life, to imitate their virtues, and avoid their faults and their blunders. Nothing, perhaps, is so useful for this purpose as the private or semi-official correspondence of eminent persons. As an instance of this we must all admit that the letters recently edited by Mr. Ewald from the Public Records, have thrown a new light upon some of the most

interesting events and characters of the time to which they relate. But private correspondence, especially in England, is not of a very ancient date. Before the 15th, perhaps one might say the 18th century, few even of the higher classes were able to write at all. Mr. Hallam instances, as the earliest specimens of female epistolary correspondence, the letter of Joan to her husband Sir John Pelham—a letter written from Pevensy Castle to Sir John, who had recently landed in the north with his old master, Henry IV. Mr. Hallam adds, without, I think, sufficient respect to my distinguished ancestress, that, judging from the bad spelling and composition, the letter, is probably genuine.

“As we are all on this occasion Sussex archaeologists, I may be perhaps permitted to make a few brief allusions to our local Society, and its doings. In the earlier numbers of its published transactions, there are, I think, several articles of considerable and prominent interest, but it would be neither good taste on my part, nor a very profitable occupation of your time, if I were to dwell upon them. I will, however, first refer to some useful contributions to the past history of this county, which, if not all of them the work of the Society, were the work of some of its earliest and most distinguished members. The first which I will mention is ‘The History of the Barons’ War,’ by my late friend Mr. Blaauw, which contains, I believe, by far the best account of the battle of Lewes in the reign of Henry III. Then another late and valued friend, Mr. Blencowe, contributed amongst other papers in the journal of the Society extracts from some curious private diaries, especially one by a tradesman of East Hoathly, which gives a graphic and very amusing description of the habits and manner of life of a period occupying about the middle of the last century.

“I must add that these two friends, assisted by others, set a good example of archaeological charity and respect for a departed saint, when they restored the tomb of Archbishop Leighton at Horsted Keynes, and also the church in which that godly man had prayed and ministered. Lastly I will mention that well-known discovery of ancient remains, not by antiquaries but by the railway navvies, in forming the line through Southover. When the London and Brighton Company began their useful but destructive works they invaded the site of the venerable Cluniac Priory of Southover. We all know that a more barbarous invasion under Henry VIII. and Lord Cromwell had completely devastated the beautiful church and other buildings of the Priory. The second invaders were, however, more pitiful, for when excavating through the site of the church they came upon the altar steps and the church floor, they found two small leaden boxes, which were proved to contain the remains of the founders, William de Warrenne and Gundreda, the Conqueror’s daughter. These precious relics were, by the railway authorities, immediately placed in my custody, and I had the satisfaction, with the aid of my archaeological friends, of being enabled to erect a small chapel in Southover Church, and to place in a plain but suitable tomb these illustrious bones, which, I trust, will now remain undisturbed by any future Cromwell or railway excavators. I could say more of the last and first of the local archaeological work which I have mentioned, but in doing so I should anticipate what will be much better told you presently of the different subjects of antiquarian interest in Lewes and its vicinity.

“Ladies and gentlemen, I alluded just now to some of the uses of

history, and of archaeology as her scientific handmaid. I will conclude these remarks by simply observing that the study of the past history of the English people must, I think, produce in every well ordered mind a deep feeling of thankfulness to the good providence of God for the many blessings which, as Englishmen, we now enjoy—of thankfulness, I will add that our lot has been cast, not in the middle or earlier ages, but in the peaceful and prosperous reign of our good and gracious sovereign, Queen Victoria.”

A cordial vote of thanks to the noble President of the meeting having been proposed by Colonel Pinney the meeting broke up.

Complete programmes of the proceedings during the week, together with classified lists of the papers to be read at the Sectional Meetings, were given to each ticket holder. By the thoughtful kindness of the Sussex Archaeological Society, an illustrated hand-book of the places to be visited during the meeting was ably drawn up by Mr. F. E. Sawyer, and presented to each member of the Institute.

An adjournment was next made to the Bowling Green within the precincts of the Castle, where the members of the Institute and of the Sussex Archaeological Society had luncheon in a double marquee, under the presidency of the Earl of Chichester. The health of the Queen, the Institute, the Mayor, and the President of the meeting having been duly honoured, Mr. Clark took the party in hand and gave a general description of the Castle, beginning with the very curious and interesting gatehouse with its two portcullises. Proceeding up the steep mound the remains of the shell keep was reached. Here Mr. Clark spoke of the old defenses of earthworks and palisades, and showed how, after the coming of the Conqueror, it became necessary for the barons to fortify themselves, and that in the case of Lewes, nature having provided two mounds both had to be fortified, lest one falling into hostile hands should be a menace to the other. In some respects therefore, Lewes Castle was one of the most curious in England, and threw much light upon structures of that character in early times.

The party then assembled on the Castle Banks, when the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens read an admirable paper on the Battle of Lewes, which will appear in a future Journal. Mr. Stephens then took charge of a small party who went in carriages to Mount Harry, the scene of the Battle of Lewes, while a larger party, under the friendly guidance of Mr. Somers Clarke and Mr. J. L. Parsons, went by way of the town wall and the west gate to Southover church, where Mr. Clarke read a short paper. The leaden coffers supposed to contain the bones of William de Warenne and Gundreda were then inspected, and Mr. St. John Hope conducted the party to the Priory where, with the aid of a large plan, he was enabled to give a clear account of the results of the excavations which his intelligent energy had lately laid bare. These excavations were then inspected, and the members returned to the town through some private grounds, where certain remains of the Priory church were to be seen.

At eight p.m., Mr. Freeman opened the Historical Section in the Crown Court, and delivered his Address “The Early History of Sussex,” an eloquent and stirring discourse on the Land of the South Saxons.¹

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Freeman, the Mayor spoke in warm terms of the value of the address they had listened to; Mr.

¹ The Address is printed at p. 335.

Ferguson seconded the motion, which was carried with acclamation; and after a few words from Mr. Freeman the meeting came to an end.

Wednesday, August 1st.

At 10 a.m. the members went by special train to Pevensey; arrived at the Castle, and entering by the western gateway the party gathered round the President of the Historical Section. They had come now, said Mr. Freeman, to the spot on which he had spoken on the previous night, and upon which he had gone so far even as to call into being a Saxon war song, which Henry of Huntingdon must have had in some shape before him when he wrote of the storming of the last British stronghold in Sussex. They had heard of the place the night before; now they could see what Anderida was. Some had said that the break in the walls through which they had entered was made by Ælle and Cissa, but he would not go so far as that; here, however, was the site of the city they destroyed, leaving not a Bret within its walls, and never had it been restored as a dwelling-place for man, excepting, of course, the mediæval castle on the south-eastern side. At the time of Ælle and Cissa and the two Norman invasions, and down to the reign of Stephen, the sea came close to the walls, and would give a totally different character to the place. What precious things might be found if they could only dig there! Immediately after the Norman Conquest, William gave Pevensey to his half-brother Robert, Count of Mortain, in Normandy, who built a castle here, not wholly the one they saw before them, because a great deal of it was later than his time. The place spoke for itself, and told plainly enough what it was, a Roman city inhabited by Britons, left desolate by the Saxons. The English came and settled, not within its walls, but on either side at Westham and Pevensey. The Roman spoke for himself in these walls, the Norman spoke for himself on the walls yonder, and the English on each side spoke for themselves; the Briton alone left nothing, for he was destroyed out of the land. In conclusion, Mr. Freeman pointed out the difference between the Roman walls here with its courses of red brick, and those at Carlisle which have no such courses; he invited the attention of his audience to the bastions in the walls, and regretted the absence of Mr. Clark, who would have told them something interesting about the Norman fortress, and then advised his hearers to go and see as much as they could of the place for themselves. The mediæval castle, at the eastern end of the Roman area, with a part of the Roman wall incorporated into it, was subsequently inspected, and the churches of Pevensey and Westham successively seen. Dismal, indeed, in one sense, was the Castle, but some thought that far more dismal in another were these two "restored" churches. The journey was continued by rail to Rye where, the Land Gate having been first visited, at the Ypres Tower, Mr. J. C. Vider gave an account of this latter interesting fortress. After luncheon at the George Hotel the Church was seen, and described by Mr. Somers Clarke, who pointed out how it had grown from a small building to its present very considerable dimensions. The spacious early thirteenth century chancel, with aisles, was undergoing what was mildly termed "restoration."

Winchelsea Church was the next point reached, and here Mr. Micklethwaite spoke. He said that in these old commercial towns they usually

found a small church had been built, and that this had grown into a large one. Winchelsea was one of the few places in which a parish church had sprung fresh out of the ground: but though well begun it was never finished. When the place was prosperous they began to build an ideal parish church, and were not hampered with old Norman building as in most places. However, misfortune overtook the town, and the work had to stop. The chapel to the right of the main entrance had doubtless been the seat of some important guild, and on the other side of the church were effigies brought from the old church—the church at Old Winchelsea—with canopies erected over them. These effigies were considerably older than the church itself. The style of the church was Decorated, and he did not think the roof had been intended to be the permanent one. He also believed it had been the intention to put a clerestory in the walls. The transepts were begun, and there were some traces of the nave, but as in the fifteenth century even the hope of furnishing them had been given up, a west window and porch were added to the choir, thus treating it as a church complete in itself. All the old furniture was gone, if there ever was any to speak of, but he did not think there had been much, as there were no marks of screens on the pillars as they often found. The church had remained a fragment, and he hoped it would continue to do so, and that no one would take the idea into his head to build a nave and a transept to it.

MR. HARTSHORNE called attention to the magnificent canopies over the effigies of the Alard family, and specially to the details of the sword belts, which, in the natural absence of any original leather examples, explained completely the use of certain ties not evident as far as he knew, in the sculptured particulars of any other figures in the kingdom.

From the church the party proceeded to the ruined chapel of the Franciscans, a picturesque building, with the rare feature of an apse, and which elicited from Mr. FREEMAN a special discourse. Here, in his charming garden, Major Stileman was kind enough to offer tea and coffee to the party. After a few graceful words of thanks to Major Stileman from Sir Talbot Baker, the members inspected "Trojan's Hall," the gateways, the Town Hall, and some examples of the vaulted Edwardian sub-structures, of which so many examples exist in the "poor skeleton of ancient Winchelsea." Lewes was again reached from Winchelsea station at 6:20.

The Architectural Section opened at 8.30 in the Nisi Prius Court in the County Hall. Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE occupied the chair as President, and gave his opening address (printed at p. 368).

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Micklethwaite, Mr. FREEMAN said that they had objects which belonged to past times, which still were used at the present time. They must keep them as memorials of the past, and not cast them aside as being useless for the present, because that would be paying the least possible reverence to them as objects of the past. These objects divided themselves into two classes—those which could be used for present purposes, and those whose use had passed away. A church, a town hall, a house, and any object which was used in a church, a town hall, or a house belonged both to the past and the present, and as they could they must reconcile the claims of the past and the present; and he thought Mr. Micklethwaite found with him that it was difficult to do full justice sometimes to these claims. On the other hand,

there were other objects which belonged wholly to the past. No one would attempt to restore a cromlech, and he ventured to think that restoring a castle was as barbarous a thing as a human being could do. When it came to a town hall it was quite another thing. They must keep them for the present, and if they did not they were giving them up for the past. They must restore sometimes; but then came the question as to what limits and to what extent. Supposing in the middle of Westminster Abbey one pillar was giving way, and that this would allow the whole building to fall if the pillar was not rebuilt; he did not know if the society who watched over their buildings would say, let it fall, or, don't put up a pillar like that again, but put up a prop unlike all the others. He thought some architects would now say, let it fall, or prop it up with something which could not be mistaken for the old work; but he would ask if that was not going too far. Should they not make a pillar to match the others, and so not destroy the symmetry of the building? In Westminster Abbey and many churches the ancient architects were not quite so contemptuous of old work as some people thought. If they looked at Westminster Abbey they would see work of the fifteenth century, but which was carried out on the ideas of a previous age. The English builders were not always the despoilers they were thought to be, but were sometimes smitten with the beauty of the buildings they had to do with, and adapted their work to the buildings accordingly. There was the difficulty. He did not suppose the President of the section would allow Westminster Abbey to become a ruin, or put up a pillar of hideous bricks, which no one could mistake for anything but the true work of the nineteenth century.

MR. MICKLETHWAITE said he should just like to say another word, namely, that the men of the fifteenth century, who carried out the designs of the thirteenth century at Westminster Abbey, gave the people of the present age a hint. They made pillars which, at first sight, resembled the old ones, and they were of the old design, but the detail was of their own time and they could not be mistaken for what they were not; and if a pillar had to be rebuilt in Westminster Abbey, he would have care taken that the details were such that it could not be mistaken for the original work.

The vote of thanks to Mr. Micklethwaite was cordially passed, and Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE then read an able and exhaustive paper on "The Architectural History of the Clunial Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, with special reference to recent excavations." This will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. A vote of thanks to Mr. Hope, proposed by Mr. FREEMAN, brought the meeting to an end.

Thursday, August 2.

At 9 a.m. a large party went by special train to Hastings, and proceeded at once to the castle, which was specially thrown open to the members by the noble owner, the President of the meeting. Here, on the highest point of this powerful strategic spot, Mr. FREEMAN gave a short address. They had seen the site of William's landing at Pevensey on the previous day, and were now at the place to which he hastened immediately afterwards. He found something there, and whatever that was, he improved and further fortified as time would allow by digging a ditch. Here he made his stationary camp and the centre of the campaign.

Mr. Freeman spoke of the campaign of Hastings, keeping the name of Senlac for the hill itself and for the battle. It seemed that the army could get little or nothing to eat at Pevensey, for they left and made a swift march to Hastings. Much regret was felt at the absence of Mr. Clark, but the ruins of the castle and the earth works were generally inspected by the members before making their way back to the Hastings station for Battle.

By the kindness of the Duke of Cleveland, the abbey and grounds were thrown open to the Institute, and the weather being highly favourable, Mr. FREEMAN at once took up a position on the terrace and commenced his description of the battle of Senlac in a manner which few who were privileged to listen will be likely to forget. Taking volume iii of the *Norman Conquest* as a ground-work, and occasionally reading passages from it, the whole story of the struggle and its fateful consequences was depicted with a most masterly hand. In the course of the delivery of the first portion, Mr. Freeman, who pointed out the site, or the direction in which each incident of the struggle occurred, moved to the spot where Harold's standard was planted.

Returning to the terrace, Mr. Freeman described the further progress of the battle up to the point when William crushed Gyrth with his mace, and Leofwine fell fighting, and an adjournment was now made for luncheon at the George Hotel, after which Mr. Freeman's health was happily proposed by Sir Charles Anderson and enthusiastically drunk. After a genial speech from Mr. FREEMAN, the thrilling story was continued at the Abbey, where the death of Harold and the capture of the standard was vividly described. The slaughter at the "malfosse," below the deanery, was spoken of on the spot, and the Historian of the Norman Conquest concluded his task amid loud applause. Never before in the life of the Institute has a spot of such undying fame been so admirably described, and it may perhaps be added that here for the first time the members had proper time to see a place.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE now undertook to conduct a party through the Abbey buildings and to give a general description of them. The interior of the house was also, by permission of the noble owner, allowed to be seen, and towards the end of the day Mr. SOMERS CLARKE made some observations in Battle Church. Thus a most memorable day was brought to an end, and Lewes was again reached by rail at 6.45.

At 8.30 p.m. a conversazione was given by the Worshipful the Mayor of Lewes in the Assembly Rooms, County Hall. More than 200 persons accepted Dr. Crosskey's invitation. The Museum was thrown open, and in the course of the evening the Mayor of Carlisle (Mr. R. S. Ferguson) read a paper on "The Dignity of a Mayor." A selection of vocal and instrumental music added greatly to the enjoyment of the evening.

Friday, August 3.

At 10 a.m., the General Annual Meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the Nisi Prius Court, at the County Hall, the Rev. Sir T. H. B. BAKER, Bt. in the chair.

Mr. HARTSHORNE read the Balance Sheet for the past year (printed at p. 316). He then read the following:—

"REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1882-3.

"In bringing before the members of the Institute the fortieth Annual Report, the Council would assuredly be wanting if they did not, in the first place, express their congratulations on the archæological and social success of the second meeting of the Institute at Carlisle. The visit to the Great Border City in 1859 was certainly full of interest, and the abiding character of the work done at that time is evidenced at the present day by the existence of a vigorous local archæological body, to which that meeting in a large measure gave rise. To the cordiality of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society, and the welcome co-operation of antiquaries from over the Border, the meeting of last year naturally owed much of its great success. A second examination of that wonderful monument the Roman Wall, under the unerring guidance of Dr. Bruce; a masterly discourse by Mr. Freeman, fresh from the track of Rufus; lectures on castles by Mr. Clark; by Mr. Mickethwaite on abbeys on either side of the Border; an antiquarian section headed by Mr. Evans; the presence and co-operation of Dr. Stephens of Copenhagen, and the whole meeting presided over by a prelate of ready tact and geniality, whose sermon in the Cathedral will not soon be forgotten,—these were some of the features which the Council would recall in a meeting of rare value and importance, which drew together so large and learned a body of antiquaries.

"The creation of a collection of local antiquities has always proved a most attractive measure at the annual assemblies of the Institute, and the Council would refer with pleasure to the unusual amount of instruction and interest presented by the museum formed last year at Carlisle. For the exhibition was of special value, and the mention of the large accumulation of church plate, brought together through the intelligent and untiring energy of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, gives the Council an opportunity, of which they gladly avail themselves, of expressing their cordial thanks to that gentleman for his constant exertions for the welfare of the Institute, as well as to their other friends in the North, who took so much trouble for the gratification of the members at the second Carlisle meeting.

"The Council would refer with satisfaction to the passing of the Bill for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, so long hoped for. And, although there is reason for regret that this important antiquarian measure is not so comprehensive as had been wished, still the settlement thus far of so pressing a question by the Legislature, implying a recognition by the House of Commons of the extreme value of our early monumental remains, is a matter that may be contemplated with more than ordinary gladness. The Institute has never ceased to raise its voice against the havoc of "restoration," and the Council would venture to cherish a hope that the passing of this Bill may happily prove to be the precursor of further measures to be eventually taken by the Government for the efficient and intelligent protection of architectural monuments, which have been suffered in our own time to be so injudiciously tampered with, to the destruction alike of their antiquarian and architectural interest, and the dislocation of the course and evidences of the history of the country. In this regard the Council would again refer with pleasure to the establishment and work of societies which have for their aim the protection of such invaluable memorials, no less of an early period than of a time not far removed from our own—societies which should appeal

to the higher feelings of the community at large, and, at least, save this generation from the taunt that 'monuments themselves memorials need.'

"With regard to the monstrous proposal to carry a railway through the sacred precincts of Stonehenge, the Council have not been heedless. Through the co-operation of a highly distinguished member of the Institute, they presented a Petition to Parliament against this Bill, and they are happy to be able to record that, thanks to the loyal exertions of Sir John Lubbock, this dreaded measure has been thrown out; and as it was rejected not solely upon archaeological grounds, there is good reason for hoping that the question will not be re-opened.

"The Council have constantly viewed with a lively interest the increase and value of the collection of national antiquities in the British Museum, and they notice with unfeigned satisfaction the opening of the Anglo-Roman and Anglo-Saxon rooms, in which antiquities forming so large a part of the study of members of the Institute have been so admirably classified and arranged by Mr. Franks.

"The unanimous recommendation by the trustees of the British Museum that the nation should become the purchaser of the Ashburnham MSS. has unfortunately not had the desired result, and it is a matter for lively regret that, owing to special circumstances, the whole of these rare literary treasures will not find a resting place in the national collection. Still the Council feel that it is a great satisfaction to know that a large proportion of these priceless MSS. will be reposed in the British Museum, while it is gratifying to feel that the Treasury exercises in these days a more wise and spirited liberality than was shown, for instance, thirty years ago, with regard to the Faussett collection of antiquities.

"The Council regard with pleasure the establishment of a society for the publication of the Great Rolls of the Exchequer, previous to the year 1200. It has long been felt that these unique contemporary national records should be multiplied; that the documentary evidences of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I should be made generally available, and that the publications of the late Record Commission should be completed, as far back as possible. In addition to these early Pipe Rolls, certain other documents, *Rotuli Curie Regis*, &c., will be published, so that finally, all MSS. in the Public Record Office, to the end of the twelfth century, will be made thoroughly accessible to the daily increasing number of persons who recognize the value of the purest sources of history.

"With much regret the Council have seen a Bill introduced in the House of Commons for the wholesale destruction of City churches, and so far advanced as to have been read a second time. It would appear, however, that this startling measure, which would deal so rudely with churches which survived the great fire, churches by Wren, and churches after his time, has for the present been checked, and that there are now reasons for hoping that, thanks to the vigour of a special Protection Society, and the strong opposition that has been aroused, the contemplated mischief may be warded off. Would that the Council could say that the prospects were in any degree as cheering at Westminster, where, in fact, the Public School Act has enabled the authorities to destroy nearly all the early architectural remains which that ill-advised project placed in their hands.

"The fact that the removal of the Institute into new rooms has entailed a considerable charge upon the current funds of the society, will explain

why the balance of the yearly account is not large, and the Council desire to thank those members who have so kindly lessened the burden on the Institute by contributing towards these expenses. They would also refer to the continued excellence of the *Journal* as evidence that they have successfully expended the moderate funds at their disposal for that purpose.

"A proposal for the incorporation of the governing body of the Institute will be submitted to the meeting, supported by the approval of the Council.

"Since the last meeting of the Institute it has fallen to the lot of the Council to exercise a duty, mingled with deep regret: the appointment of a President in the room of the late Lord Talbot de Malahide. In the shadow of a great loss, the Council deem themselves cheered and fortunate in being able to announce that the Earl Percy has consented to fill the vacant office, and they now have the honour to submit this appointment for the ratification of the members.

"The Council would advert in warm terms of sorrow to the event which has deprived the Institute of so kind a President and so faithful a friend. For a period of thirty years, with an interval of four years, Lord Talbot de Malahide never failed us. With unwearied zeal he took the fullest interest in all that concerned the Institute and its welfare, its councils and meetings in London, no less than its annual excursions in the country. To say that he was a valued and efficient president, of high and varied archaeological attainments, is to mention the mere public side of his character; the members of the Institute who followed his guidance for so many years will recall with affection his constant kindness and courtesy and the sterling qualities of his heart.

"It will be remembered that our late President spoke of his retirement at the last annual meeting in consequence of increase of age and 'the want of the bodily power which formerly upheld him;' but he would not desert us then, and, almost prophetically, he said that perhaps this time next year he would not be able to be with us. Three months later he went to Madeira and had the intention of proceeding to Rio in the spring of this year. But the end came, and he passed quietly away in April at Madeira, and by his own desire he lies buried in that island.

"Lord Talbot was born in 1805, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He became a scholar of that foundation and took his degree as a senior optime in the mathematical tripos, and a first class in classics. He sat in Parliament for Athlone in 1833, and succeeded his father, James, third Lord Talbot de Malahide, in 1850. He was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1856, and was a Lord-in-Waiting from 1863 to 1866. He was Hereditary Lord Admiral of Malahide and the seas adjoining, and was formerly President of the Royal Irish Academy. He was also President of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, Fellow of the Royal Society, of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Geographical Society, and honorary member of many local archaeological bodies, all of whom will deeply deplore the sad event of his death.

"The Council record with sorrow the death of Mr. E. P. SHIRLEY. A highly distinguished member of the Institute since 1845, he bore a great reputation as an antiquary. His picturesque volume—*Noble and Gentle-men of England*—is in the libraries of all who appreciate the patience and diligence of a herald, and among his greater works the *History of the County of Monaghan* is conspicuous evidence of his careful accuracy

as a historian. His loss will be widely felt in the archæological world, and specially in Warwickshire, where he lived the worthy representative of an ancient county family.

“Mr. G. A. CARTEW, a most accurate Norfolk antiquary, worked unceasingly, and has left behind him valuable MSS. collections, which, it may be hoped, will not quit the interesting county to which they refer.

“Captain E. HOARE was a member of the Institute since 1845, and long a familiar figure at the meetings in London. He latterly contributed much to the pages of the *Journal*, and only a few days before his sudden death he had published an exhaustive pedigree of the Hoare family.

“The Rev. W. HENLY JERVIS was a member of the Council at the time of his lamented death. He gained much and well deserved credit from his *History of the Church from the Concordat of Bologna to the Revolution*, and his *History of the Gallican Church and the Revolution*; his amiable qualities will live long in the memory of his friends.

“The Rev. R. P. COATES, an early member of the Institute, was a constant attendant at the London meetings and an accurate student of Romano-British antiquities.

In addition to the above losses, Mr. M. FROST, Mr. J. JOPE ROGERS, Colonel E. FITZHARDING GRANT, and Mr. S. HEYWOOD have passed away since the last meeting.

“The members of the Council to retire by rotation are as follows:—Vice-President, Mr. H. SODEN SMITH, and the following members of the Council:—Mr. J. BAIN, Mr. H. HUTCHINGS, Sir J. S. D. SCOTT, Bart., Mr. C. O. S. MORGAN, the Very Rev. Lord ALWYNE COMPTON, and Mr. J. N. FOSTER.

“The Council would recommend the appointment of the Very Rev. Lord ALWYNE COMPTON as Vice-President, in the place of Mr. SODEN SMITH; and the re-election of the latter, Mr. J. BAIN, Mr. H. HUTCHINGS, and Sir S. SCOTT on the Council.

“It would further recommend the election of Major-General LANE FOX PITT-RIVERS, and the Rev. H. J. BIGGE, the retiring Auditor, to the vacant seats on the Council.

“It would also recommend the election of Mr. R. P. PULLAN as Auditor, in the room of the Rev. H. J. BIGGE.”

The adoption of the Report was moved by the Rev. F. SPURRELL, seconded by Mr. G. TROYTE BULLOCK, and carried unanimously.

On the proposal of the Rev. F. SPURRELL, seconded by Mr. GOSTENHOFEN, the Balance Sheet (which had been placed as a fly-leaf in the hands of the members) was similarly passed.

The CHAIRMAN spoke of the loss which the Institute had sustained by the death of Lord Talbot de Malahide, and, referring to the announcement which had been made in the Report, said that he now had the privilege and honour of proposing the confirmation by the members of the Institute of the appointment which had been made by the Council in order to fill the vacant place of President of the Institute.

The election of the Earl Percy as President of the Institute was confirmed with acclamation.

The following new members were then elected:—

Mr. J. Oldrid Scott, proposed by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.

Mr. A. Granger Hutt, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, and Mr. F. Barchard, proposed by Mr. R. S. Ferguson]

With regard to the place of meeting in 1884, Mr. HARTSHORNE read some correspondence he had had with Mr. R. Blair, from which it appeared that the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne had passed a resolution to the effect that it was desirable that the Institute should hold a second meeting there at an early date.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE spoke of Derby as a very good centre for a meeting, and an entirely new one for the Institute, and he had reason to believe that a meeting in that town would be very welcome.

The CHAIRMAN mentioned a second visit to Chester and its neighbourhood as well worthy of consideration.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON spoke at some length upon the peculiar propriety of having a meeting at Newcastle in the first year of Lord Percy's presidency, and alluded to the many objects of interest available from thence.

The numerous attractions which were mentioned by Mr. Ferguson and others, including Durham (which by a kind of fatality, had never been the head quarters of an annual meeting,) caused the members to be unanimously of opinion that the meeting in 1884 should take place at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mr. S. I. TUCKER (Somerset), who was unavoidably and unexpectedly absent from the meeting, proposed, by letter to Mr. Hartshorne, "That the meeting should empower the Council to elect as honorary Vice-Presidents of the Institute, a limited number of retired or retiring members of their body, or others, on whom they might consider it desirable to confer that title."

Mr. T. BROOKE thought the matter was hardly ripe for discussion, and on his suggestion, and after a few observations from Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, the matter was referred to the consideration of the Council.

Mr. BAYLIS, who, together with Mr. J. B. Davidson, had taken considerable interest in the matter, spoke at some length upon the proposed incorporation of the Institute. He then proposed the following resolution:—"That it is desirable that the Governing Body of the Institute be incorporated as an Association for the encouragement and prosecution of Researches into the Arts and Monuments of the Early and Middle Ages, and other like purposes, and not for Profit, by registration under Section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867, and that the Council be empowered, and is hereby instructed, to take all necessary steps for that purpose."

Mr. W. ROWLEY heartily seconded the resolution, and Mr. E. PEACOCK, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. PARK HARRISON, and Mr. J. HILTON, spoke to the same effect, while asking for further information upon special points which was afforded them by Mr. Davidson.

The resolution was then unanimously carried.

Mr. DAVIDSON then proposed the following resolution:—"That the Council be empowered to make such alterations (extending if necessary to additions and omissions) in the existing rules and regulations of the Institute as they may think desirable, in order to adopt them for registration under the Act, and to meet the present requirements of the Institute; provided that no change be made in any of the fundamental rules and regulations of the Institute except with the approval of a General Meeting."

This was seconded by Mr. BAYLIS, and after some further explanations by Mr. DAVIDSON, carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by the Rev. F. SPURRELL and seconded by Mr. BAYLIS, brought the meeting to an end.

At 11 a.m. the Antiquarian Section opened in the Nisi Prius Court, and Major-General LANE FOX PITT RIVERS gave his opening address, which was listened to by a large audience, and which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

After a cordial vote of thanks had been passed to the President of the section, Mr. F. E. SAWYER read a valuable paper on "Traces of Teutonic Settlements in Sussex, as illustrated by Land Tenure and Place Names," which will appear in due course in the *Journal*.

At 11.35 the Historical Section met in the Crown Court, Mr. FREEMAN in the chair.

The Rev. J. HIRST read an able paper on "A Roman Fire Brigade in Britain," which is printed at p. 327.

The Rev. W. POWELL followed with "Observations on the Domesday Survey of Sussex," and the meeting then broke up.

At 1 p.m. the members left in carriages for Mount Caburn. Arrived at the foot of the hill, the carriages were abandoned, the steep was mounted, and Major-General PITT RIVERS spoke upon the different features of this late Celtic camp, which, thanks to his careful investigations, had surrendered so much of the highest interest to antiquaries.

The carriages were now regained, and from Glynde station the party went by rail to Hailsham. Here light refreshments were in readiness at the George Hotel, and, fresh carriages being in waiting, the journey was pleasantly continued to Hurstmonceaux. The Church was first visited, and the Dacre tomb herein received considerable attention, as much from its own merits as a memorial of great stateliness, as from the fact that the Baron de Cosson gave good reasons for believing that it is not, as has hitherto been supposed, the monument of Thomas, Lord Dacre (1534), and Thomas, his son, but of earlier members of that family, as indeed was sufficiently evident from the style of the architecture and the character of the military costume of the figure. Mr. R. S. Ferguson made some observations upon the history of the Dacres of the South, and a descent was then made to the Castle, of which no special description was offered. This fine example of a late fortified house was built in 1440 by Roger de Fienes. It was entirely dismantled in 1777, and now stands a vast and picturesque ruin in brick of soft and delicate tints. After the thanks of the members had been expressed to Mr. H. M. Curteis for his kindness in throwing the Castle open for their inspection, the carriages proceeded to Pevensey station, from whence Lewes was again reached at 6.15.

At 8 p.m., the Antiquarian Section met in the Crown Court, Mr. R. S. Ferguson in the chair. Mr. E. Peacock read a paper on "Swan Marks," which will appear in a future *Journal*. The Rev. Dr. Raven followed with a paper on "A Group of Sussex Bells," which will also be printed in the *Journal*, and the reading by the Chairman of a paper by the Rev. T. Lees on "The meaning of the Shears combined with Clerical Symbols on incised Gravestones," brought the proceedings in this section to an end.

The Historical Section met at 8 p.m., in the Nisi Prius Court, Mr. Freeman in the chair. A paper of great value by Mr. E. Chester Waters on "Gundreda," was read by Mr. E. Walford, and drew forth high encomiums from the chair, as well as a warm tribute of sympathy with the suffering author. The Rev. R. S. Baker followed with a paper on

"The Antona of Tacitus," and a paper by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope on "Wall Paintings at Frindsbury Church," concluded the work in the sectional meetings.

Saturday, August 4th.

At 9.30 a large party went by special train to New Shoreham, and proceeded at once to the church. Standing in the churchyard, Mr. FREEMAN made a few remarks, first pointing out the mischief of rushing into a building before looking at the outside. He said that almost every one would say that the remains of a fine conventual or collegiate church of the second order were here. But it was simply a parish church, and one he believed of a type absolutely unique in England, with the exception perhaps of St. Mary's Redcliff at Bristol, which in some respects was like it.

Differing from Mr. Freeman, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said that a church was best seen first from the inside. He then made a few remarks upon the evidences of the former existence of a rood screen, and then handed the party over to Mr. Somers Clarke, who at once went inside the church and read a short paper upon it, agreeing generally with the conclusions of the late Mr. Edmund Sharpe, as set forth in his printed account of this interesting building.

The church of Sompthing was the next point reached, and here Mr. Micklethwaite undertook the description, and shortly pointed out the peculiarities of this remarkable church, both inside and outside.

The excursion was continued to Broadwater Church, where Mr. Somers Clarke read a valuable paper. Mr. Peacock made some observations on the harm which the church had suffered from restoration of a most injudicious kind, and a short drive brought the party to the Montague Hall, Worthing, where luncheon was arranged. By the obliging forethought of Mr. A. J. Fenton a valuable collection of Roman pottery, &c., found some two years ago at Worthing, was laid out on tables for the inspection of the members. A detailed account of these objects will be printed in the *Journal* on a future occasion.

At 2 p.m. a special train took the party to Arundel, where, by the kindness of the Earl Marshal, the Castle was thrown open to them. Mr. Mostyn and Mr. Kemp received the members, and led the way to the top of the keep, where Mr. Kemp read a short paper giving a general historical sketch of the fortress. The interior of the Castle was then seen, and afterwards a part of the outside, exhibiting undoubted work of Roger of Montgomery, and some later substructures.

Mr. Freeman then led the way to the church, and spoke upon its characteristics in the parish and collegiate portions respectively. Mr. Freeman's valuable paper on "The Case of Arundel Church" will be found in the *Journal* vol. xxxvii, p. 244, and his observations need not be repeated here. In the Collegiate Church, the absolute property of the Duke of Norfolk, are the magnificent monuments of the Fitzalans, well known from Stothard's delicate etchings, and it was satisfactory to understand that they are likely to be rescued from the squalor and decay which now obscures the beauty of these priceless memorials.

Before leaving the Collegiate Church Mr. Freeman expressed to Mr. Mostyn the thanks of the members to the Duke of Norfolk for his kindness in admitting them to the innermost parts of the Castle, as well as to the interesting building which they had just seen.

The remains of the Maison Dieu were inspected on the way to the station, and the party returned to Lewes at 6.40.

On Sunday the Mayor and Corporation assembled at the Town Hall and went in state to All Saints' Church, accompanied by the members of the Institute. The Ven. Archdeacon Hannah preached from Deut. xxxii, 7. In the afternoon the Rev. Dr. Raven preached from I John ii, 17.

Monday, August 6th.

At 9.30 the members went by special train to Chichester. On arriving at the Cathedral the party was received by the Dean, the Ven. Archdeacon Walker, and many of the clergy of the city. Assembled in the south transept, Mr. Gordon Hills gave a long and learned address on the history of the Cathedral, finishing his discourse with a graphic description of the fall of the spire in 1861, of which calamity so admirable an account was given to the world soon after the event by Professor Willis.

After luncheon at the Dolphin Hotel, a visit was paid to the remarkable kitchen attached to the Bishop's palace, the private chapel, and the dining room built by the munificent Bishop Sherborne. From here the party proceeded to St. Mary's Hospital, a late thirteenth century building of extreme interest, and consisting now of a chapel, and a hall containing the separate dwelling rooms of eight poor persons. The Ven. Archdeacon Walker read a paper upon this remarkable foundation, and a move was then made to a convenient position on the walls, where the Rev. F. H. Arnold discoursed upon the siege of Chichester in 1642. A vote of thanks to the Bishop of Chichester, the Dean, Mr. Hills, and Mr. Arnold, proposed by Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, brought the proceedings to a close, and Lewes was again reached at 6.20.

At 8.30 the general concluding meeting was held in the Nisi Prius Court, Mr. S. I. Tucker (Somerset) presiding. The Chairman, after some preliminary remarks, proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Lewes "for their exceedingly cordial and handsome reception of the Institute during this meeting." Mr. BAYLIS, Q.C., moved a vote of thanks to the Earl of Chichester for his kindness in presiding over the meeting. Mr. HILTON proposed a vote of thanks to "the Local Committee, and specially to Mr. Baxter, who took so much trouble to ensure the comfort of the members; and to Mr. R. Crosskey, Mr. H. Willett, and Mr. H. Griffith, who exerted themselves so much to ensure the success of the Museum." Mr. E. TYSEN moved "that the best thanks of the Institute be given to those persons who have taken so much pains to describe the places of interest visited during the meeting, and particularly to Mr. F. E. Sawyer, who had compiled a most useful handbook." Mr. E. PEACOCK, in a long and amusing speech, proposed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Cleveland, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Chichester, and others, who had thrown open their houses, castles, and churches for the inspection of the Institute, and specially to "those who had extended the rites of hospitality to the strangers who had sojourned so pleasantly beneath the historic heights of Lewes." The CHAIRMAN, in proposing a vote of thanks to the members of the Sussex Archaeological Society for

their friendly co-operation with the Institute during the meeting, took occasion to allude to the advantage that it was to the Institute, the real parent of so many county societies, to be associated year by year with vigorous local bodies such as that which happily existed in Sussex. A century ago there were, as we now understand the term, but few men of erudition, and their archaeological researches certainly often misled rather than helped. In our own day old theories were upset, and old fallacies were disproved, and it might truly be said that no local archaeological society took a higher position than did that of Sussex. This was sufficiently shown by the yearly volumes which the Society issued, and the papers which had been read during the meeting by Sussex men showed how carefully and accurately they went to work. He had much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the local Society. This was seconded by Mr. W. ROWLEY. Mr. E. WALFORD proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hartshorne for his exertions during the meeting, which was acknowledged; and the Mayor of Lewes having responded on behalf of the Corporation and other local workers in the interest of the meeting, the Lewes Meeting was declared ended.

The Museum.

This was arranged in the County Hall under the direction of Mr. R. Crosskey, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, and Mr. H. Griffith. The large room was fitted with glass cases containing valuable examples of art and antiquity from the county second to none in the quality and quantity of its archaeological relics. Among the more noteworthy of the earlier objects were the great cinerary urns from Southerham and Beddingham, bronze and stone implements from Seaford, Roman pottery from Portslade, and Anglo-Saxon remains from Ringmer. The Shipley reliquary and a chalice of the same early date were conspicuous in a case that was otherwise filled with embroidered stoles and copes of different periods, which were exhibited by the authorities of the nunnery at Mayfield, the Rev. J. Hirst, of Wadhurst, and others. Of municipal plate there was a large and charming collection, including the maces and other objects from Rye, Hastings, Winchelsea, and Chichester. The Corporation of Lewes exhibited its very curious High Bailiff staves and that of Chichester its famous "Moon." The meeting was greatly indebted to Mr. H. Willett for the opportunity of seeing his valuable display of brown Toft ware decorated "in slip," and to Mr. H. Griffith for a collection of articles in use in a Sussex house in the seventeenth century, including many rare objects in silver. On the walls were tapestries, exhibited by the Earl of Chichester, rolls of arms, pictures of old Sussex houses, pictures of Lewes, by Lambert, the local painter (1780-1790), and portraits. Mr. Hartshorne exhibited several shields of arms of Postlethwaite, Gooch and others, early 18th century, painted on black silk, and originally hung round rooms at Lyings-in-State, and given after the funeral to the relations of the deceased. Mr. de Putron exhibited a collection of old guns, the Baron de Cosson sent many early swords and helmets, and among the miscellaneous objects were numerous miniatures, seals, and watches, lent by the Rev. Sir G. Shiffner, Mr. Wells, Mr. Ready, and others.

In the inner room were numerous early printed books, among them Cromwell's pocket Bible in four volumes, lent by Lord Chichester, and a number of rubbings of Sussex brasses, while, at the entrance to the great

room, stood the iron "chains" from Rye, still containing the skull of the murderer Breeds whose carcass was hung therein in 1742—a strange and striking usher.

The open Court below contained a very interesting collection of Sussex iron work, fire backs, grates, &c., valuable evidences of a local industry which has long passed away.

By the kindness of the noble President of the meeting those members who did not return to London on Tuesday morning had the gratification of visiting Stanmer Park and inspecting the pictures there preserved, and the portraits of the families of Pelham, Montagu, Yorke, Walpole, and Cromwell, and many art treasures. After luncheon the gardens were seen, and the party returned to Lewes in the afternoon.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the Lewes meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute :—

The Mayor of Lewes (W. F. Crosskey, Esq., M.D.), 10*l.* ; F. W. Cosens, 10*l.* ; W. L. Christie, M.P., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Messrs. H. and C. Coleman, 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Mrs. Henley Jervis, 5*l.* 5*s.* ; the Earl of Chichester, 5*l.* ; W. E. Baxter, 5*l.* ; Alderman Kemp, 5*l.* ; J. Thorne, 5*l.* ; F. Barchard, 5*l.* ; Mrs. Godlee, 5*l.* ; T. St. L. Blaauw, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Rev. Lord S. G. Osborne, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; G. Whitfield, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; E. B. Blaker, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; J. W. Mudge, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; A. Nesbitt, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; R. Stewart, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; G. Molineux, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; M. S. Blaker, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; J. G. Braden, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Rev. Sir G. Shiffner, Bt., 2*l.* 2*s.* ; F. B. Whitfeld, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; Mrs. Lennon, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; C. Hill, 2*l.* ; C. L. Prince, 1*l.* 5*s.* ; F. Merrifield, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. C. R. Blaker, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; W. J. Smith, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; R. Farncombe, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; E. Watkins (Mayor of Arundel), 1*l.* 1*s.* ; R. Holmes, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; E. Pullinger, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Rev. H. M. Ingram, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; E. Martineaux, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Mrs. Sopwith, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; Sir C. Anderson, Bt., 1*l.* ; A. Hillman, 1*l.* ; Mrs. Hayward, 9*s.*

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL HANDBOOK OF THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER. By G. B. WITTS, C.E. Being an explanatory description of the Archaeological Map of Gloucestershire by the same author, on which are shewn 113 ancient camps, 26 Roman villas, 40 long barrows, 126 round barrows, and a large number of British and Roman roads. Cheltenham : G. NORMAN, Clarence-street.

There is no district in Great Britain more rich in prehistoric monuments than the county of Gloucester. Long, or chambered, tumuli, alone tell of a people who, at an unknown era, inhabited the country from the south of England to Caithness, and have left few traces of their existence, except, in such structures in their last-named northern home, in Westmoreland and Yorkshire, and in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, and Gloucestershire. In the northern counties, however, their burial customs, though of the same character, differ considerably in detail from those disclosed to us in the tumuli of the south, especially in Gloucestershire, in which latter county they are somewhat plentiful. Mr. Wits notices as many as forty. Round barrows, also, are numerous, and the county is everywhere intersected by Roman roads and British trackways, whilst many a hill-top is distinguished by a British, a Roman, or a Saxon camp; and a number of Roman villas testify to the magnificence and luxury of that imperial people.

Mr. Wits has, we believe, devoted several years to the investigation of these ancient remains, and has rendered a great service to history and archæology by publishing the result of his labours in the compact handbook before us, and the map which accompanies it. This map is on a sufficiently large scale, and thereon Mr. Wits has shewn the geographical position of each camp, barrow, and villa, and around the margin he has given detail plans of several of the principal chambered tumuli, and of some of the more important villas, whilst the ancient roads, British and Roman, are distinctly laid down. The latter are especially numerous in the Forest of Dean, to which the Romans resorted on account of the valuable mines of iron with which that forest abounded. This is proved by the numerous hoards and loose coins which have been found in the district.

The full title of the work indicates the extent to which Mr. Wits's researches have reached. Doubtless it is not by any means complete. He has himself made many discoveries, and we believe that his activity and unflagging zeal, and interest he specially takes in this class of antiquities, will lead to further discoveries.

To define exactly by what race of people the several earthworks were respectively raised is seldom an easy task, and Mr. Wits has discreetly abstained from attempting it. Many of them have been occupied by successive races, by each of whom they have been altered to suit their

several requirements. His work is no more than it purports to be—a descriptive handbook, or guide, to the several monuments. It will, in the first place, readily enable the archaeologist to find and study each object for himself, and the description will, to some extent, be a guide in the study, though not to be considered conclusive; whilst the references to other works in which the subject has been more fully treated of, sometimes numerous, which Mr. Witts has appended, will be a further assistance. We give the following as an example:—

No. 64.—LECKHAMPTON CAMP.

On Leckhampton Hill, two miles south of Cheltenham, there is an interesting work of some magnitude. The point of the hill overlooking valley of the Severn has been cut off by an entrenchment, consisting, for the greater part of the distance, of a single mound nine feet high, with each end resting on the escarpment. About fifty yards from the northern precipice there are two entrances through the entrenchments—one leading into the main portion of the camp, and another, at a much lower level, leading into a deep depression running nearly parallel with the edge of the works. Along the line of the entrenchments, from these entrances to the escarpment, there is a considerable ditch outside the bank. On the old Ordnance Survey a bank is shewn parallel to the northern escarpment of the hill. This has possibly been destroyed by quarrying operations. Professor Buckman, in his "*Corinium*," speaks of a true Roman well existing in the centre of the camp, sunk through the various strata of the oolitic rocks down to the clay beneath. I find no trace of this, but there are one or two likely-looking hollows in which a little excavation might be interesting. On the outside of the camp, towards the east, is a remarkable round barrow, 4 feet high and 35 feet in diameter; this is protected by a mound 70 feet square and 2 feet 6 inches high. At a distance of over 300 yards from the main position is another line of earthwork, consisting of a single bank, in some places five feet high, running on a curved line, and thus enclosing a very large area, probably for flocks and herds. Several relics of antiquity have been found in Leckhampton Hill, including a bronze helmet, spear-heads, coins, pottery, flint arrow-heads, &c.; and some human skeletons have been discovered at various times.

See "*Archæologia*," vol. xix, p. 171.

Also "*Archæological Journal*," vol. xii, p. 9.

Also Bigland's "*History of Gloucestershire*," vol. ii, p. 158.

Also Buckman's "*Corinium*," p. 5.

Also "*Proceedings Cotteswold Naturalist's Field Club*," vol. vi, page 209.

Also "*Journal of Archæological Association*, vol. i, p. 43.

Also "*Transactions Bristol and Glouc. Archæol. Society*, 1879-80," p. 206.

This handbook is indispensably necessary to every student who seeks to become acquainted with the early antiquities of Gloucestershire in particular, and of the country generally.

THE PYRAMIDS AND TEMPLES OF GIZEH. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE
Author of "*Inductive Metrology*," "*Stonehenge*," etc. London: FIELD and TUER,
1883.

The importance and value of this exhaustive work were so far recognised while it was still in manuscript, that the page which in some books contains a dedication, here contains the following note:—

"Published with the assistance of a vote of one hundred pounds from the Government-grant Committee of the Royal Society." The Royal Society, as a rule, leaves antiquarian research to be dealt with by another body, but in recognising the powers that Mr. Flinders Petrie has brought to bear upon his subject, and the admirable and complete manner in which he has applied them, it has, so to speak, elevated the book to a position which renders mere criticism superfluous. The result of Mr. Petrie's researches is a handsome quarto volume, illustrated with many diagrams, plans, and other plates, and with a beautiful etching by Mr. Tristram Ellis, showing the pyramids of Gizeh from a point of view which will be new to many readers. Instead of criticising this handsome volume—always supposing, that is, that anyone but Mr. Petrie himself would be able to criticise it—the best plan to pursue here will be to enumerate its principal contents, and to indicate the drift and object of Mr. Petrie's labours. "The scope of the present work," he observes in his introduction, "includes the more exact measurement of the whole of the Great Pyramid, of the outsides and chambers of the Second and Third Pyramids, of the Granite Temple, and of various lesser works." He takes it for granted that his reader has a "knowledge of the general popular information" upon the subject, and he also, but tacitly, takes it for granted that his reader approaches the study of the pyramids with a mind wholly unprejudiced by pre-formed theories. The anecdote which closes the introduction is the only direct notice Mr. Petrie takes of the wild, unfounded views which have proved so fascinating to thousands in England and America who never saw the pyramids:—"Perhaps many theorists will agree with an American who was a warm believer in pyramid theories when he came to Gizeh. I had the pleasure of his company there for a couple of days, and at our last meal together he said to me in a saddened tone, 'Well, sir! I feel as if I had been to a funeral.'" We may make one more quotation to show the spirit in which Mr. Petrie approached his work. The first paragraph of his first chapter stands thus:—"The small piece of desert plateau opposite the village of Gizeh, though less than a mile across, may well claim to be the most remarkable piece of ground in the world. There may be seen the very beginning of architecture, the most enormous piles of building ever raised, the most accurate constructions known, the finest masonry, and the employment of the most ingenious tools; whilst among all the sculpture that we know, the largest figure—Sphinx—and also the finest example of technical skill with artistic expression—the statue of Khafra—both belong to Gizeh. We shall look in vain for a more wonderful assemblage than the vast masses of the pyramids, the ruddy walls and pillars of the granite temple, the Titanic head of the Sphinx, the hundreds of tombs, and the shattered outlines of causeways, pavements, and walls, that cover this earliest field of men's labours." Mr. Petrie goes on to show the need of a new system of measurements, and gives an outline of the work in which he engaged. His second chapter deals with the list and details of his instruments, and his third with the methods of measurement employed. In chapter iv. he commences to describe his observations within the Great Pyramid, on the casing of the same, and on the Second and Third Pyramids. The fifth chapter is entitled "Co-ordinates," and is wholly scientific or mathematical. Chapter vi. is headed "Outside of Great Pyramid," and is with the next chapter, "Inside of Great Pyramid," the most important

part of the whole book. Here are examined the relation of sockets to casing, the length of sides, level, angle of the pyramid, form of its top, the casing, the pavement, the basalt pavement, rock trenches, trial passages, air channels, entrance passage, subterranean chamber, Queen's chamber, gallery, antechamber, King's chamber, coffer, chambers of construction, with a summary. Of the Second Pyramid, Mr. Petrie's account will be found in the eighth chapter, together with notices of the barracks of the workmen, which, practically, Mr. Petrie has discovered, though they were guessed at before. The ninth chapter relates to the interior, and the tenth and eleventh similarly to the Third Pyramid. Two chapters are taken up with a brief account of the six smaller pyramids of Gizeh, and with some notes on the orientation of these buildings, and we have next a most interesting account of the Granite Temple discovered by Mariette. The tombs of the pyramid platform, and notes on other Egyptian pyramids come next, and chapter xvii commences the historical part of the book with a dissertation on the succession of the Kings whose names are known, and with criticisms of the later Egyptian and Greek writers on the subject. In chapter xviii the accretion theory of Herr Lepsius is shown to be untenable, a discovery in itself of immense importance. Then follow chapters on the mechanical methods of the pyramid builders, every paragraph of which signalises a new discovery, on the values of the cubit and the digit—which may be considered to set this vexed question at rest—on theories as compared with facts, and an attempt to re-construct, with due regard to ascertained facts, and to facts alone, a “feasible” history of the Great Pyramid. Three scientific appendices, relating to triangulation, close this remarkable work, a work which we have no hesitation in describing as a credit to English scientific and historical investigation, and as being in itself an answer to the numberless sneers which we have had to endure for many years past, from foreigners for our apathy and ignorance in regard to ancient Egypt.

A HISTORY OF LONDON. By W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A. Stanford, 1883.

The year 1883 has seen a notable contribution towards the history of London in Mr. Loftie's two octavo volumes. To attack a subject of such alarming magnitude must require no little courage, but, having embarked upon it, one great difficulty of the undertaking must have been to confine it within these narrow limits, while making no remarkable omissions, and without adopting a style of excessive conciseness. Though we travel, in distance, from Greenwich to South Mimms, from Hackney to Hampton Court; and, in time, from shortly before the Christian era to that of underground railways; yet this is all comprised in little more than the bulk of a three-volume novel. Within this compass, however, the author has succeeded in giving us a comprehensive and continuous history of the capital and its suburbs which is both scholarly and pleasant reading. Histories of London, if aspiring at all to the honour of that general term, have, in recent times, been planned too much to meet the popular taste for the romantic and the picturesque, many fictions having such qualities to recommend them being readily passed on from one writer to another when a little enquiry would have exposed them. “Old and New London,” by Thornbury, though containing much that is interesting in a popular and cheap form, may be mentioned as an instance

of the kind of loose work referred to, of which the object has been primarily to be entertaining. For full accounts of particular periods in the history of London, or of separate parishes or societies, the enquirer must of course look elsewhere; but the book under notice will be found to be a valuable and trustworthy *guide*, giving an intelligent general view of a vast subject, and indicating the most reliable sources where fuller information may be gained.

The political history, with which we are not so directly concerned, is carefully traced. The author has, to use his own expression in speaking of Messrs. Besant and Rice's account of Whittington and his times, "breathed life into the dry bones" of Stow and other historians, has ruthlessly swept away the cobwebs of fiction which have gradually accumulated; and, by a skilful re-sifting of evidence previously available, is often able to lead the way to a juster conclusion, and to throw a new light upon doubtful or disputed points.

The excellent series of maps and plans form a special feature of this work and add greatly to its value, reflecting much credit upon publisher as well as author. The first two well illustrate the site and chief natural features before they were obscured by the growth of the town. In the second the three streams, West Bourne, Ty Bourne and Hole Bourne, called the Fleet near its junction with the Thames are shewn, which now can hardly be traced except in the degraded form of sewers. Mr. Loftie accounts for the forking of the Watling Street at Tyburn—in one direction to what became Westminster, and in the other by the road still so called to Billingsgate—by supposing the Thames to have been crossed, in the Roman occupation, at both these points, and, in view of the great width of the river at Westminster and Stangate, inclines to the theory of a ford there and a bridge at London. In a tidal river a ferry would seem more probable than a ford. The author combats a good deal that has been written on Roman London, remarking that "it is rather in spite of what has been written about it, than with its help, that we must approach Roman London." Amongst other fallacies exposed is the conjecture that there was a temple of Diana upon the site of St. Paul's, which, notwithstanding the trouble Sir Christopher Wren took to disprove it, has been constantly stated—in Murray's Handbook and elsewhere. He contends that after Roman London or *Augusta*, as it was called for a brief period, was walled in, it was always a Christian city; so accounting in some measure for the absence of remains of temples, and points to the very indifferent collections of Roman antiquities found in London as evidence that Roman magnificence was never much displayed here; but Mr. Loftie has to deplore, with others, the scarcity of our information about London during the Roman occupation, and concludes that portion of the history which terminates with the departure of the Romans, with the rather melancholy remark: "If I have succeeded at all, it is only in showing how very little we know about the early history of the city."

We find an interesting enquiry into the origin and sometimes singular nomenclature of the different parishes in London proper, or the "City," to use a convenient though rather misleading term. Instances are given of the breaking up into smaller parts of large parishes, two or even more, while the same dedication was adhered to with the addition of a local name, the name of the owner, or even of some natural peculiarity of the site, for difference. For example, the parishes of St. Mary Magdalene,

St. Mary Mounthaw, now wholly absorbed by Queen Victoria Street, and St. Mary Somerset in the ward of Queenhithe, the second one of these having been originally the chapel of the family of Montalt; while two other parishes in the same ward are both dedicated to St. Nicholas. St. Martin Pomery and St. Michael le Querne may, perhaps, be instances of the distinguishing addition being taken from a natural feature of the site.

The history of the City Companies, it is remarked, is much complicated by that of the guilds, of which latter, "some were religious, some were merely social, but those of greatest importance were mercantile." Miss Toulmin Smith is quoted as a good authority upon the subject of guilds. Their antiquity is hardly realised. They are referred to in the laws of Athelstan, in the canons of Edgar, and by Henry I., and are believed by the same authority to have been originally institutions of local self-help. In the guild of handicraftsmen, who were among those fined in 1180, and their struggles with the mercantile guilds Mr. Loftie recognises a resemblance to the modern trade union. Herbert is much quoted as to the City Companies, but the writer differs from him in some of his historical conclusions, holding that there is "no proof to be found connecting the companies formed under Edward III. with the guilds which existed before the time of his grandfather"—Herbert's struggle to prove the contrary notwithstanding—"yet it would be rash to say the companies did not grow out of the guilds." From 1340 to our own day these associations have been "so universally recognised that every mayor's or sheriff's name has been followed by that of the trade to which he belonged . . . the companies have, in fact, from that day to this been, so to speak, the very city itself." The mansions of the old London families were in some cases appropriated as halls by the companies, such as those of the Basings, Bukerels, Lovekyns, and a house built by Sir Nicholas de Segrave which was occupied by the goldsmiths.

The author is justifiably severe with "restorers" of ancient buildings and monuments, but the application of the odious term within commas to Sir Christopher Wren (i, 82) in connection with his work at the Tower conveys, to our mind, an undeserved reproach. Wren had too much of the wholesome belief in his own powers to be guilty of the modern folly (about to be exemplified by H.M. Office of Works on the same spot) of counterfeiting the work of a past period. The modern Templars receive a castigation for the treatment of their church: "one is tempted to wonder at the audacity rather than the bad taste which has wiped off every trace of age, has renewed every crumbling stone, re-chiselled every carving, filled the windows with kaleidoscope glass, painted the roof with gaudy patterns, and taken the old monuments, rich with heraldry, down from their places, and bestowed them under the bellows of the organ."

In a work of such extraordinary scope it would be almost impossible that no minor errors should have crept in. Ossulston Hundred, which though perhaps unknown by thousands who have spent their lives in it, has existed so long, has had a sudden end put to it (ii, 2) with as little remorse as the author deplores in the modern Templars, when they sacrificed their church. A reference, however, to the Post Office Directory will re-assure us as to its fate. Merchant Taylors' School, in Suffolk Lane, is said to have been destroyed by the Metropolitan Railway; but

the Inner Circle completion railway does not take it in its route, passing under Cannon Street at its nearest point. This railway, however, has indeed worked sad havoc otherwise. Eastcheap, which is part of perhaps the oldest road in London connecting the central stronghold of the capital by Watling Street with the interior of the country is the chief sufferer. One side of it has disappeared, and, nearer the Tower, the line has gone perilously near one of the few mediæval churches in the city which escaped the fire.

Sir Thomas Gresham, whose name does not occur in the index, is surely incorrectly described (i, 327) as a goldsmith. Mr. Price, in his "Handbook of London Bankers," seems to be the authority for this. Thomas Fuller, in his "Worthies," describes him as "bred a mercer and merchant." Norden speaks of him as "merchant adventurer," and Camden as *Mercator regius*. Perhaps the most notable omission from the book is the absence of any account of the origin and history of the Royal Exchange and its successive buildings; and the great impetus which Gresham undoubtedly gave to the commerce of the city by the erection of his "stately fabrick," and in other ways. This is the more remarkable, as the history of the Bank is carefully traced. The index is a weak point in the book, being far from complete; and it is to be hoped this will be remedied in the next edition.

In the second volume, which takes us without the walls, many interesting, though brief, notes are to be found concerning places that still remain more or less rural; and some account is given of Middlesex families and the singularly brief tenure by any one of them of manors or lands in the county; the curious fact is stated that "every family owning land in the county since the suppression, bought it or inherited it by a female line." The late Mr. Shirley could find no Middlesex family eligible for admission to his list of "Noble and Gentle Men of England," holding land before Bosworth. Upon the derivation of numerous disputed place names Mr. Loftie does not theorise much; and, in the West-end, such names as Soho, Piccadilly, Pimlico, to mention only a few of the most familiar, must still remain a pleasant puzzle to antiquaries. Much skill is shown in tracing, so far as practicable, the growth of the different parishes which resulted from the disintegration of the great parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, which extended from the wall westward to Chelsea. It is related that when, a few years ago, an appointment was made to the prebendal stall of Rugmere, a question as to where Rugmere might be went unanswered round the papers. Few, in truth, are probably aware that it is the name of a manor in the hundred of Ossulston, which included Bloomsbury. An ingenious suggestion is made for explaining both the origin of the name Rugmere and the reason for the deflection to the south which the Roman road, now Oxford Street and Holborn, made, until recently, at St. Giles', namely, that at this spot may have been the "mere," and that the road made a circuit to avoid it.

Travelling further westward, we quote the following account of a bit of "Old Kensington" which has passed away, written with an appreciation reminding us of Miss Thackeray's well known story: "Kensington Church, as I remember it in my boyhood, was one of the few really picturesque buildings of the kind near London it harmonized well with what is left of Kensington Square, and the cupola on the palace, and the old vestry hall and its blue-coat children, now sent in disgrace to

the back entrance; and with Colby House and Kensington House, formerly known as Little Bedlam The old church, with its quaint curved gable to the street corner, and its well-weathered red brick has disappeared all is gone, the reading desk, with its initials of William and Mary, and the royal pew with its curtain, and the seat occupied by Macaulay, and the rails where the Duchess of Kent was churched after the birth of Queen Victoria."

It is more difficult to coincide with some of Mr. Loftie's architectural criticism, notably in his evident preference of the new Law Courts to the Houses of Parliament, which latter must certainly rank as the most successful public building in England hitherto erected in the present century. The Westminster clock tower may look like a "clock case," but it is certainly a noble one; but when we are told that the Victoria tower "differs chiefly in size from the tower of St. Mary Aldermary" we can hardly look upon this as serious criticism. The "hideous red" of the brickwork of St. Thomas' Hospital is by no means the worst thing about that building; the brick portions of the adjoining manor-house of the Archbishops of Canterbury were once probably as red; but it is rather the unquietness of the roofs of the new hospital blocks which mar the effect of what with little alteration might have been a noble building.

Wilkins who is responsible for the design of the National Gallery, is given the entirely undeserved credit of the authorship of St. George's Hall, Liverpool.

In the last chapter of the book Mr. Loftie makes merry over the looseness of the governing system of the "metropolis;" and points out how that it is only since 1855 that a name has been given to the vast accumulation of houses that has grown round London. Parliament was invoked and the great city was labelled the "metropolitan area." "When the Board of Works was formed in 1855, under Sir B. Hall's Act, the name was boldly assumed; and the Board is appointed for the purpose of diverting the sewage of the metropolis. Thenceforth this, so to speak, diverting use of the word has been usual." Unfortunately however several different bodies each have their own metropolitan district, the Board, the Police, the Post Office, the Registrar General, all differing slightly one from the other, so that even the name "Areal" which Mr. Loftie suggests for the dwellers in the Area would not be entirely comprehensive. But we may leave these questions for others, and conclude this notice with a warm recommendation of this interesting book. In addition to the numerous maps there are also a few good reproductions of old engravings.

W. N.

SCOTLAND IN PAGAN TIMES—THE IRON AGE.—The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1881. By JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D., D.D., Edinburgh. DAVID DOUGLAS, 1883.

This third volume of Dr. Anderson's Rhind Lectures is of no less interest than his two former. As in the last-mentioned he treated of Scotland in Christian times in this he confines himself to the Pagan period; and in both he pursues the same plan. Starting from the borderland where the historic and unhistoric meet he ascends the stream of time, making such remarks in his passage on the facts and phenomena observed as would "determine their relations by comparison with the facts

and phenomena already familiar to us ; and to deduce conclusions, as far as they are sound, which will serve as materials for the construction of a logical history of culture and civilization within the area investigated."

In this volume Dr. Anderson begins by dividing the Pagan period into the usual ages of Iron, Bronze, and Stone, according to the ascending scale he has chosen, but, as is well known to all antiquaries, these so-called ages are by no means distinct, and have no chronological significance. The introduction of improved arms and implements depended upon the amount of culture possessed by different races, and upon their local circumstances.

In his first chapter Dr. Anderson treats of the various customs which obtained in Pagan times in respect to the burial of the dead, and points out that previously to the introduction of Christianity this was marked by practices which were afterwards discontinued. "There were," he says, "two customs especially which gave a distinctly typical character to the graves of the heathen period—first, the burning of the bodies, and secondly, the deposit with the dead, whether burnt or unburnt, of grave goods—arms, weapons, clothing, personal ornaments, implements, and utensils of domestic life." The substitution of Christianity for Paganism produced an alteration in the character of the grave deposits, and this difference, Dr. Anderson says, is a true archaeological distinction ; but there was no hard and fast line. The transition was gradual, and Pagan customs still continued in the usages of Christian burial, and, indeed, their survival may still be traced. No customs are so permanent as those connected with the treatment of the dead. Natural affection prompts the survivors to dispose of their deceased relatives as their fathers had been disposed of before them, and, though, from a deeper view of the resurrection of the body and hope of a future state, cremation was at once abolished upon conversion to Christianity, other practices lingered ; hence cremation or inhumation were the most marked characteristics, which distinguished heathen from Christian burials. The Pagan practice of the deposit of grave goods, such as arms, weapons, and implements, was also discontinued, but Dr. Anderson points out that the practice of strewing charcoal and ashes ritually in the open grave, and laying the unburnt body upon them, was a wide-spread Christian custom in the Early Middle ages. He also refers to the Pagan practice of placing vessels of clay and glass with the unburnt body, and says this was continued, with certain modifications of form and significance, as a Christian usage. Vases of glass and clay were buried with the early Christians in the catacombs. The difference was that in Pagan times these vessels contained food and drink, whereas in Christian times they held holy water, and charcoal, and incense. Vessels pierced with holes and containing remains of charcoal have been found all over Europe in Early Christian graves. In demolishing the old town steeple at Montrose, in 1833, under the base of the structure a rude stone cist was found at a depth of three feet. The cist contained a skeleton disposed at full length, and beside the skeleton were four vessels of clay, placed two at the head and two at the feet. One of these vessels is preserved in the Montrose Museum and is figured by Dr. Anderson, who describes it as "of reddish clay, four ins. in height, five ins. in diameter at the widest part, and three ins. across the mouth." It is pierced with five holes and "it is evident," Dr. Anderson says, "they have been pierced by driving a sharp-pointed instrument through them, not



Clay Vase, one of four found
in a mediæval stone coffin at
Montrose.

when the clay was soft but fired. All the characteristics of the interment, (he further remarks), are those of the commonest form of Christian burial with incense vases as manifested in Continental examples later than twelfth century."

This vase does not resemble any variety of urn found with Pagan interments but it closely corresponds with the form of incense vases represented in an illumination from a manuscript of the fourteenth century which represents a funeral. The vases are placed alternately between the tapers, and in the illumination the fire is shewn through the apertures. Another pierced vase, in which the holes were pierced while the clay was soft, was found with two others under a flat stone at the Castle hill at Rattray. The three vessels were filled with ashes when they were first discovered. Dr. Anderson remarks "In the special features of such survivals as these, we read the story of the transition from the older to the newer forms of burial, resulting from the change of faith. We see the custom of burial with grave-goods continued as a ceremonial observance in Christian sepulture, and the practice of cremation succeeded by the symbolic act of strewing charcoal in the open grave, and by a ritual which still regards the act of burial as consigning of 'ashes to ashes;' and by those and similar links of connection we



An illumination from a 14th century MS., representing incense vases,
placed alternately with candles, round coffin during the funeral service.

pass gradually from the Christian system to the system of Paganism, which preceded it."

Dr. Anderson next proceeds to treat of the Viking burials in those parts of Scotland which were at one time occupied by the Scandinavian invaders. In the island of Islay, in 1878, two contiguous graves were found, each containing a skeleton lying at full length, with the head to the east and feet to the west, the boundary of each grave being formed by

an enclosure of stones set on edge. Each interment was accompanied by its appropriate grave-goods, that of the man by his arms, weapons, and implements, and that of the woman by her personal ornaments and domestic utensils. There was an entire absence of all indications of Christianity. The bodies lay east and west, but contrary to the position usual in the interment of the Christian dead, under which the proper position, at least for the laity, has always been to lay the bodies with the feet to the east, so that rising they may face their Lord as he comes from that quarter. This, however, was not the case in respect to priests, according to the Roman Ritual. Maskell in his *Monumenta Ritualia* cites the following:—"Presbyteri vero et Episcopi habeant caput repositum versus altare et pedes versus populum." We not unfrequently find ancient grave-stones, sometimes distinguished with an incision of the figure of the chalice and host, so laid. There is an example at Tyntagel in Cornwall,



Clay Vase found at Castle Hill of Rattray, Aberdeenshire (5 inches high).

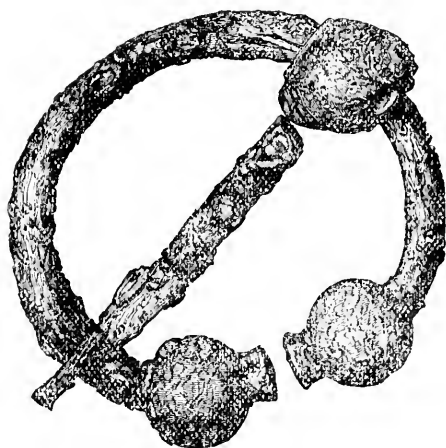
and another at Iron Acton in the county of Gloucester. The practice was, however, not universal. The theory was that priests should face their people, and conduct them to the judgment seat. The characteristics of the relics found in these graves were as striking for the entire absence of every appearance of ante Christian Celtic art and ornament, as they were of prehistoric Paganism. Dr. Anderson remarks with reference to this discovery, "that when we find in a grave along with the ordinary weapons of war, a group of actual tools of iron scarcely differing in shape, and not differing in material from those now in use in our workshops, we instantly realise the presence of a phenomenon at once unusual and suggestive. It is unusual in this country because our forefathers received Christianity early, and Christianity abolished the custom of placing implements in graves. It is suggestive because it enables us to perceive how closely the characteristic customs of the man we call primeval, may be linked with the arts and culture of modern times."

A description is given in detail of the relics found in these graves, the form and ornamentation of which, he says, are totally unlike Celtic designs. Perhaps one of the most remarkable objects is the brooch found in the woman's grave, which differs in every respect from Celtic



Brooch found in a grave near Newton, Islay. One of a pair (4½ inches in length).

design and workmanship. It is of an oval shape, $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. by 3 in., convex on the exterior, and concave in the interior. The back is arranged into equal segmental divisions, roughly resembling the back of a tortoise. These divisions are perforated by zoomorphic ornamentation, though differing in character from the zoomorphism of Celtic art, and this perforated ornamental shell is placed over an inner shell, which is smooth and highly gilt upon the upper surface, so that the gilding may appear through the open work above. A large number of similar brooches have been found in Viking graves in Norway, generally, Dr. Anderson says, in pairs. They have also been found near Dublin in like manner, in the graves of men, and Sir William Wilde is of opinion that one was worn on each breast, and hence they have been called mamillary brooches. They are purely Scandinavian, and their geographical distribution shows the range of the Scandinavian conquests. In a grave in Eigg was found a penannular brooch of bronze, silvered, ending in knobs of the shape of



Brooch of Bronze, silvered, from Grave-mound in Eigg
($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter).

thistle heads. This, though associated with grave-goods, is more of a Celtic than of a Scandinavian type.

Before passing from the Viking period, we may just mention that while this notice was being written a paragraph in the 'Times' newspaper announced the remarkable result of the opening, by Mr. James Rutland, hon. sec. to the Berks Archaeological Association, of a tumulus in the church-yard at Taplow. It would seem, from the dignity of the grave and the magnificence of the grave-goods deposited therein, to be the burial place of a great Saxon chieftain. It is called the grave of a Viking of the Pagan period, but in its proper sense the appropriation would not seem to be probable. The body was laid with the head to the east.

Having shewn that the intrusion of the Norwegian Pagans into the northern and western area of Scotland produced an extension into those districts of types that are purely indigenous to the Norwegian area, and that along with it in the area of the intruded Paganism is found a series of modified types, neither purely Celtic, nor purely Scandinavian, but to some extent partaking of the character of both, Dr. Anderson proceeds to describe a series of burials within the area mentioned in which the

distinctive form of burial with arms, implements, and ornaments of purely Norwegian types also occur, but differing from these, inasmuch as that though they present indications of Paganism, they do not as distinctly indicate their origin. He brings under notice the discovery of interments in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, within the area of the old Earldom of Orkney. The bodies were usually burned, and the ashes deposited in urns of steatitic stone. These urns, of irregular shape, were placed in cisted mounds. They were not circular, but oval, or roughly four-sided, very variable in size, and without much attempt at ornamentation, and no grave goods were discovered with them. Urns of steatite, Dr. Anderson says, are common in the grave-mounds of the Viking time in Norway, but they are rarely placed in cists, and are usually accompanied by deposits of arms, implements, &c. These Scottish burials, within the area of the Norwegian colonization, are not completely comparable to the common form in Norway, but they present in their characteristic feature the single point in which Norwegian burials of that period differ from all others. Nowhere else in Europe are steatitic urns the characteristic feature.

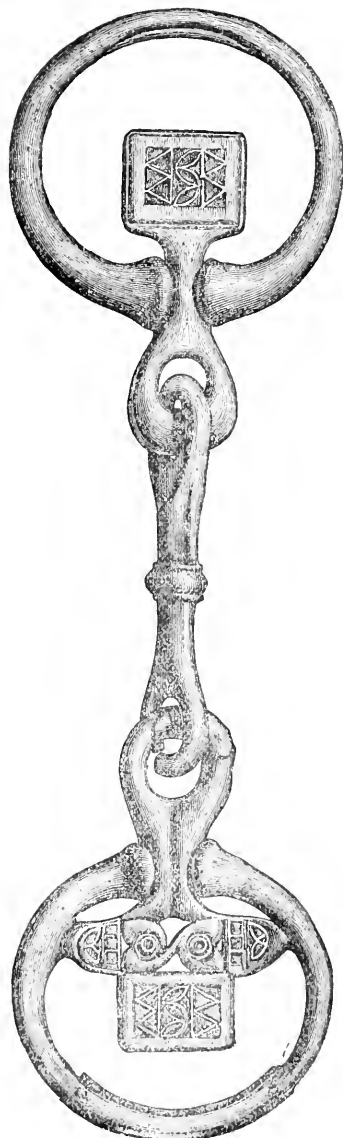
Dr. Anderson next passes to another class of objects, having no distinct connection with interments, but possessing characteristics which also link them with the intrusion of the Norwegian element into the northern districts of Scotland. In 1858, a boy chasing a rabbit into a hole in the links of Skaill, in Orkney, found a few fragments of silver at the mouth of the burrow which the rabbits had dug out. This led to the discovery of a large hoard of personal ornaments, ingots of silver, and a few coins, weighing in the aggregate sixteen pounds avoirdupoise. The personal ornaments formed the great bulk of the deposit, and consisted of a great variety of brooches, neck-rings, and armlets, all of silver. The brooches were all of very large size and massive, and the neck-rings and armlets were made of twisted wire, tapering towards the ends, which terminated in hooks for fastening them together. All were of elegant design and excellent workmanship. The coins were of much interest as indicating the date of the deposit. One was a St. Peter's penny struck at York in the tenth century. Another is a penny of King Athelstan (A.D. 925) struck at Leicester, and all the others were Asiatic ranging between 887 and 945.

Dr. Anderson remarks that no similar hoard has been found in Scotland but, he says, "hoards of similar articles have been frequently met with in the eastern part of Sweden, less often in Norway, and occasionally in Denmark. A large hoard, weighing about 1000 oz.," he observes, "was found in Cuerdale in Lancashire, in 1840, the personal ornaments being much of the same type as those found in the Skaill 'find.' Many of these are described in much detail and beautifully illustrated. We must however pass on to the next chapter, in which Dr. Anderson treats of Celtic Art of the Pagan Period.

Under this head he introduces to our notice a group of relics, the characteristics of which he recognises as distinctly Celtic. The first is a bronze object found in Kircudbrightshire in 1820, which passed into the hands of Sir Walter Scott, and is now in the museum at Abbotsford. It has the appearance of an elongated mask, somewhat resembling the frontal of a horse. It has two curiously curved cylindrical tapering horns which spring close together between the two circular eye-like holes. Its ornamentation Dr. Anderson considers as peculiar as its form, but generally

it is identical with the character of Celtic art. It consists of irregularly divergent spirals in *repoussée* work repeated symmetrically on either side of the meridian line in front of the object, with a zoomorphic termination at the ends. The object being incomplete, its purpose is not very obvious, but Dr. Anderson considers it is suggestive of the probability of having formed part of a helmet.

Among other objects which Dr. Anderson brings under our notice, under this head, is a remarkable bridle bit found in a moss at Birrenswark, in Annandale, which he describes as exhibiting Celtic art in a very striking manner. "It is," he says, "no less peculiar in its design and construction than in the character of its ornamentation. It is a single casting of bronze. The loops of the cheek-rings have been cast within the loops of the centre-piece, an operation implying technical skill and experience of complicated processes of moulding and casting. The design, however, is the most remarkable feature of the object. It is designed as carefully as if it were a piece of jewelry." Both the design and the surface decorations are of a high character, the latter being heightened by red and yellow enamel *champlevé*. Dr. Anderson remarks that "it is a peculiar feature of an art so singularly decorative that it was applied so largely to the ornamentation of objects that were appropriated to the commonest uses. Enamelled horse-trappings, of the most finished and beautiful workmanship, have frequently been found in England, sometimes associated with the remains of chariots. Not only is the use of enamel in the decoration of such objects unknown beyond the area of the British Isles, but the special system of design which accompanies its use is confined within that area. And it is an interesting fact that there is historical evidence as to the nationality of these remains. The only classical author who mentions the art of enamelling is Philostratus, a Greek sophist in the household of Julia Domna, wife of the Emperor Severus. In the notice of the variegated trappings of



Bridle bit, found in a moss at Birrenswark, Dumfriesshire ($6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length).

the horses in a painting of a boar-hunt, he accounts for their peculiar appearance as follows: They say that the barbarians who live in the ocean pour such colours on heated brass, and that they adhere to it, become as hard as stone, and thus preserve the designs that are made in them. Horsetrapplings of bronze decorated with coloured enamels have hitherto been found in the British Isles alone."

Among the many objects commented upon and illustrated are some very elegant bronze mirrors, the backs being ornamented with the peculiar pattern of spirals and converging and diverging curves characteristic of Celtic art. Among these is the magnificent example which was found at Birdlip, in Gloucestershire, in 1879, and is now in the Gloucester Museum. It is described and beautifully illustrated in colours in vol. v, p. 137, pl. xiv of the Transactions of "The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society."

It is this characteristic treatment of the decoration of their metal work by this early school of Celtic art that Mr. Kemble refers to in the following passage: "When, as is often the case in metal, this principle of the diverging spiral line is carried out in repoussé—when you have those singularly beautiful curves, more beautiful perhaps in the parts that are not seen than in those that meet the eye, and whose beauty is revealed in shadow more than in form—you have a peculiar characteristic, a form of beauty which belongs to no nation but our own, and to no portion of our nation but the Celtic portion. It deals with curves which are not arcs of a circle, its figures are not of the class which we usually designate by the term of geometrical; above all it calls in the aid of enamel to perfect its work—not cloisonné like the enamel of the East; not mosaic work of tesserae like the many so called enamels of the Romans, but enamels *champlévé* as Philostratus has described the island barbarians to have invented. The engraved spiral line, with double winding, is found from America to the Baltic, from Greece to Norway, but the divergent spiral *repoussé* in metal and ornamented with *champlévé* enamel, is found in these British Islands alone."

Dr. Anderson in quitting this portion of his subject, remarks that "the technical skill displayed in the fabrication and finish of these objects (the objects of which he has treated) is great, and the quality of the art displayed in their decoration is high. There is implied in their production a special dexterity in preparing models and compounding alloys, in casting, chasing, and engraving, in polishing and setting of jewels, in the composition and fixing of enamels. But there is further implied an artistic spirit controlling and combining the results of these various processes, giving elegance and beauty of a peculiar cast to the forms of the objects, and increasing the intrinsic elegance and beauty of form by the harmonious blending of its special varieties of surface decoration, in which forms that are solidly modelled are intermingled with chased or engraved patterns and spaces filled with colour. A style of art characterised by such originality of design and excellence of execution must count for something in the history of a nation's progress, must have its place to fill in the history of art itself, when once we have begun to realize the fact that art was not the exclusive privilege of classic antiquity."

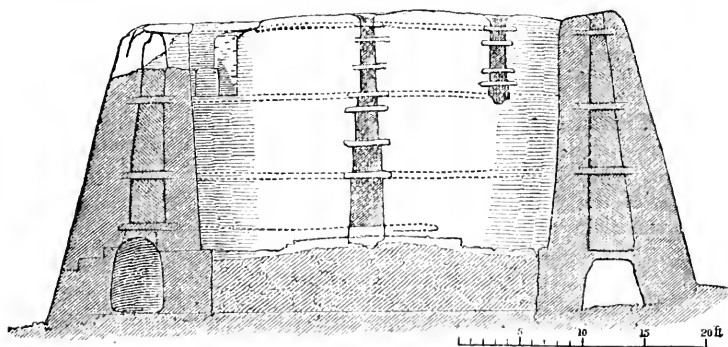
In his fourth lecture, Dr. Anderson proceeds to the consideration of a class of antiquities of a totally different type, and of a more ancient period, the product of a style of architecture which he considers Celtic in character, of an early date and limited to the Scottish area. These

structures are known as *brocks*, and are very peculiar in design and construction. They are circular towers, built of undressed stone without



Exterior View of the Broch of Mousa, Shetland.

mortar. The walls are fifteen feet thick and rise to an elevation of some forty or sixty feet; and, being considerably battered, have an appearance of great solidity and strength. They enclose an area some twenty or thirty feet in diameter, into which all the windows open. The only external opening is the door, from which a narrow passage leads through the thickness of the wall to the inner court; and this passage is, in most instances, flanked by what may be considered guard-rooms. On the basement are passages to chambers, also in the thickness of the walls, which are about fourteen or sixteen feet long, from five to seven feet wide, and some nine or ten feet high, being in plan something of an elongated oval. The roofs are formed of a vaulting of over-lapping stones in the manner so familiar to us in the construction of the bee-hive huts. In each of the chambers are small aumbry-like recesses, but there are no indications of fire-places. With the exception of these rooms the walls are carried up as high as their roofs solid, but above this height there is a vacancy in the thickness of the wall so as to form a series of galleries placed one immediately above another, and crossed, successively, from the lowest to



Section of the elevation of a Broch near Glenbeg.
(From Plan by Sir H. Dryden.)

the highest by the rise of the stair which gives access to them. These galleries, like the rooms below, are lighted by windows, placed close to each other vertically, with merely the thickness of the lintel between them; these lintels being the stone slabs which form the ceiling of the gallery below and the floor of that above. The illustrations are numerous and very clear and effective.

Dr. Anderson considers that this remarkable class of buildings point more or less obviously to a double intention on the part of their builders of providing strongholds for shelter and defence, to which purposes they were admirably adapted. Though some of them are situated in places of great natural strength, generally they are found in the most fertile straths, following the curves of rivers for many miles inland. They were therefore, he says, the defensive strongholds of a population located upon arable lands, continually exposed to the plundering forays of bands of marauders, affording secure places of refuge for non-combatants and cattle and for the storage of the products of the soil.

The question of the age of these structures is one of some difficulty. Relics have been found in the ruins of stone, bone, bronze, and iron. This does not afford us much evidence. The discovery of iron articles does not lead us to doubt the antiquity claimed for these curious buildings by the author. Probably the Scandinavian pagans found them existing and occupied them, hence the relics of the latter class. The mode of construction is closely identical with early Celtic work as found in Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall. They do not indicate a low condition of culture, and may probably be assigned to a period within the first five centuries of the Christian era.

We must not close our remarks without expressing a strong sense of the great service Dr. Anderson has rendered to art and archæology in the publication of these lectures. With the aid of such workers as have already filled the chair founded by the late Mr. Rhind, a vast light will be shed on the history of this country and the progress of art and civilization.

THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS OF WILLIAM BURGES, A.R.A. Edited by
RICHARD POPPLEWELL PULLAN, F.R.I.B.A. London: 15, Buckingham Street,
Strand.

The architectural profession and the public are to be congratulated in at length possessing, in a collected form, the principal designs, whether in church or secular architecture, of the lamented William Burges. Seventy-five plates appear in this volume, of which thirty-seven, or as nearly as possible one-half, are original; the rest being derived from the *Builder* and *Illustrated News*, the *Architect*, the *Ecclesiologist*, and the *Building News*—except two, which come from the *Transactions of the Institute of British Architects*. These two are amongst the most remarkable in the series, being designs for a School of Art at Bombay. In Mr. Burges's own words, given in an account read before the Institute in 1865, the style selected was that of the end of the 12th century, as being one "which, without entailing any difficult stone-cutting, would admit of much or little ornament, and, above all, present those broad masses and strong shadows which go so far to make up the charm of Eastern architecture." The result is a highly picturesque and original

building, in which the style has been so far modified as to show flat roofs, far projecting eaves, and perforated slabs of stone for windows where the walls are not protected from the heat by an external corridor. But as this description has already been made public, we turn to some of those now published for the first time. Such are those of a Plan, Elevations and Sections for Chiswick Church, a design which was not carried out. This, the editor, Mr. Pullan, observes—is one of Burges's most vigorous designs. The chancel is remarkably simple—indeed simplicity of plan is as much a feature of Mr. Burges's compositions as elaboration of ornament. A powerful effect is produced by solid treatment, and amongst the minor arrangements, the plan of a priest's door in the wall of the chancel may be observed as peculiarly skilful. Next in order are a series illustrations of Cork Cathedral, one of the author's most important works. The foundation stone was laid in 1865, and the building consecrated in 1870. Having £15,000 at his disposal, the architect thought it better to erect the body of the church in thoroughly good style for that amount, and to leave out the western towers and spires for future completion. This crowning of the edifice has since been happily accomplished, and leaves nothing to be regretted, but the want of length in the nave, which gives to the whole building somewhat of a crowded or "huddled" appearance. How far this was due to the peculiarities of the site, or to the lack of funds, we are unable to say. Cork Cathedral is nevertheless one of the most perfect churches of modern times, in point of unity of design. The ornamentation at the same time is amongst the most varied and ingenious that Mr. Burges ever invented or adopted. The plate No. 22, shewing the Bishop's chair and part of the south transept, is a charming picture, and the interior roofs are especially elegant as well as in good keeping. The floor ornaments, representing the scriptural net, whereinto are gathered all ranks and conditions of men is peculiarly Burgesian in its humorous and contemplative feeling. The groups of virgins at the main western portal, and other assemblages of figures in the tympanum and soffits of the arches may be studied with great interest. At the angles of the square in which the great western circular window is enframed, are four evangelist types, designed with unusual force and noble vigour. The editor appropriately quotes the verse of Revelations in which these attributes are recorded. It is to be observed that according to the sacred text, "the fourth was like a flying eagle." Seldom is the eagle of this evangelist given as "flying"—and Mr. Burges's, we observe, like the rest, stands on its feet, with wings expanded as in the act of rising to fly. It may, possibly, be argued that the original justifies this form of interpretation. The "Memorial Church at Constantinople" seems to have been a disappointment. Mr. Burges, we learn, gained the first prize with this design, but it was never executed. The restoration of Waltham has attractive features, but does not fit so well upon the old garment as some other adaptations. Harrow Speech Room is one of the most interesting of all these efforts of skill. The difficulty was to devise a Gothic building, having a flat roof, and a semicircular plan, which should answer the requirements of a large audience. The ingenuity and resource here displayed are very admirable. It is impossible in a short notice to enumerate, far less to describe, the mass of combinations which these twenty-five plates lay open to the student. Omission must not be made, however, of the famed Cardiff Tower, which is here

copiously illustrated. The elaborate, not to say overpowering, detail of ornament in this now celebrated building is abundantly displayed. The grandeur of the tower stands confessed, but the cumulation of decoration, often evidently the result of repeated after thought, is somewhat fatiguing. Nor can the detail of the winter reading room be considered wholly successful. Only two of the groups of figures can be said fairly to exemplify the text, consisting of a Latin line, in which we note, moreover, a grievous error of prosody. The interchange of "nos" and "et" would turn a faulty line into a correct one, and would add a little strength to a tame and hackneyed bit of expression. The designs for Edinburgh Cathedral, and for the Law Courts, are full of suggestions and instruction; nor must the private houses be overlooked,—Mr. McConnochie's at Cardiff, and Mr. Burges's own house in the Melbury Road, on which he lavished a world of ingenious and cultivated thought. The frontispiece is a Sabrina fountain, embodying the legend as it is to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, another example of the abundance of resource of which Mr. Burges was so accomplished a master.

STUDIES IN ARCHITECTURAL STYLE. By RICHARD POTTLEWELL PULLAN, F.R.I.B.A. London: 15, Buckingham Street, Strand. 1883.

As a companion volume to the foregoing, Mr. Pullan, the relation and successor of William Burges, issues a series of designs, ninety-six in number, some of which have been executed and some submitted in competition. The rest are studies in architecture of various ages and countries. Amongst the former is the octagonal church in the grounds of Mr. Henfrey at Baveno, well known to English tourists and winter residents. The octagonal form was partly rendered necessary by the nature of the site. The splendid ornamentation of this chapel is here carefully presented. Another design is that of the church at Pontresina, which was consecrated in 1882.

Mr. Pullan competed for a memorial church at Pera, in memory of the officers and soldiers who fell in the Crimean war. In this competition Mr. Burges obtained the first-prize, but Mr. Street, who received the second, was commissioned with the building. Mr. Pullan's design received special mention from the judges. In the Lille Cathedral competition, Mr. Pullan's design obtained a silver medal. It was considered "worthy of consideration for the second, if not for the first, prize;" and the seventeen plates here exhibited testify to its unity of style and elegance of proportion. In this design, Mr. Pullan and his coadjutor, Mr. Evans, adopted a principle of geometrical uniformity which had been observed to prevail in the cathedral of Amiens, the abbey church of Westminster, and other cotemporary buildings. The same angle, in this instance of about $33\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$, is found to govern the construction of the whole edifice, as is shown in Plate 23 of the present work. This is the perfection of geometrical arrangement, and the result is a building which satisfies the eye and mind by its studied regularity, and at the same time relieves them by appropriate ornament. The ground plan of this cathedral seems especially noteworthy. A baldachino and altar on Plate 26 are very appropriately and gracefully enriched.

St. John's at Hawarden was decorated in polychromy throughout under Mr. Pullan's designs in 1848, modified in part by the introduction of

tempera pictures and other decorations. This was one of the earliest churches in England thus treated. Amongst the more important works here illustrated was a design submitted by Mr. Pullan and Mr. Heath Wilson of Florence, for the decoration of the dome of St. Paul's. This is a learned and classical composition (plate 43), and deserves close attention to its carefully studied arrangements, whether in the draping and attitude of the figures, or in their combination as a picture, or in the subordination of their ranks in the hierarchy of men and angels. There is moreover a grandly designed framework of arabesques. The hymn selected for this illustration was the *Te Deum*. We find in this volume also, a number of finished designs for Government offices, where a carefully preserved uniformity of style gives dignity to large masses of building. Mr. Pullan's competition designs for the Liverpool Exchange Buildings is an effective conception of the same class. The front being very extended, a single order is made to embrace the entire height. The design for the Natural History Museum Kensington, again, is one of the happiest in the whole series, and in great measure resembles the arrangement of the existing South Kensington Museum. Notwithstanding Mr. Pullan's great proficiency in the Gothic style, we confess we think it is rather in the direction of Italian elevations, that his special strength and taste lie—and if we are not mistaken this opinion will be confirmed by an examination of the specimens of Italian and French renaissance which are to be found in the latter part of this work. The above enumeration, however, does not exhaust the list of styles illustrated in the volume, which embraces examples of Byzantine, Neo-Greek, and other less familiar developments of architectural science.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY : being a classified collection of the chief contents of *The Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C. 1883.

"The present volume (as its successors will be)"—we quote from Mr. Gomme's Introduction—"is something more than a mere volume of selections. It aims at reproducing from the old *Gentleman's Magazine* all that is really of value on the subject of which it treats—Manners and Customs."

The idea of printing miscellaneous selections from *The Gentleman's Magazine* was first suggested by Gibbon in 1794 and, acting partially only upon this advice, Dr. J. Walker issued in 1809, in four octavo volumes, *A Selection of Curious Articles from The Gentleman's Magazine*. This was certainly a good beginning as far as it went, but a selection for one student may be, and often is, of no use to another and, as Mr. Gomme says, "The reader is therefore at the mercy of the taste and discrimination of the editor;" and the value of Gibbon's suggestion that the different articles should be "chosen and classed" was apparently either not realized, or Dr. Walker was content to deal with the voluminous series under his hands in much the same kind of way that the compiler of "Elegant Extracts," about the same time, treated the British classics.

Dr. Walker was, however, in his way a pioneer, and we have a kindly feeling towards men of this class, and specially towards pioneers of a literary or antiquarian kind, for they are often rather roughly and

unjustly handled in the present intolerant age. Dugdale was a pioneer, and so was Horsley, and Warburton of *Vallum Romanum* note; the imaginative Stukeley, the learned Petrie, the lucid Willis—all were pioneers, and Dr. Walker may have a place, though a modest one, amongst a band of workers to which we of the present day are more indebted than many modern aspiring wanderers in “the primrose path,” authors “qui font jeter en moule un livre tous le mois,” care always to allow.

The extreme value of the contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is well known to all literary students, but he is a bold spirit who would attempt the task of tracking any special subject through the whole 224 volumes in which, as a tiny thread, it may meander; and he must be a lover of books indeed,—or, speaking perhaps more strictly, of book backs,—who would care to cumber his shelves,—we use the expression advisedly,—with so long, and, to all outward seeming, so dreary a series, in which so much solid rubbish enshrines so much of real value. As a matter of fact, writers of the present time do not attempt the toil of unearthing this hitherto almost untouched information. Life is too short, the reading public cannot wait, and the world goes too quickly for us, so no one, as in former days, loiters in dull libraries or spins out his existence in writing, in “a dead language,” a ponderous volume that shall hand his name onward to future ages. For now is the period of magazines; “articles,” not books, are the fashion, and literature is condensed, much to the comfort of many of us.

But the modern system has, perhaps, its disadvantages, for while, on the one hand, we no longer have the interesting spectacle of a worthy man spending twenty years of his life in compiling a Latin tome, his bulwark, it may be, in a mighty controversy, and nobody any the worse,—on the other we may wake up any day and find ourselves “snuffed out by an article.”

But it is not only writers of “articles” who will be rejoiced by the appearance of the first volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*. The authors of a more enduring class of literature, a class to which Mr. Gomme has himself contributed so largely and so well, will heartily welcome the beginning of a very valuable collection of materials, at last placed within easy reach, and we shall soon cease to hear the constant lament—“I believe there is something about it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but ———.”

The following are subjects into which the work will be divided, and to which the fourteen volumes will be devoted:—Manners and Customs; Dialect and Popular Sayings; Popular Superstitions and Traditions; Archaeology—Geological and Pre-historic; Archaeology—Roman and Saxon; Archaeology—Foreign and Later English; Numismatics; Historical Antiquities; Original Letters; Topography; Literary Curiosities; Biography and Family History; Natural History; Anecdote and Humour.

It would be impossible, within the limits of a short notice, to do more than indicate the general divisions into which “Manners and Customs” are divided in the volume before us; they are as follows:—(i) Social Manners and Customs—Customs of a certain Period; Miscellaneous Customs connected with certain Localities; Agricultural and Land Customs; Marriage Customs; Funeral Customs; Birth Customs; Pageants; Feasts, &c. (ii) Local Customs. (iii) Games.

We are glad to hear that the whole of the labour involved in bringing out the series will not fall solely upon Mr. Gomme—indeed, we want some of his energies for other works—but that he will be assisted by specialists in the several departments of study which the publication covers.

Archæology, however fascinating, is apt, occasionally, to be a little dry, as those who have most to do with the science best know; and we fancy that many antiquaries will look forward to the appearance of No. 14 as a book of light reading which, coming from such a source, they may, without any misgivings, place upon their shelves next to other volumes of more deep and weighty research. In any case, no one will grudge Mr. Gomme the amusement and solace which we trust he may derive from the compilation of the liveliest and possibly not the least interesting of the series when his arduous undertaking is nearing its end.

“Manners and Customs” has a useful index, it is excellently printed and does much credit to the publisher, and will doubtless gain for the editor, as he deserves, a wide range of intelligent sympathy. We conclude that the fresh white glazed cloth binding has been adopted upon the same principle that white paint is said to wear better in London, and show the dirt less, than any other colour.

Archæological Intelligence.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CORFE CASTLE, IN THE ISLE OF PURBECK, DORSET. By THOMAS BOND, B.A. London: Edward Stanford.

At the moment of going to press this careful account of a famous fortress, by an esteemed member of the Institute, has been placed in our hands. We shall hope to bring before our readers on a future occasion a notice of a volume which unfolds the history of Corfe Castle with much freshness of detail from the public records.

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